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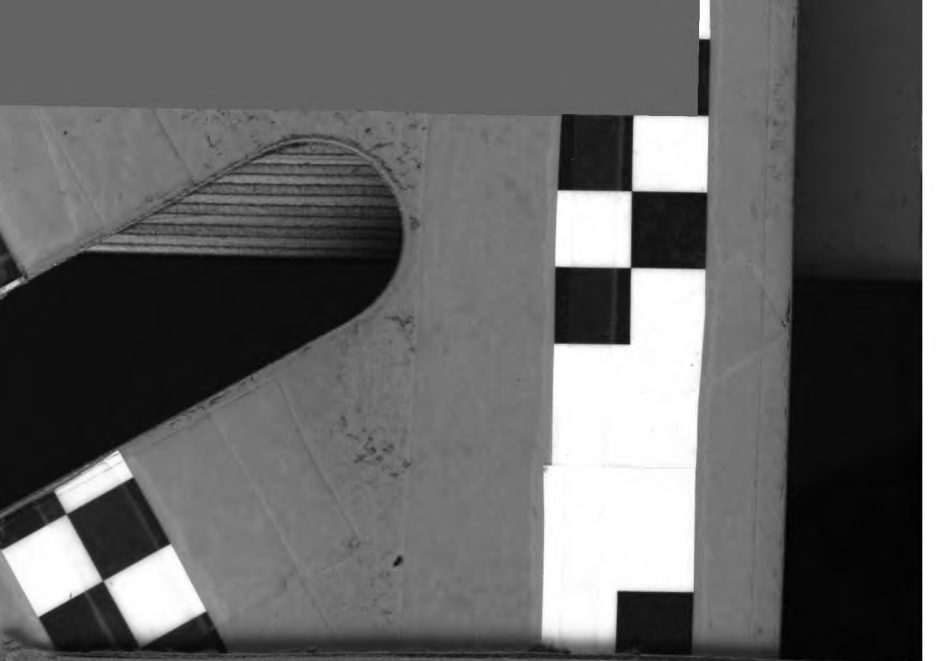
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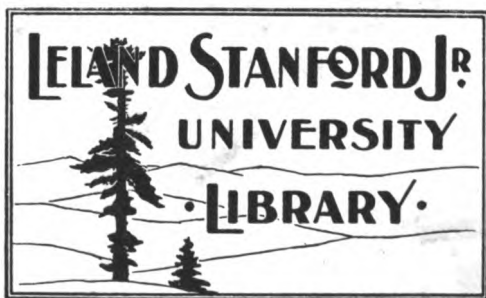
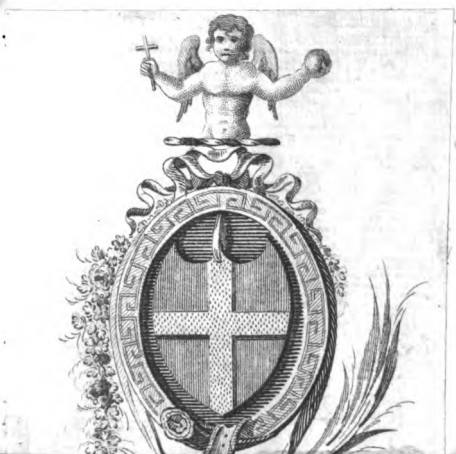
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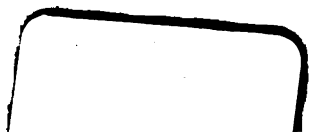


PRESENTED BY THOMAS WELTON, STANFORD.



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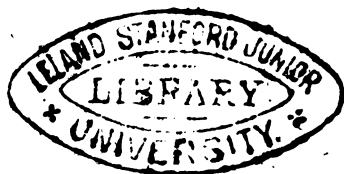


THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
OR A VIEW OF THE  
HISTORY,  
POLITICS,  
AND  
LITERATURE,  
For the YEAR 1786.



L O N D O N :

Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall, 1788.



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## P R E F A C E.

**C**ONSIDERING the very long acquaintance which we have so happily maintained with the Public, a Preface to our Twenty-eighth Volume seems a very unnecessary ceremony. Even acknowledgments of kindness and professions of gratitude become tiresome by a continued repetition; and yet, if custom has rendered such an introduction necessary, and it is expected that we should say something upon the subject, how can we possibly refrain from the genuine expression of our sentiments, under the strong impressions which the liberal and unvarying favour of that Public, through so long a course of years, has indelibly stamped upon us? The proper manifestation, however, of our gratitude, will be in act and not in words; in using our utmost exertions still to preserve the Annual Register in that style of reputation and character, which has hitherto procured it such marked distinction and so unlimited a patronage.

As the year of which we treat did not superabound in political events of great general importance, and was happily free from the dazzling brilliance of military exploits, these circumstances afforded us an opportunity, which we gladly embraced, of completing our retrospect of such matters of consideration, as the excess  
and

and urgency of matter in late busy years, had necessarily occasioned our postponing. Of these, the public affairs of our sister island and kingdom, not only claimed the first place from our mutual relation and interest, but demanded it on the account of superior importance to all others. We have likewise brought into view no small share of curious and interesting matter from the transactions of foreign nations, which seemed hitherto to have been overlooked. Spain, in particular, has, through the great improvements which for some time have been taking place in that kingdom, afforded a most pleasing and fertile field for retrospect. Nor have other countries, apparently more sterile, been by any means unproductive. In the business of the present year, the exceedingly complicated affairs of Holland, presented so alarming an aspect, and indicated consequences by which the interests and even security of this country might have been so deeply affected, that their discussion necessarily required our utmost care and most serious attention.

THE

THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
For the YEAR 1786.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
EUROPE.

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C H A P. I.

*Ireland. Retrospective view of the internal state of affairs in that country. Attempts to reform the constitution, by shortening the duration of parliaments. Mutiny bill passed. Meetings of the Irish volunteers to obtain a parliamentary reform. Ineffectual attempts to induce them to disband. Bill for effecting a parliamentary reform—rejected by a great majority; and resolution thereupon. Address to his majesty on that subject. Counter-address. Another bill presented and rejected. Proposition for the relief of the Roman-catholics. Petition of the delegates conveyed to Mr. Pitt. Mr. Pitt's answer. Disunion among the volunteers, on the subject of the Roman-catholics. Lord Charlemont thanked by the city of Dublin for his conduct. Steps taken by government to prevent the meeting of the delegates. Letter from the Attorney General to the sheriffs of Dublin. High sheriff of the county of Dublin prosecuted, fined, and imprisoned; others also prosecuted. Meetings of delegates nevertheless held. Another bill presented, and rejected. Distresses of the manufacturers of Dublin. Committee appointed for their relief. Mr. Gardener's plan—rejected by a very great majority. Violent ferment amongst the people. Outrages of the mob, who are dispersed by the military. Bill for restricting the liberty of the press. Petitions against. Modified, and passed. Non-importation agreements entered into. Precautions to prevent enormities. Lord Lieutenant incurs popular odium, and is openly insulted. Commercial arrangement between Great Britain and Ireland. A set of resolutions presented to the house of commons in Ireland; agreed to; transmitted*



*transmitted to England. Business opened in the house of commons there by Mr. Pitt; his speech. Propositions minutely investigated. Ten new propositions added. Propositions passed. Very strongly opposed in the house of lords; passed. Bill thereupon. Propositions transmitted to Ireland; their reception there. Bill moved for, correspondent to that in England; debates thereupon. Speeches of Mr. Grattan and Mr. Flood. Bill brought in; ordered to be printed. Further prosecution of the measure declined. Mr. Orde's speech on the occasion.—Intended emigration of the Genevese to Ireland. Reception of their commissioners there. Disagreement between the parties. Scheme proves abortive.*

**W**E have already seen, that by several acts of parliament which passed in the year 1780, the commerce of Ireland was freed from those ruinous restrictions with which it had been long shackled, through the short-sighted policy and narrow prejudices of the British nation.

In the year 1782, the declaratory act of George the Second was repealed; and by another statute, which passed in the following year, the authority of the British parliament, in all matters both of legislation and jurisdiction, were renounced, and the political independence of the kingdom of Ireland was completely established.

The only object therefore that remained for the consideration of the respective governments of each country, was the settlement of a system of commercial intercourse betwixt the two kingdoms, upon a firm and permanent basis.

Before we enter upon this part of our history, it may be necessary to take a short retrospective view of the internal state of affairs in that country.

The spirit of reforming the constitution, by shortening the duration of parliaments, and establishing a more equal representation of the people, which broke out in Great Britain about the year 1779, passed over at the same period into the

kingdom of Ireland.—It has always been questioned, whether any considerable part of the people of England, however unpopular the house of commons may at times have rendered itself to the nation, was at all dissatisfied with the established mode of representation, or expected any effectual relief from the more frequent return of elections.

In Ireland, these projects of reformation certainly met with a much more general reception—a circumstance not difficult to be accounted for, when we consider the ferment which then existed in that kingdom, and how favourable such moments are to every species of political innovation.

In the year 1779, the parliament of Ireland, in their addresses to the throne, had, in firm and manly language, demanded the restoration of their commercial freedom. In order to give effect to this requisition, resolutions were entered into by the inhabitants of the trading towns to prevent the importation of British manufactures; and these resolutions were often enforced with a degree of violence and outrage, which the civil authority of the country was unable to restrain. This vigorous and determined spirit of the people had a forcible effect upon the deliberations of parliament; all new supplies for the current services of the executive government were denied,

nied, and the trust of the old revenue, which had usually been voted for two years, was restricted to six months.—A mutiny bill was also passed for the king's army in Ireland, which before had always been regulated under the authority of an act of the British legislature.—These vigorous measures, as we have already seen in the transactions of the year 1780, produced their intended effect, and led to still more important consequences.

The passing of the mutiny bill was a step that went in its principle so evidently and so directly to the acknowledgment of the independence of the kingdom of Ireland, that it is not easy to conceive how it came to meet with so little opposition from administration, or to receive so readily the sanction of the British cabinet, unless we suppose that the circumstance of its being made perpetual had rendered it acceptable to government. But in Ireland, where one great constitutional principle appears to have been sacrificed merely for the purpose of establishing another, it was easy to foresee that they would not long submit to a restriction which rendered the advantage they had obtained not only not useful, but dangerous to their constitution.

Accordingly in the following session an attempt was made to get rid of the obnoxious part of the bill, by repealing the clause of perpetuity. But here government made

a stand; and this, as well as a motion made to obtain a modification of Poyning's law, was rejected by a large majority.

The failure of these efforts of the minority in parliament, appears to have given occasion to the first meeting of the volunteers on the subject of parliamentary reform.

On the 28th of December, 1781, the officers of one of the Ulster regiments came to an unanimous resolution, "That to restore the constitution to its original purity, the most vigorous and effectual methods should be pursued to root corruption and court influence out of the legislative body;" and with this view a meeting of delegates from the several regiments of the province was convened at Dungannon, on the 15th of February following.

On that day the representatives of 143 corps of volunteer troops assembled. Their resolutions, which were adopted in substance by all the volunteers of the southern provinces, were confined for the most part to the assertion of the political independence of the kingdom.—This primary object being soon after established, by solemn acts of the legislature of both nations, the ardour for parliamentary reformations appeared for a while to have almost entirely subsided\*.

The existence and increase of the volunteer army, after the necessity which first gave rise to it had been superseded

\* During the course of this, the Irish parliament passed the following acts, for the purpose of giving effect to their new constitution:

An act to empower the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors, and council of this kingdom, for the time being, to certify all such bills, and none other, as both houses of parliament shall judge expedient to be enacted in this kingdom to his majesty, his heirs and successors, under the great seal of Ireland, without addition, diminution, or alteration. All such bills, thus transmitted, and

superfeded by the establishment of peace, and after the great constitutional objects to which it had secondarily directed its views were fully attained, called for the most serious attention of government.—Accordingly, soon after the transactions we have just related, an attempt was made to induce them to disband, by raising, under the authority of government, a kind of national militia, by the name of *Fencible Regiments*.—It is probable that this design, though too glaring to be concealed, and accordingly almost universally condemned and opposed by the volunteers, would in time have produced its effect, if some new object had not been found upon which the united efforts of that body might again be exerted.—The reform of parliamentary representation furnished this centre of union, and the discussion of it was again resumed with great zeal and solemnity.—Delegates are assembled from the several corps of the several provinces; committees of correspondence are appointed; and letters \* are dispatched to the most celebrated political speculators, or parliamentary reformers in Great Britain, for

their advice on so great and momentous an occasion.

On the eighth day of September, 1783, a general meeting of delegates from the province of Ulster was held at Dungannon. A plan of reformation was here proposed and agreed upon; and it was resolved, that a grand national convention of representatives from the whole volunteer army should assemble at Dublin on the tenth day of November following. In these measures the volunteer corps of the other three provinces almost unanimously concurred.

The convention in Dublin was both full and respectable, and the measures were at least commendable for their moderation. On the subject of parliamentary reform it was proposed to extend the right of voting in all cities and boroughs to every protestant inhabitant possessed of a freehold or leasehold, for 31 years or upwards, of the value of forty shillings a year; that in decayed boroughs, where the number of voters should be less than two hundred in the province of Ulster, one hundred in Munster and Connaught, and seventy in the province of Leinster,

returned under the great seal of Great Britain, without addition, diminution, or alteration, and none other, to pass in the parliament of this kingdom. No bill necessary to be certified into Great Britain as a cause or consideration for holding a parliament in Ireland.

An act to limit the mutiny act to two years, and to repeal the other obnoxious parts of the late statute.

An act, providing that from henceforth all erroneous judgments, orders, and decrees, shall be finally examined and reformed in the high court of parliament of this kingdom only; and that for this purpose the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors, shall and may grant warrants for sealing writs of error returnable into parliament.

An habeas corpus law, and one for rendering the judges independent of the crown, were also enacted.

\* These letters were addressed to the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Effingham, Mr. William Pitt, Mr. Wyvil, Major Cartwright, Dr. Price, and Dr. John Jebb.

the

the neighbouring parishes should be admitted to a right of voting; and, lastly, that the duration of parliaments should be limited to three years:

Mr. Flood undertook to bring forward the discussion of these topics in the House of Commons; and accordingly, the day following, he moved for leave to bring in a bill, "for the more equal representation of the people in parliament." The motion was received by a great majority of the house with the strongest marks of disapprobation. Without entering into the consideration of the wisdom or folly of the plan proposed, it was urged that the house could not possibly, without betraying its trust, and abdicating its authority, consent to receive propositions tendered to them at the point of the bayonet, by a body of armed men. That however respectable they might be in other points of view, yet to suffer them to beset the house of parliament, and to dictate to the legislature with arms in their hands, would be to establish a precedent subversive of the very existence of all order and government.

The motion being rejected by a majority of 157 to 77, the house came to a resolution, which was moved by Mr. Yelverton, the attorney general, "That it was now necessary to declare, that the house would support the rights and privileges of parliament against all encroachments." An address was also ordered to be presented to the king, on the motion of Mr. Conolly, "to express the happiness they enjoyed under the established government, and to

assure him of their determination to support the present constitution with their lives and fortunes." The address being sent up to the House of Lords, received their concurrence.

On the report of these measures to the convention by Mr. Flood, it was agreed, that a counter-address should be presented to the king, in the name of the delegates of all the volunteers of Ireland, "to implore his majesty, that their humble wish to have certain manifest perversions in the parliamentary representation of that kingdom remedied, might not be imputed to any spirit of innovation, but to a sober and laudable desire to uphold the constitution, to confirm the satisfaction of their fellow-subjects, and perpetuate the cordial union of the two nations."

The change which soon afterwards took place in the administration of both kingdoms, gave fresh spirits to the friends of reformation: It was not unreasonably expected that the weight of government would now be thrown into their scale, as the first minister in England, and the first minister in Ireland\*, had been among the most eager and loud in support of the same measures in Great Britain. But notwithstanding these flattering appearances, they were doomed to experience a second disappointment.

On the 13th of March 1784, Mr. Flood again moved for leave to bring in his bill; as the motion was supported by a great number of petitions, and all occasion of offence was avoided, by

\* Mr. Pitt, and the Duke of Rutland.

keeping the volunteers out of view ; the bill was allowed to be brought in, but, on the second reading, it was rejected by nearly the same majority as before.

These repeated defeats did not abate the ardour of the Irish reformers, in the pursuit of their favourite object ; but as all hope of obtaining the deliberate co-operation of parliament was at an end, they turned their applications to a quarter from whence experience had already taught them to look for more effectual exertions ; as government had not yet ventured to question the legality of the volunteer associations, the people at large were called upon to provide themselves with arms, and to array themselves under that description. Several unpopular acts of the new government, in some of which parliament was also involved by the share it had in them, served greatly to increase the general discontent of the nation.

On the 7th day of June a meeting was held of the aggregate body of the citizens of Dublin. It was here resolved to present another petition to the king, and in the mean time to endeavour, by a circular address, to stimulate the body of the people to a general and vigorous exertion.

The petition, after enumerating their several grievances, and lamenting that his majesty's administration should have taken an active part in all the measures of which they complained, states, " That this was a circumstance the more extraordinary, as the first minister of England had virtuously declared himself in favour of the principal measure which had been

rejected ; that his majesty had lately thought it necessary to appeal to the electors of Great Britain against the power of an aristocracy ; that on that occasion but one-fourth of the people of England exclaimed against their House of Commons, and the sovereign prudently dissolved a parliament which had lost the confidence of a quarter of the nation, and declared his readiness to adopt whatever he should collect to be the sense of his people ; and that they therefore looked up to him with the utmost confidence for the immediate dissolution of the parliament of Ireland, in compliance with the almost unanimous request of his loyal subjects of that kingdom."

In the address, the complicated hardships they had suffered from the abuse of power were detailed with great warmth and freedom ; the continuance of these sufferings they attribute to the defects of their representation in parliament ; and they appeal to experience for the inefficacy of every means they had employed to obtain redress. They therefore call upon and conjure their fellow-subjects to unite with them in the pursuit of some more efficacious plan for the removal of the general calamity ; and with this view they propose that five persons should be elected from each county, city, and considerable town, to meet in Dublin in national congresses.

But the most remarkable feature in this address was, a proposition to admit the Roman-catholic subjects of that kingdom to a participation in the rights of suffrage at the election of members of parliament. Though this measure was not only consonant

consonant to the general principles of the reform they meditated, but promised no small accession of strength to the common cause, yet the sincerity of the Irish protestants on this point, farther than as it served the present turn, has been much doubted.

In a former volume we had occasion to remark, as one of the consequences of the general calamity in which the late war had involved the country of Ireland, that the prejudices entertained against the papists in that kingdom appeared, in some degree, to be giving way to more liberal, wise, and equitable sentiments. The volunteers, at a very early period, expressed their abhorrence of the unjust and impolitic treatment of so great a majority of their fellow-subjects; they recommended their cause to the attention of the legislature, and, in some counties, even invited them to range themselves under the same banners in the field. But the great political objects then in view being obtained, no other relief was granted to the catholics, than the repeal of a few of the most cruel and oppressive clauses in the laws enacted against them\*.

When the business of equal representation began to be agitated, the case of the Roman-catholics was again brought forward, and the delegates of the meeting at Dungannon, in the year 1783, were instructed to consider of the best plan of admitting them to an equal participation in the benefits of the projected reformation. At the subsequent meeting of the convention in Dublin, when that subject was proposed for their consideration, a pretended letter was produced from the Earl of Kenmare, purporting to convey the general sentiments of the Roman-catholics of Ireland, in which they were made to express their perfect satisfaction with what had been already done for them, and that they desired no more than peaceably to enjoy the privileges they had obtained. But though this letter was publicly disavowed, both by the respectable person from whom it was said to have come, and by a general assembly of the committee of the Irish catholics, who acknowledged themselves to have too great a resemblance to the rest of their species to be desirous of opposing any thing that tended to their relief, and that they should

\* By an act passed in 1778, Roman-catholics were empowered to take leases for any term of years, not exceeding nine hundred and ninety-nine, or for any term of years determinable on any number of lives, not exceeding five. They were now enabled to purchase or take by grant, limitation, descent, or devise, any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, in this kingdom, with certain exceptions, and to dispose of them by will or otherwise; to descend according to the course of common law, devisable and transferable in like manner as the lands of protestants. By the same law, certain penal acts respecting the hearing and the celebrating of mass; forbidding Roman-catholics to keep a horse of, or above the value of, five pounds; empowering grand juries to levy from them, in their respective districts, money to the amount of such losses as were sustained by the depredations of privateers; requiring them to provide in towns protestant watchmen; and forbidding them to inhabit the city of Limerick, or suburbs, were repealed.

So much of the former acts as forbade them to teach school publicly, or to instruct youth of their own profession in private, was also repealed; and a law enacted to permit them to have the guardianship, the care, and the tuition of their own children.

receive any indulgence the legislature should be willing to grant them, yet, in the plan of reform, digested at this meeting, they were left precisely in the same situation as before.

But to return to the proceedings of the citizens of Dublin.—An application was made to the lord lieutenant to convey their petition to the throne. In answer to their request, he informed them, that though it was his duty to convey the papers they presented, yet he found himself obliged to accompany them with his entire disapprobation; as they contained unjust and indecent reflections upon the laws and the parliament of Ireland, and as they tended to foment fatal dissensions among the people.

The credulity of the Irish reformers was proof against all disapprobation. They could not be persuaded, but that the English minister would heartily concur in the support of measures founded on principles which he had himself so often and so ostentatiously avowed.

July 8th. Accordingly, on the 8th of July, a petition to the king was conveyed to Mr. Pitt, by the inhabitants of Belfast, nearly of the same tenor with that of the citizens of Dublin. In the month of September, Mr. Pitt informed them, in his answer, "That he had undoubtedly been, and still continued, a zealous friend to reform in parliament, but that he must beg leave to say, that he had been so on grounds very different from those adopted in their petition. That what was there proposed, he considered as tending to produce still greater evils than any of those which the friends of reform were desirous to remedy."

But the cause of reform received about this time a more fatal blow, from the disunion which broke out amongst the volunteers themselves, on the subject of admitting the Roman-catholics to the rights of election. In an address presented by the Ulster corps to their general, the Earl of Charlemont, after some strong expressions of their detestation of *aristocratic tyranny*, they hint at the necessity of calling in the aid of the catholics, as the most just as well as effectual means of opposing it with success. In answer to this address, the Earl of Charlemont lamented that, for the first time, he felt himself obliged to differ from them in sentiment. He was free from every illiberal prejudice against the catholics, and full of good will towards that very respectable body; but he could not refrain from the most ardent entreaties that they would desist from a pursuit that would fatally clog and impede the prosecution of their favourite purpose.

As this nobleman was very highly and very deservedly respected by the whole nation, his opinion was eagerly embraced, both by the timid, whose apprehensions were alarmed by the boldness and extent of the project, and by a great number whose prejudices against the catholics appear rather to have been dissembled than cured. In the month of October, the thanks of the corporation of the city of Dublin was voted him for his conduct on this occasion.

The meeting of a national congress, was a measure of too alarming a nature, not to attract the most serious attention of government; and it appears to have been their resolution to take the most vigorous steps for preventing it if possible.

A few

A few days previous to that which was fixed for the election of delegates for the city of Dublin, the attorney-general addressed a letter to the sheriffs, expressing his very great surprise at having read a summons, signed by them, calling a meeting for the purpose in question. He observed, that by this proceeding, they had been guilty of a most outrageous breach of their duty; and that if they proceeded, they would be responsible to the laws of their country, and he should hold himself bound to prosecute them in the court of King's Bench, for a conduct which he considered so highly criminal, that he could not overlook it. These threats succeeded so far as to intimidate the sheriffs from attending the meeting in their official capacity; but the meeting was nevertheless held, delegates were chosen; and in revenge for the attorney's letter, several strong resolutions were agreed to, relative to the right of assembling themselves for the redress of grievances.

But government, having once set their faces against the election and assembling of delegates, pursued a mode of conduct that had sufficient of resolution in it at least. From denouncing threats, they proceeded to actual punishments.

Henry Stephens Reiley, Esq. high sheriff for the county of Dublin, in consequence of his having called together and presided at an assembly of freeholders, who met on the Aug. 19th. 19th of August 1784, for the purpose of choosing and instructing their delegates, was the first object of ministerial prosecution on this occasion. The attorney-general proceed against him by *attachment* from the court of King's Bench. The as-

sembly, and the resolutions they came to on this occasion, signed by Mr. Reiley, in his character of sheriff for the county, were both declared to be illegal, and Mr. Reiley was sentenced by the court to pay a fine of five marks (3l. 6s. 8d.) and to be imprisoned one week.

This mode of legal process, except for the purpose of bringing persons before the court, to receive the sentence of such court for contempt of and disobedience to its orders and directions, has so seldom been resorted to, that even the legality of the process itself, on any other ground than the one above mentioned, has remained a matter of general doubt and uncertainty.

In the present case it met with much less opposition than might have been expected. Clamours without doors, and debates within, on the subject, there certainly were, but both too feeble and ill-concerted to promise any success.

It is probable too, that the apprehensions that many persons began to form of the delegates themselves, whom they looked upon in some measure as a new order rising up in the state, might induce them to acquiesce in, if not to approve of, an extraordinary and unusual mode of proceeding on this occasion.

But government did not confine their prosecutions to Mr. Reiley.— Having once adopted a mode of proceeding, which so effectually answered the end for which they designed it, informations were moved for, and attachments granted against the different magistrates who called the meetings, and signed the respective resolutions of the freeholders in the counties of Roscommon and Leitrim. At the same time,



time, the press too came under the lash of the attorney-general; and the printers and publishers of such newspapers as had inserted the obnoxious resolutions, suffered with the magistrates who had signed them.

Notwithstanding these violent measures which administration were pursuing, the national congress met, pursuant to its appointment, on the Oct. 25th. 25th day of October. But as it was far from being complete in point of number, and several of its most respectable members chose to absent themselves, they adjourned, after having passed a number of resolutions to the same purport with those which had been agreed to at the previous meeting; and exhorted, in the most earnest manner, the communities which had not sent representatives, if they respected their own consistency, if they wished for the success of a parliamentary reform, and as they tendered the perpetual liberty and prosperity of their country, not to let pass this opportunity of effecting the great and necessary confirmation of the constitution.

At their second meeting, which was held on the 2d of January 2d, January 1785, the representatives of twenty-seven counties, and of most of the cities and considerable towns of the kingdom, amounting in the whole to upwards of two hundred persons, assembled. Their proceedings appear to have been of the same nature as those they had before adopted, with only this difference, that in the proposed application to the House of Commons, it was agreed to confine themselves to the most general terms, and to leave the mode of redress as free and

open as possible to the consideration of parliament. After several adjournments, they held their final meeting on the 20th April 20th. of April; and on the 12th of May, the bill which Mr. Flood had again brought in, in pursuance of their common object, was again rejected. May 12th.

During the course of the proceedings relative to parliamentary and constitutional reformation, interests of a more pressing and important nature frequently divided the attention of the people, and were pursued with a more intemperate degree of zeal and violence. It should seem as if the manufacturers of Ireland had conceived an opinion, that the restitution of commercial freedom would operate like a charm, and diffuse in an instant that general prosperity over the nation, which could only be the effect of a long course of frugal, attentive, and persevering industry. The fallacy of these sanguine expectations was soon apparent; and the evil, if not partly caused, was greatly aggravated by the idleness of the lowest class of people, and that neglect of their proper occupations of the better sort, which was the consequence of the general disposition to political speculations.

Towards the end of the year 1783, the distresses of the manufacturers of Dublin had arisen to such a height, as for a short time to supersede all laws, and to reduce the city to a state of anarchy and confusion; as a temporary remedy to this mischief, subscriptions were set on foot for their relief, which were very liberally supported, and in the mean time a committee was appointed by the House of Commons to take into consideration the state

state of the manufactures of the kingdom. Mr. Gardener, who took the lead in that business, passed over into England, in order to consult with the king's ministers on the alarming exigence of affairs; but, as should appear from the event, without being able to agree with them on the adoption of any specific measures.

On the 31st of March 1784, the house took into consideration the report of the committee; on which occasion Mr. Gardener brought forward a plan, for which the people had for some time been extremely clamorous, namely, that of *protecting duties*—of protecting their own manufactures, and enforcing the consumption of them at home, by laying heavy duties on similar manufactures imported from other countries.

After stating the nature and extent of the distresses under which the manufacturers laboured, Mr. Gardener adverted to the several modes which had been proposed of affording them relief. The first was to force the home consumption by non-importation agreements.—This was a measure which, he said, was not very likely to receive the sanction of the legislature, nor did he think it advisable in itself; the expedient had been fully tried, as far as voluntary compacts could carry it, and had been attended with the most pernicious instead of beneficial effects; not to mention the outrageous excesses into which the people had been led in the enforcing these agreements, it still left it in the power of the interested and avaricious to draw additional profits from the distresses of the country. The home manufactures were not only vended at the most extra-

vagant price, but all incitement to emulation being removed, they had declined in their quality to the lowest extreme.—The second was, to encourage by bounties the export trade. But this, he thought, was beginning at the wrong end. Foreign trade could only be secured by the excellence of the manufactures, and that, he contended, could only be obtained in the gradual progress of a home consumption. There then remained no other measure than that he now proposed, by which a preference only would be given to the native manufacture, a preference which, he believed, in all other commercial countries, was uniformly secured. He therefore concluded with moving, “That a duty of two shillings and sixpence per yard be laid on all drapery imported into that kingdom.” At the same time he declared his intention of moving for proportionate duties on paper, manufactured iron, and a variety of other articles.

In answer to these arguments it was urged, that the protecting duty, if made effectual, would necessarily produce all the consequences of non-importation.—But what was chiefly insisted on was, that it could not be expected Great Britain would retaliate, and that they might thereby run the risk of losing the linen trade, the value of which was a million and a half, for the uncertain prospect of encreasing the woollen, which did not exceed 50,000l. The question being at length put on Mr. Gardener's motion, it was rejected by a majority of 110 to 36.

The rejection of Mr. Gardener's propositions caused a violent fermentation amongst the people. On the Monday following an outrageous mob

mob broke into the house of commons at the time of its sitting, reproached the members with having sold themselves to Great Britain, and called on them at least to distribute amongst the starving manufacturers some share of the hire of their iniquity. The guards being sent for, put an end to the riot without any bloodshed, and two of the ring-leaders were apprehended and committed to Newgate.

As there was great reason to believe that the people were greatly incited to these violent excesses by the seditious and inflammatory libels which were daily circulated in the public papers, prosecutions were commenced against several of the printers; and on the 7th of April a bill was brought in by Mr. Fox, for securing the liberty of the press, by preventing the publication of libels." By this bill it was enacted, "That the real printer and proprietor of every newspaper should make an affidavit of his name and place of residence, and that the same should be lodged in the stamp-office, to be produced as sufficient evidence in cases of prosecution for libels:— That they should further enter each into a recognizance of 500l. to answer all civil suits that should be instituted against them in such characters:— That they should take no money for putting in or having in any slanderous articles, under a severe penalty: and lastly, that the hawkers of any unstamped inflammatory or libellous paper should be compelled to prove from whom he received it, and should be subjected to imprisonment *ipso facto* by warrant of any justice of the peace."

This bill was strenuously opposed

in both houses of parliament, and several petitions were presented against it. At length a sort of compromise took place. The most obnoxious clauses, those relative to the recognizance, and the imprisonment of hawkers, were withdrawn, and the bill, thus modified, passed with a pretty general concurrence.

Notwithstanding the vigorous conduct of the Irish government, the city of Dublin continued, during the whole course of the summer 1785, to be a scene of tumult and disorder. No sooner was parliament risen, than the expedient of non-importation agreements was again resorted to with greater zeal than ever.— These engagements spread themselves into every quarter of the kingdom.— They received the sanction of several grand juries, and the merchants of the trading ports found themselves compelled to subscribe to them. The enforcing of these prohibitory compacts naturally devolved upon the lowest class of the people, and they proceeded in the execution of this trust according to the most approved modes of popular discipline.— To keep these excesses within some bounds, the military were posted in such parts of the city as were the most subject to tumult, centinels were placed to prevent or to give notice of the first appearance of riot, and the garrison was kept in constant readiness for action.

This untempering disposition in government, drew on the lord lieutenant, whose manners were in other respects peculiarly adapted to acquire the favour of that nation, an unusual share of popular odium, the effects of which he had frequently the mortification of experiencing.— In one instance the public theatre was chosen to be the scene of manifesting

festing this ill-humour. He was received on his arrival in the house by the performance of a piece of music called *the Volunteer's March*. A general uproar ensued; the entertainments of the evening were stopped; and it was said that he narrowly escaped undergoing one of those operations which are usually inflicted by the mob on persons who have the misfortune to fall under their displeasure.

Previous to the meeting of the

Irish parliament, in January 1785; the British cabinet, in concert with commissioners appointed on the part of Ireland, had formed a plan for regulating and finally adjusting the commercial intercourse between the two kingdoms.

On the 7th of February, Mr. Orde, the secretary to the lord lieutenant, announced this system to the house of commons, and on the 11th, a set of resolutions\*, which he had before laid on their table, were moved and

\* *Resolutions passed by the Irish house of commons.*

*Resolved I.* That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is highly important to the interest of the British empire, that the trade between Great Britain and Ireland be extended as much as possible, and for that purpose that the intercourse and commerce be finally settled and regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

*Resolved II.* That towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth of Great Britain and Ireland, should be imported into each kingdom from the other, under the same regulations, and at the same duties, if subject to duties, to which they are liable when imported directly from the place of their growth, product, or manufacture; and that all duties originally paid on importation, to either country respectively, shall be drawn back on exportation to the other.

*Resolved III.* That for the same purpose, it is proper that no prohibition should exist in either country against the importation, use, or sale of any article, the growth, product, or manufacture of the other; and that the duty on the importation of every such article, if subject to duty in either country, should be precisely the same in one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption.

*Resolved IV.* That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of either country are different on the importation into the other, it would be expedient that they should be reduced, in the kingdom where they are the highest, to the amount payable in the other, and that all such articles should be exportable from the kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from duty as the similar commodities or home manufactures of the same kingdom.

*Resolved V.* That for the same purpose, it is also proper that in all cases where either kingdom shall charge articles of its own consumption with an internal duty on the manufacture, or a duty on the material, the same manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a further duty on importation, to the same amount as the internal duty on the manufacture, or to an amount adequate to countervail the duty on the material, and shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation, as may leave the same subject to no heavier burthen than the home-made manufacture; such further duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties, to balance which it shall

and agreed to by the house without much discussion, and without any material alterations. The concurrence of the house of peers being soon after obtained, these resolutions were immediately transmitted to England, as the proposed basis, on the part of that country, for an equitable and final adjustment.

Almost immediately after their arrival, the business was opened before a committee of the house of commons by Mr. Pitt, who concluded

a speech of considerable length with moving the following general resolution: "That it was highly important to the general interests of the empire, that the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland should be finally adjusted, and that Ireland should be admitted to a permanent and irrevocable participation of the commercial advantages of this country, when her parliament should permanently and irrevoca-

shall be imposed, or until the manufacture coming from the other kingdom shall be subjected there to an equal burthen, not drawn back or compensated on exportation.

*Resolved VI.* That in order to give permanency to the settlements now intended to be established, it is necessary that no prohibition, or new or additional duties, should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution.

*Resolved VII.* That for the same purpose, it is necessary further that no prohibitions, or new additional duties, should be hereafter imposed on either kingdom, on the exportation of any article of native growth, product, or manufacture, from thence to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit; and also, except where there now exists any prohibition, which is not reciprocal, or any duty, which is not equal, in both kingdoms; in every which case the prohibition may be made reciprocal, or the duties raised so as to make them equal,

*Resolved VIII.* That for the same purpose, it is necessary that no bounties whatsoever should be paid or payable in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits, and such as are in the nature of drawbacks or compensations for duties paid; and that no bounties should be granted in this kingdom, on the exportation of any article imported from the British plantations, or any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Britain on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback, or compensation of or for duties paid over and above any duties paid thereon in Britain.

*Resolved IX.* That it is expedient for the general benefit of the British empire, that the importation of articles from foreign states should be regulated from time to time, in each kingdom, on such terms as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of similar articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other.

*Resolved X.* That for the better protection of trade, whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of this kingdom (after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks) shall produce annually, over and above the sum of £. should be appropriated towards the support of the naval force of the empire, in such manner as the parliament of this kingdom shall direct.

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“ bly secure an aid out of the surplus of the hereditary revenue of that kingdom, towards defraying the expence of protecting the general commerce of the empire in time of peace.”

Mr. Pitt, after taking a review of what had already been granted to Ireland by the British parliament, observed, That the concessions now proposed to be made to that kingdom, in order to put the two countries on a fair and equal footing, he should reduce to two heads :

*First, The importation of the produce of our colonies in the West Indies and America through Ireland into Great Britain.*

*Second, A mutual exchange between the two countries of their respective productions and manufactures, upon equal terms.*

With regard to the first, he allowed it had the appearance of militating against the *navigation laws*, for which England had ever had the greatest partiality. But as she had already allowed Ireland to trade immediately and directly with the colonies, he could not see how the importing of the produce of those colonies circuitously through Ireland into Great Britain could injure the colonial trade of this country, which was a direct one, and therefore to be made at a less expence and risque, than that which was circuitous.

In return for these concessions on the part of Great Britain, he proposed that Ireland should agree to the payment of a certain stipulated sum, yearly, out of the surplus of her hereditary revenue, towards defraying the general expences of the empire,

Such was the general outline of the proposed system on its first appearance. In the outset, both those within and those without doors seemed to comprehend but little, and to be still less concerned about an object of such extent and importance. A fortnight elapsed before the subject again made its appearance; during which interim a report, prepared by a committee of the board of trade and plantations, was laid by the minister upon the table of the house of commons, to assist its deliberations. This report was stated to be founded upon the declarations and opinions of some of the principal manufacturers and merchants in the kingdom, who had been examined by the above-mentioned committee; and its particular object was to prove the expediency of that part of the system which related to reducing the duties payable upon the importation of Irish produce and manufactures into Great Britain, to *what* the same sort of articles were charged with in this country\*.

In the mean time the merchants and manufacturers who had been examined before the committee, joined by great numbers of others from every part of the nation, met together for the purpose of taking the Irish propositions into their consideration. — During the course of their proceedings it appeared, that the opinions of the former were in direct contradiction to the inferences which had been drawn from their examination in the report laid before parliament. Whether this was occasioned by any change which, upon a fuller consideration, had ta-

\* See resolutions 3 and 4, page 13 ante.

ken place in the minds of the merchants and manufacturers themselves, or whether the committee of the board of trade and plantations had strained and perverted their declarations, it is not easy to determine. However, the consequence was, that it threw a considerable degree of discredit upon the report itself, and seemed to point out the necessity there was for the house of commons to examine the different commercial and manufacturing bodies concerned, at their own bar. This mode of proceeding gave the first check to the system in its progress through the house, whilst without doors it became more unpopular, in proportion as it became more thoroughly investigated.

During the months of March and April, 1785, and until the middle of May, the house was occupied in

receiving the petitions, and hearing the evidence of manufacturers and merchants of every description.

This laborious and minute mode of investigation being gone through, the propositions were again brought forward by Mr. Pitt, on May 12th, the 12th of May, but 1785. with a variety of amendments, variations, and additions.— To the original set of propositions, ten new ones were added, some of them only supplemental to, and explanatory of the former, but several containing much new and important matter; we shall therefore lay them, as they now stood, at large before our readers, in the note below\*.

The chief objects of the additional propositions were to provide, 1st, That whatever navigation laws the British parliament should hereafter find it necessary to enact for the preservation of her marine, the same

\* I. That it is highly important to the interests of both countries, that the commerce between Great Britain and Ireland should be finally regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

II. That a full participation of commercial advantages should be permanently secured to Ireland, whenever a provision, equally permanent and secure, shall be made by the parliament of that kingdom towards defraying, in proportion to its growing prosperity, the necessary expences in time of peace, of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.

III. That towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, "except those of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Streights of Magellan," should be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the same regulations, and at the same duties (if subject to duties) to which they "would be" liable when imported directly from the "country or place from whence the same" may have been imported into Great Britain or Ireland respectively, as the case "may be;" and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country respectively, except on arrack and foreign brandy, and on rum, and all sorts of strong waters, not imported from the British colonies in the West Indies, shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other. "But, nevertheless, that the duties shall continue to be protected and guarded, as at present, by withholding the drawback, until a certificate from the proper officers of the revenue, in the kingdom to which the export may be made, shall be returned and compared with the entry outwards."

IV. That

same should be passed by the legislature of Ireland. 2dly, Against the importing into Ireland, and from thence into Great Britain, of any other West India merchandizes than such as were the produce of our own colonies;—and 3dly, That Ireland should debar itself from trading to any

IV. That it is highly important to the general interests of the British empire, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation should be the same in Great Britain and Ireland; and, therefore, that it is essential, towards carrying into effect the present settlement, that all laws which have been made, or shall be made, in Great Britain, for securing exclusive privileges to the ships and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British colonies and plantations, and for regulating and restraining the trade of the British colonies and plantations, “such laws as imposing the same restraints, and conferring the same benefits on the subjects of both kingdoms, should” be in force in Ireland, “by laws to be passed by the parliament of that kingdom for the same time, and” in the same manner as in Great Britain.

V. That it is farther essential to this settlement, that all goods and commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of British or foreign colonies in America, or the West Indies; and the British or foreign settlements on the coast of Africa, imported into Ireland, should, on importation, be subject to the same duties “and regulations” as the like goods are, or from time to time shall be subject to, upon importation into Great Britain; “or if prohibited from being imported into Great Britain, shall in like manner be prohibited from being imported into Ireland.”

VI. That in order to prevent illicit practices, injurious to the revenue and commerce of both kingdoms, it is expedient that all goods, whether of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, or of any foreign country, which shall hereafter be imported into Great Britain from Ireland, or into Ireland from Great Britain, should be put, by laws to be passed in the parliament of the two kingdoms, under the same regulations with respect to bonds, cockets, and other instruments, to which the like goods are now subject in passing from one port of Great Britain to another.

VII. That for the like purpose, it is also expedient that when any goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British West India Islands, “or any other of the British colonies or plantations,” shall be shipped from Ireland for Great Britain, they should be accompanied with such original certificates of the revenue officers of the said colonies as shall be required by the law on importation into Great Britain; and that when the whole quantity included in one certificate shall not be shipped at any one time, the original certificate, properly indorsed as to quantity, should be sent with the first parcel; and to identify the remainder, if shipped at any future period, new certificates should be granted by the principal officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a register of the original documents, specifying the quantities before shipped from thence, by what vessels, and to what ports.

VIII. That it is essential for carrying into effect the present settlement, that all goods exported from Ireland to the British colonies in the West Indies, or in America, “or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa,” should from time to time be made liable to such duties and drawbacks, and put under such regulations as may be necessary, in order that the same may not be exported with less incumbrance of duties or imposition than the like goods shall be burdened with when exported from Great Britain.

IX. That it is essential to the general commercial interests of the empire, VOL. XXVIII. [B] “that



any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, so long as it should be thought necessary to continue the charter of the English East India Company.

In the course of the debates upon the propositions as they stood with these

“ that so long as the parliament of this kingdom shall think it advisable that the commerce to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope shall be carried on solely by an exclusive company, having liberty to import into the port of London only, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope should be importable into Ireland from any foreign country, or from any settlement in the East Indies belonging to any such foreign country; and that no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said countries should be allowed to be imported into Ireland but through Great Britain; and it shall be lawful to export such goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan from Great Britain to Ireland, with the same duties retained thereon as are now retained on their being exported to that kingdom; but that an account shall be kept of the duties retained, and the nett drawback on the said goods imported to Ireland; and that the amount thereof shall be remitted by the receiver-general of his majesty’s customs in Great Britain to the proper officer of the revenue in Ireland, to be placed to the account of his majesty’s revenue there, subject to the disposal of the parliament of that kingdom; and that whenever the commerce to the said countries shall cease to be carried on by an exclusive company in the goods of the produce of countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, the goods should be importable into Ireland from countries from which they may be importable to Great Britain, and no other; and that no vessel should be cleared out from Ireland for any part of the countries from the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, but such as shall be freighted in Ireland by the said exclusive company, and shall have sailed from the port of London; and that the ships going from Great Britain to any of the said countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope should not be restrained from touching at any of the ports in Ireland, and taking on board there any of the goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of that kingdom.”

X. That no prohibition should exist, in either country, against the importation, use, or sale of any article, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other; except such as either kingdom may judge expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits; “ and except such qualified prohibitions, at present contained in any act of the British or Irish parliament, as do not absolutely prevent the importation of goods or manufactures, or materials of manufactures, but only regulate the weight, the size, the packages, or other particular circumstances, or prescribe the built or country, and dimensions of the ships importing the same; and also, except on ammunition, arms, gunpowder, and other utensils of war, importable only by virtue of his majesty’s licence;” and that the duty on the importation of every such article (if subject to duty in either country) should be precisely the same in the one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption, “ or in consequence of internal bounties in the country where such article is grown, produced, or manufactured, and except such duties as either kingdom may judge expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits.”

XI. That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, are different on the importation into the other, it

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these amendments and additions, the system altogether) was the *fourth*, in which Great Britain, it was asserted, assumed both a present and future power to bind Ireland by such acts

is expedient that they should be reduced, in the kingdom where they are the highest, to "an amount not exceeding" the amount payable in the other; "so that the same shall not be less than ten and a half per cent. where any article was charged with a duty, on importation into Ireland, of ten and a half per cent. or upwards, previous to the 17th day of May, 1782;" and that all such articles should be exportable, from the kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from duty as the similar commodities or home manufactures of the same kingdom.

XII. That it is also proper, that in all cases where the articles of the consumption of either kingdom shall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, the said manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a farther duty on importation, adequate to countervail the internal duty on the manufacture "as far as relates to the duties now charged thereon;" such farther duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which it shall be imposed; and that where there is a duty on the importation of the raw material of any manufacture in one kingdom, greater than the like duty on raw material in the other, such manufacture may, on its importation "into the other kingdom," be charged with such a countervailing duty as may be sufficient to subject the same, if imported, to "burdens adequate to those which" the manufacture composed of the like raw material is subject to, in consequence of duties on the importation of such material in the kingdom into which such manufacture is so imported; and the said manufacture, so imported, shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation, as may leave the same subject to no heavier burden than the home-made manufacture.

XIII. That, in order to give permanency to the settlement now intended to be established, it is necessary that no new or additional duties should be hereafter imposed, in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other; except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance the duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution, "or in consequence of bounties remaining on such articles when exported from the other kingdom."

XIV. That for the same purpose, it is necessary, farther, that no prohibition, or new or additional duties, shall be hereafter imposed in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article of native growth, produce, or manufacture, from "the one kingdom" to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits.

XV. That for the same purpose, it is necessary that no bounties whatsoever should be paid or payable in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits, "and except also the bounties at present given by Great Britain on" beer, and spirits distilled from corn; and such as are in the nature of drawbacks or compensations for duties paid; and that no bounty should be "payable" on the exportation of any article to any British colonies or plantations, "or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa" or on the exportation of any article imported from the British plantations, "or from the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or British settlements in the East Indies;" or any manufacture made of such arti-

acts as she should pass relative to the trade and commerce of both kingdoms. This was stated to be directly in the teeth of what had been solemnly stipulated betwixt the two kingdoms, namely, that Ireland was in future only to be bound by her own statutes—That it was a resumption of the right of legislating for Ireland, which this country had renounced—That it was bartering the liberties of Ireland for the advantages held out to that kingdom by the system now proposed, and there-

cle, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Great Britain, on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback or compensation of or for duties paid, over and above any duties paid thereon in Britain; and where “any internal bounty shall be given in either kingdom, on any goods manufactured therein, and shall remain on such goods when exported, a countervailing duty adequate thereto may be laid upon the importation of the said goods into the other kingdom.”

XVI. That it is expedient for the general benefit of the British empire, that the importation of articles from foreign “countries” should be regulated from time to time in each kingdom, on such terms as may “effectually favour” the importation of similar articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other; “except in the case of materials of manufactures, which are, or hereafter may be allowed to be imported from foreign countries, duty-free; and that in all cases where any articles are or may be subject to higher duties on importation into this kingdom, from the countries belonging to any of the states of North America, than the like goods are or may be subject to when imported, as the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British colonies and plantations, or as the produce of the fisheries carried on by British subjects, such articles shall be subject to the same duties on importation into Ireland, from the countries belonging to any of the states of North America, as the same are or may be subject to on importation from the said countries into this kingdom.”

XVII. That it is expedient that measures should be taken to prevent disputes touching the exercise of the right of the inhabitants of each kingdom to fish on the coast of any part of the British dominions.”

XVIII. That it is expedient that “such privileges of printing and vending books as are or may be legally possessed within Great Britain, under the grant of the crown or otherwise, and” the copy-rights of the authors and booksellers of Great Britain, should continue to be protected in the manner they are at present, by the laws of Great Britain; and that it is just that measures should be taken by the parliament of Ireland for giving the like protection to the copy-rights of the authors and booksellers of that kingdom.

XIX. “That it is expedient that regulations should be adopted with respect to patents to be hereafter granted for the encouragement of new inventions, so that the rights, privileges, and restrictions thereon granted and contained, shall be of equal duration and force throughout Great Britain and Ireland.”

XX. That the appropriation of whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of the kingdom of Ireland (the due collection thereof being secured by permanent provisions) shall produce, after deducting all drawbacks, re-payments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks, over and above the sum of six hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds in each year, towards the support of the naval force of the empire, to be applied in such manner as the parliament of Ireland shall direct, by an act to be passed for that purpose, will be a satisfactory provision, proportioned to the growing prosperity of that kingdom, towards defraying, in time of peace, the necessary expences of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.

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by purchasing Irish slavery at the expence of English commerce.

With respect to the last proposition, which stipulated, that whenever there should be a surplus of the revenue of Ireland, over and above the sum of 656,000*l.* such surplus should be applied to the support of the British navy, it was urged, that if this was held forth as a compensation for advantages voluntarily resigned by Great Britain, nothing could be more fallacious, the present net revenue of that kingdom being little more than 333,000*l.* and therefore little more than half the stipulated sum, over and above which the surplus only was to be applied in aid of the public revenue of this country.

The arguments which were offered generally, and against the whole of the proposed system, went chiefly upon the supposed injury which the *manufactures* and *commerce* of Great Britain would sustain from it: the former, from the comparative small price of labour in Ireland, which alone, it was contended, would soon enable that kingdom to undersell us both at home and abroad; the latter, from the facility with which it was well known the revenue laws in Ireland were evaded.

The impossibility of preventing the clandestine importation of a variety of the most important articles, was strongly insisted on; and it was added, that the competition which would arise betwixt the two kingdoms, which should sell cheapest, would of course encrease the evil.

Finally, it was argued, that such was the nature of the propositions, that in whatever proportion one country might benefit from them, in the very same the other would become a loser; and that as to Ireland, whether the advantages gained on her part were great or small, they were to be purchased at the price of her liberty.

In favour of the system it was argued, that it was a measure of absolute necessity, in order to put an end to the discontents which prevailed to so alarming a degree in the sister kingdom.—That if the present propositions were not passed into a law, all that had already been done in favour of Ireland would prove nugatory, as it was clearly inadequate to the expectations of that country.

That with respect to the *fourth* proposition, it was a condition which the safety of our own navigation laws made it necessary to annex to the boon granted to Ireland.—That it was unfair to infer from hence that the British legislature had any views of trenching on the independence of Ireland, since it left to that kingdom the option of taking or refusing the advantages held out to her, subject to such a condition. That the condition itself was such as had frequently been adopted in the negotiations of independent states—as in the late treaty betwixt this kingdom and France, when the latter bound herself to publish certain edicts, as soon as other edicts stipulated on our part were published by this country \*.

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\* In answer to this argument, Mr. Fox replied, that in the case stated, one nation bound itself to do something defined and specific, when the other adopted some other defined and specific measure. To make the cases similar, an instance should

With respect to the disadvantages which it had been supposed our manufacturers would have to encounter from the comparative small price of labour in Ireland, it was said such a supposition arose from a misconception of facts—That the wages of artizans and manufacturers, although not of common labourers, were higher there than in this country, and therefore there was little likelihood of their being able to undersell us on that ground.—Nor could our commerce be in any danger from the reasons which had been alledged, since the provisions and restrictions contained in the propositions were sufficient as well to prevent any clandestine importation of foreign goods into Ireland, as to insure the duties payable on all such as might be legally imported.

The propositions, after having been agitated upwards of three months, and after having received a variety of amendments and alterations, finally passed the house of commons by a large majority, and May 30th. on the 30th of May were carried up to the house of lords. They here again encountered a considerable degree of opposition, and received several amendments, although not of a material nature.

The propositions having thus passed both houses, a bill founded on them was brought into the house of commons by Mr. Pitt, which was read the first time before the end of July 28th. the session, and was followed by an address to his majesty, voted by both houses, wherein they acquainted him with

what they had done, and that it remained for the parliament of Ireland to judge and to decide thereupon.

That kingdom had attended the progress of the propositions through the British parliament with much anxiety and impatience. On their arrival they met with the most discouraging reception; they were petitioned against by several of the publicbodies, and many of the members of the Irish house of commons strongly marked their disapprobation of the additions and alterations which the original system had undergone.

On the 12th of August, the secretary to the lord lieutenant moved the house for leave to bring in a bill correspondent to that moved by the English minister.—The debates on this occasion, and more especially on the side of opposition, were long and animated. Whatever had the least appearance of infringing on the legislative independency of Ireland, was marked and stigmatized in terms of the utmost indignation and contempt. The perpetual disposition of her hereditary revenue by the last proposition—the surrender of her commercial legislation by the fourth—the restraint imposed on her from trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Streights of Magellan by the ninth—were put in every point of view in which reasoning and eloquence could render them impressive and convincing. On this side of the question, Mr. Grattan and Mr. Flood were the most conspicuous speakers. The

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be produced, which Mr. Fox affirmed could not be found in the history of mankind, where one independent state bound itself solemnly to do any thing undefined, unspecific, and uncertain, at the arbitrary demand of another.

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first of these gentlemen, after stating the present situation of Ireland, with respect to the advantages she had already acquired, compared it with the condition it would be left in by the system now proposed. "See," said he, "what you obtained without compensation—a colony trade, a free trade, the independency of your judges, the government of your army, the extension of the constitutional powers of your council, the restoration of the judicature of your lords, and the independency of your legislature!"

"See now what you obtain by compensation—a covenant not to trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straights of Magellan—a covenant not to take foreign plantation produce, but as the parliament of Great Britain shall permit—a covenant not to take British plantation produce, but as Great Britain shall prescribe—a covenant not to take certain produce of the United States of North America, but as Great Britain shall permit—a covenant to make such acts of navigation as Great Britain shall prescribe—a covenant never to protect your own manufactures, never to guard the *primum* of those manufactures!"

In favour of the bill it was urged by Mr. Fitzgibbon\*, Mr. Hutchinson †, and Mr. Forster §, that the fourth proposition, which had excited so much jealousy and alarm, could not on any fair construction be said to take from Ireland her right of commercial legislation, any more than the acts passed in 1779 and 1782 had done before; wherein Ireland

had stipulated to trade with the British colonies and settlements in such manner as Great Britain herself traded, to impose the like duties, and to adopt the same restrictions and regulations. That in the bill before them, it was proposed to trade with Great Britain on the same principle; the liberty of either complying with the conditions, or renouncing the agreement *in toto*, whenever the conditions should become obnoxious and dissatisfactory, would be left by the present bill full as much in the power of the Irish parliament, as it was by either of the foregoing acts.—The difference only was, that by the former acts Ireland had subscribed to the commercial laws which had been adopted by Great Britain for 290 years back; by the present, to such as that country should bind itself to in future; but that it would be still in the power of the Irish parliament to renounce these laws, and the whole agreement together, whenever she thought proper. On the other hand, the commercial advantages offered to Ireland by the bill were stated to be very important; the linen trade was thereby secured to her for ever—the colony trade through Ireland to Great Britain was given her—the British markets were thrown open to Irish manufactures—and again, as these manufactures were allowed to be re-exported from Great Britain, with a drawback of all duties, the Irish would, in effect, export on the foundation of British capital, at the same time that they were left to employ their own capital in the extension of their home manufactures.

\* The Attorney General. † Provost of Trinity college, Dublin. § Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The house at length divided upon the question; when there appeared for leave to bring in the bill, 127, against it, 108.

So small a majority in favour of so important a measure, was looked upon as a defeat; and accordingly, although Mr. Orde afterwards moved to have the bill read a first time, and to be printed, yet he declared he should not proceed any further in the business during the present session, nor at all, unless the kingdom in general should grow to a better liking of a measure, which he was confident, upon a further and more temperate re-consideration of its principles, would obtain their approbation.

Thus terminated the intended commercial arrangement betwixt Great Britain and Ireland, after having exercised the attention of both kingdoms for upwards of seven months.

We shall take this opportunity, before we dismiss our review of Irish affairs, to mention the intended settlement of the Genevese emigrants in Ireland.

The disputes and dissensions which had so long subsisted betwixt the *aristocratic* and *democratic* powers in the republic of Geneva being finally terminated in favour of the former, through the interference of the kings of France and Sardinia, and the cantons of Zurich and Berne, a number of the citizens of the popular party resolved to quit a country, in the government of which their weight and authority was totally at an end.

On this occasion they turned their eyes upon Ireland, and commissioners were accordingly sent by them to Dublin, to consult and treat with government there, rela-

tive to their reception into that kingdom. The commissioners, on their arrival, received the greatest personal attention from the people in general, but more especially from the different corps of volunteers in the province of Leinster, into several of which, as a mark of respect paid to the cause they came to solicit, they were chosen as members.

Their request, with respect to the admission of their countrymen into Ireland, was complied with, and a particular tract of land in the county of Waterford was afterwards set apart for the new settlers.

Notwithstanding these preparations, the whole scheme in the end proved abortive. The terms insisted upon by the Genevese, previous to their becoming subjects of a new state were, 1st. That they should be represented in parliament. 2dly. That they should be formed into a distinct corporation. And, 3dly. That they should be governed by their own laws. The first of these conditions might have been a matter of opinion, and subject to discussion; but the two last were held to be incompatible with the laws and the constitution of Ireland, and as such were totally rejected.

This disagreement between the parties, on leading points, stopped all further procedure in the business. Some of the Genevese, however, transported themselves into Ireland, but they soon found by experience, that nothing was gained by changing their situation, and most of them, after a short stay, quitted the kingdom.

The reciprocal advantages which might have accrued to Ireland and the Genevese emigrants from the proposed settlement, even had it taken

taken place to the fullest extent, could never, it is presumed, have equalled, or been in any degree proportionable to the sanguine expectations some men had been led to form on this subject. It should be considered, first, that the Genevese are for the most part mechanics, and that therefore they must have been but ill suited, from their former habits of life, to the toils of

agriculture; next, that they were to be settled in a part of Ireland where their support must have arisen from their daily labours on the soil, and from their having but few wants of their own to gratify, more than from their ingenuity in forming and constructing a variety of ornamental articles, which the luxury and riches of populous and trading towns can only create a market for.

CHAP. II.

*Retrospective view of continental matters, which, through the multiplicity and importance of other foreign or domestic affairs, were, of necessity, passed over in our late volumes. France. Death of the Count de Maurepas, and some account of this celebrated minister. Convention with Sweden, by which the French are admitted to the rights of denizenship, of establishing warehouses and factories, and of carrying on a free trade in Gothenburgh; in return for which, France cedes the West India Island of St. Bartholomew to Sweden. Observations on that cession. Spirit of civil liberty, of enquiry, of reform and improvement, with a disposition to the cultivation of useful arts, characteristic of the present times. Causes.—Great improvements in Spain with respect to arts, manufactures, and agriculture; measures pursued for the dissemination of useful knowledge, for improving the morals, and enlightening the minds of the people. Inquisition disarmed of its dangerous powers; numerous patriotic societies formed, and public schools instituted, under the patronage of the first nobility; canals and roads forming; subscriptions for conveying water to large districts desolate through its want. King successfully resumes the project of peopling and cultivating the Sierra Morena; abolishes bull feasts; restricts the number of horses and mules to be used in the carriages of the nobility; procures an accurate survey and charts of the coasts of the kingdom, as well as of the Straits of Magellan. Attention to naval force and to commerce. New East India company formed. Improvements in the administration of colonial government. Intermarriages with the royal line of Portugal lay the foundation for an alliance between the latter and France. Patriarchal age, eminent qualities, and death of the celebrated Cardinal de Solis, Archbishop of Seville. Important reforms in the police of Portugal. Queen forms the excellent resolution of never granting a pardon in any case of assassination or deliberate murder; which has already produced the happiest effects. Excellent regulation of taking up the idle and dissolute throughout the kingdom, and of applying them, at the expence, or under the care of government, to proper labour. Improvements in agriculture attempted; climate and soil unfavourable to corn. Political observations on the intermarriages with Spain, and on the new alliances with*



*with the house of Bourbon. Italy. Noble act of Pius the VIIth, in his generous endeavours to drain the Pontine marshes. Naples. Disposition of the king to naval affairs, and to the forming of a marine force. Grand Duke of Tuscany. Regulation in Florence for the disposal of the dead in a common cemetery causes great discontents.*

THE fruitfulness of the queen of France, which had for several years been a matter of much doubt and great anxiety to the king and the people, though at length established by the birth of a princess in 1778, yet the failure of a son still continued to excite impatience and apprehension, until all uneasiness upon the subject was at length determined by the birth of a dauphin on the 22d of October 1781, to the inexpressible joy of a nation, who, through a long series of ages, have been more peculiarly attached to their monarchs than perhaps any other on the face of the earth. It was a new and unexpected spectacle to mankind upon this occasion, and one among the many grievous mortifications which Great Britain was about that period doomed to endure, that the birth of a dauphin of France should have occasioned the greatest public rejoicings that had ever been known in the English American colonies.

The queen, in the year 1785, produced another pledge of security to the reigning line in France, by the birth of a second son, in whose favour the old Norman and English title of duke of Normandy was, for the first time, revived in a French prince.

The celebrated count de Maupepas died at the castle of Versailles in the month of November 1781, and in the 81st year of his age; holding, at that very advanced period of life, in a season of great national exertion, and of a

very perilous and hard-fought foreign war, which extended its action to every quarter of the world, the great and arduous office of prime minister of France. This great man was not more admired for his abilities as a minister, and talents as a statesman, than he was revered and beloved for his humanity, benevolence, and other excellent qualities of the heart.

When, under the auspices of cardinal Fleury, and in his own happier days, his great and numerous offices seemed to render him at least the third, if not the second in administration, he was one of the few ministers who introduced science and philosophy into the conduct of public affairs; but was at the same time so regulated in their indulgence, as entirely to reject their useless or frivolous parts, however splendid or pleasing; as if he disdained to apply the public money to any other purposes than those solid ones of public utility. Though considerably cramped in many of his public designs and exertions under the pacific and œconomical system of the cardinal, yet he not only in a great measure recovered the French marine from that prostrate state to which it had long seemed irretrievably condemned, but he laid the foundations for all that greatness to which it has since arrived, or which it is still capable of attaining. To him France is particularly indebted for that superiority, which she is said (and it is to be feared too evidently) to possess

sefs in ship-building; especially in the construction of ships of war: for he it was who first rescued naval architecture from mere mechanical hands, from the habitual and unexamined prejudices of vulgar error; and placing it in the rank which it deserved to hold, it soon rose, under his influence and protection to be considered as a distinct and profound science; and was accordingly studied and reduced to practice upon those principles by men of the first parts and learning. Such eminent and permanent national services, which in time diffuse themselves into common benefits to mankind, are frequently little thought of at the moment, and the ingenious author or inventor is soon forgotten; while he who applies his genius or invention, with a vain-glorious splendour, to the destruction of his fellow-creatures, although not even the partial benefits of his success may survive the year in which it takes place, shall have his name handed down with applause and admiration to futurity. Is there then a perverseness inherent in mankind which disposes them, as it were, to worship the evil principle, to despise their real benefactors, and to adore those who, by becoming the conspicuous instruments of transitory resentments, do in fact make war upon the permanent interests of the race itself? May it not then be the office of history, going hand in hand with philosophy, to draw away the eyes of mankind from the glaring objects which dazzle and confound them, and to teach them to rest on more sober and beneficial lights; to calculate and correct the error of popular opinion, and, by rating actions according to their intrinsic

value, as it were, to graduate anew the scale of admiration?

Although cardinal Fleury possessed at the time the ostensible praise, it was to Maurepas only that science is indebted for that grand design and arduous undertaking of ascertaining the real figure of the earth, by sending the French academicians and astronomers to measure degrees of the meridian under the equator, and in the northern polar circle. The unexpected difficulties which they experienced, and the extraordinary hardships and difficulties they encountered, are too well known to be repeated.

When the cabals of the court had, in the year 1748, banished Maurepas far from its vortex (an evil of all others the most intolerable to a Frenchman) he exhibited an instance, almost singular in that country, of bearing his fall from a situation of greatness, in which he had been nurtured from his earliest youth, with the dignity of a man, and the temper of a philosopher. He adorned his long exile, as he had done his possession of power, by continued acts of beneficence, and the practice of every private virtue.

When at length, in the 74th year of his age, the long-forgotten statesman was most honourably recalled to court, in order to become the mentor and guide of his young sovereign in the yet untrodden paths of government, neither this sudden and unexpected exaltation, nor his long absence from the world, produced any change in the temper and character of Maurepas. In the changes which necessarily took place at court, and in the administration, none of the dismissed ministers were (according to the established *etiquette*)

quette) sent into exile, nor did they suffer any other degradation or inconvenience, than what proceeded merely from the loss of their places; no mean jealousy appeared, no act of severity or resentment took place, no ancient animosity was revived, nor present hatred gratified, to fully the lustre of his triumph on returning to power. A similar magnanimity seemed to be the principle of the ensuing administration. He had the courage to burst at once through those narrow political fetters, which, originating partly in pride, and partly in bigotry, were now so riveted by time, as to be considered and received as fundamental maxims of government. The pride of the nobility confined the great offices of state to their own families; and the profession of the law, whose credit in France is great, and perhaps excessive, had in a manner appropriated to itself the financial department; while both leaned hard upon the commercial interest, national and religious prejudices cooperated in the exclusion of foreigners, and of all those of a different persuasion in religious matters, however eminent their abilities, from rendering any service to the state. Maurepas induced his young sovereign, in a single instance, to set at naught these maxims, and to violate all these prejudices, by calling in to be his assistant, as director-general of the finances, M. Necker, a merchant, a foreigner, and a protestant.—Such was Maurepas!

In the year 1784, a new convention was entered into between France and Sweden, tending to strengthen still more closely the bands of union which have so long subsisted between the two nations, and which have been maintained with so much ad-

vantage, and at so small an expence, by the former. In virtue of this new convention, the French are admitted to the rights and privileges of natives in the city and port of Gottenburgh, (which, from the goodness of the harbour, its situation without the Sound, and other advantages, may be justly considered as the emporium for the foreign trade of Sweden) being permitted to build and establish warehouses for the storing of all manner of goods imported either from France or America, in the bottoms of either nation, without their being subject to any duties or impositions whatever; with the farther liberty to the merchants or proprietors to export all such goods at pleasure, either in French or Swedish bottoms, and upon the same free terms. In return for the advantages expected from these favourable stipulations, France has ceded to Sweden, in perpetuity, the full propriety and sovereignty of the island of St. Bartholomew in the West Indies.—The king of Sweden, in order to convert this island to the best account of which it is capable, has since declared it a free port.

Nothing less than the present enthusiasm in favour of commerce, which is so strong in every part of Europe, could render so trifling and so remote a possession in any degree acceptable. The island in question is estimated only at about five leagues in circumference; the quantity of its cultivable soil bears a very small proportion even to that extent; in water it is so deficient, as to have none but what falls from the clouds, and is preserved through the year in cisterns; and though it has a good harbour, the adjoining coasts are so dangerous, and the approaches

to it so difficult, as to forbid its ever becoming of commercial importance. With such defects, the intrinsic value of the island of St. Bartholomew cannot be very highly rated.

On the other hand, it seems to be an odd sort of policy, for any of the three powers who are possessed of the principal West India islands to draw in new states to interfere in that commerce of which they are so extremely jealous; and it seems still more unaccountable to make donations of small unproductive islands or rocks, which are debarred by nature from answering any better purpose under a distant government, destitute of any neighbouring possession, than that of becoming a nursery of smugglers, as they would in earlier days of pirates.

It is undoubtedly become consonant with the views of France, upon other accounts than those of trade, or even the supply of naval stores, to hold Sweden at all times by the hand. The common interests in the affairs of Germany, which had formed the original bands of union between the two nations, have long since been done away by a new state of affairs, and new arrangements of power and alliance; but the jealousy and apprehension which both, though with different degrees of force, entertain of the overgrown and still rapidly increasing power of Russia, necessarily throws them into each others arms. Under this impression, France thinks it behoves her to maintain an interest in the north with a power, which in case of necessity might still be rendered capable of great exertions, and which, from the immediate necessity and danger of its own situation, must ever prove a watchful sentinel with respect to the movements and designs

of the power in question. But admitting to its utmost extent the propriety of this line of political conduct, it will not appear entirely to justify the cession of this island; France knew by experience the means of gratifying Sweden, with little difficulty, in another manner.

Whatever the leading faults or vices of the present times may be, it is their great and peculiar characteristic, and it may be hoped will become their future glory, that a strong spirit of civil liberty, and of enquiry into the functions, obligations, and duties of government, are breaking forth in various places, where they were before supposed scarcely to hold even the seeds of existence. Another no less laudable characteristic is, that spirit of reform and improvement, under the several heads of legislation, of the administration of justice, the mitigation of penal laws, the affording some greater attention, to the ease and security of the lower orders of the people, with the cultivation of those arts most generally useful to mankind, and particularly the public encouragement given to agriculture as an art, which is becoming prevalent in every part of Europe.

This important revolution in the dispositions of so great a part of mankind, may in a great measure be attributed to the peculiar kind of philosophy cultivated in the present age, by men, without doubt, considerable, and who have given the taste, and, as we may say, directed the fashion in literature; though their views have certainly not been favourable to the highest and most permanent interests of our nature. As the principles they had adopted,

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or the path they chose to fame and eminence, made it necessary for them to attack what have been generally considered as the great sanctions of morality and duty, they were obliged to counteract the imputation which their tenets might be liable to, by not only professing but inculcating the most general and enlarged philanthropy, and by letting loose all the powers of satire and invective upon all infringements of natural rights, but more particularly upon those which seemed or were supposed to derive their origin from religious establishments. Thus wit has been often enlisted on the side of justice, and led to a more minute and accurate investigation into the principles and boundaries of authority.

If in many respects the force of received opinions has in the present times been too much impaired, and perhaps too wide and indiscriminate a scope given to speculation on the domains of antiquity and practice, it is, however, a just cause of triumph, that prejudice and bigotry were the earliest victims. Happy will it be, if the blows which were aimed at the foundations and buttresses, shall only shake off the useless incumbrances of the edifice. And this we are to hope will be the case. We may confidently assert, that the utmost freedom of enquiry and discussion, however subject to partial inconvenience and abuses, must in the end contribute to the benefit of society; for whatever sinister ambition may warp the designs of those who endeavour by their writings to direct the opinion of the world, as they address mankind through the channel of their reason, and work with the powers of the understanding, they are obliged

to apply themselves to the cultivation and improvement of the subject, and of the instruments of their labours. So that at last the particular views of individuals, philosophers and sects, being various and fluctuating, will be found to be comparatively but little advanced; while sometimes one, and sometimes another, of those general principles on which the happiness of mankind depend (for these are uniform and permanent) will receive strength and vigour from the alternate prevalence of disciplines and opinions.

Even in those countries where despotism, bigotry, and evil government, had most benumbed the faculties, and depressed or perverted the genius of the people, they seem now to rouse, and to be shaking off the lethargy in which they had so long lain. Of these, none have declined more, whether in a moral or political view, from the rank which they once held among the nations of the world, than the neighbouring kingdoms of Spain and Portugal have done within the two last centuries; which, derived as they are from the same origin, seemed to have sunk under the same common malady.

Indeed a new day seems to be opening in Spain; and it is to be hoped (for it is allowed to hope and wish it, as none but ungenerous minds could look with pleasure at degraded humanity, even in a rival or enemy, and every thing that really tends to honour and elevate the species, must sooner or later redound to the benefit of all nations) that the brilliant genius of that people, which has been so long muffled and restrained, will soon have proper room for its exertion, and opportunity

portunity for its display. The Inquisition, which had so long been the terror and curse of the nation, though not yet entirely abolished, is, however, reduced to a situation like that of an old subdued lion, whose aspect may still inspire terror, but whose fangs being drawn, and claws pared, is no longer capable of mischief. The powers of that tribunal are now confined to those glaring and public acts of impiety, profaneness, or immorality, which are punishable in all well regulated states; and in the execution of this small remaining part of their authority, all their proceedings are to be publicly conducted, and their evidence to be openly taken; publicity of proceedings being the most efficacious corrective of vicious, and preservative of wholesome institutions. This reform, even if carried no farther, must soon put an end to the odious and infamous race of familiars and secret informers.

It is peculiarly fortunate to Spain, that the court, the nobility, and higher classes of the nation, should all be seized at the same time with the same common spirit of promoting a general reform through the country, of erasing ancient prejudices, and of using all means to enlighten the minds of the people. Learning, and an enquiry into the history and antiquities of the country, are liberally encouraged, and sumptuous editions of the most valuable classics published, under the auspices of the court; patriotic societies, under the sanction of the first nobility, are forming in every part of the kingdom, for the establishment of arts, sciences, and manufactures; for improvements in the cultivation of the earth, and in every part of rural œconomy; for opening

the minds, and mending the morals of the people. For this purpose numerous public schools have already been instituted, and are daily increasing, while the studies of youth are to be directed to useful and necessary objects. Nor is encouragement wanting to the fine arts, although the useful, with great propriety in the present state of things, meet with a more marked attention. The same patriotic spirit, which seemed to require nothing more than to be awakened in order to its due exertion, is already extending itself to public works and designs of the greatest permanency and national utility. Plans have been formed, subscriptions filled, and the works are actually in execution, for the conveyance of water to large districts which had hitherto been desolate through its want, and for opening the way to commerce and industry, by establishing good roads and navigable canals, for facilitating the intercourse between the different provinces of that extensive country; the want of which could not have been any where more felt.

We have heretofore seen the measures adopted by Spain for peopling and cultivating the wide and desolate wastes of the Sierra Morena, by stocking them with German colonies; which was done at a great expence, to the amount of about 6000. A court intrigue, by which the duke d'Aranda, the patriotic and benevolent father of this project, was thrown out of the administration, was among the principle causes, if not the sole one, of its failure. About nine-tenths of the colonists either perished in the place, or, in their attempts to return home, encountered such hardships, that many were reduced

reduced to the necessity of becoming beggars or vagabonds, or, what may be considered as a calamity little less considerable, being obliged to enlist in foreign service in the countries through which they passed.

The king has, however, revived the scheme with great vigour, and no less apparent effect; so that there seems now to be a fair prospect of its succeeding to advantage. Besides taking the remains of the old settlers, amounting now to about 600, under his immediate protection, and giving new animation and vigour to their industry, he has made an importation of 500 Roman-catholic Swiss families. Whether it proceeds from improvements, derived from experience, in the regulation, whether from habits of greater industry in the Swiss, whether the climate is better suited to their constitutions than to the natives of northern Germany, or whether from the operation of all these, and perhaps other causes, this colony proceeds much more prosperously than the former. This success has so much encouraged the king, that he is making farther and greater importations, and upon a still more improved plan, of Germans, French, and Swiss, to whom great advantages are held out; their farms being granted in perpetuity upon some very easy terms, proper stock provided for them at present, and a competent quantity of land tilled and sown at his expence for each family the first year. The expence has been found very great, and has exceeded what even could have been imagined; but it is an expence truly royal, and worthy of a king.

Among other domestic regulations, the king has abolished, or at least greatly circumscribed and re-

stricted, the celebration of the bull feasts, which had for so many centuries been the peculiar and favourite diversion of Spain; a diversion which foreigners had generally considered or represented as a proof of the present barbarism, and an indication of the natural cruelty of the people: positions which should be well weighed before they are in any degree admitted; and which, if at all just, are subject to much limitation. The English have been no less reproached for their bull-baiting, boxing matches, quarter-staff and cudgel playing, with their general disposition to athletic exercises, and eagerness to behold fierce combats, whether between their own species or other animals.

Perhaps it is not always considered, in passing these censures, that man is born to a state of contention and warfare; that he is doomed to struggle with difficulties, and is at all times liable to be compelled to oppose and to surmount dangers, or to perish in the encounter; and that these are circumstances from which no condition of fortune, or state of society, can at all times secure him. It behoves him therefore not to indulge in the idea that he is always to slumber upon beds of roses; but to strengthen his mind, and harden his body, for the reception of those hard conflicts, from which no humility of character, nor innocency of life, may possibly afford him an exemption. As man has profited, in many instances of art and domestic economy, from the example of inferior animals, he need not think it beneath him to improve in the virtues of courage and fortitude from the example of the more generous and noble kinds, as that exhibited by the heroic part of his own species can

can rarely come within his immediate knowledge: otherwise, by the indulgence of too refined a delicacy, and the affectation of a sentimental disposition, which is neither suited to our nature or condition, men may again sink into the deplorable situation of the Sybarites, and neither be able to endure the sight of blood, nor to hear of danger, until they found themselves overwhelmed in both. The rough masculine exercises, and hard personal conflicts of the common people, are preparatives to war; they inure men to resistance, to place a confidence in their own powers and address in action, to endure toils, blows, and danger, and to feel all the pride and triumph of victory. Need it be remembered, that the conflicts of fierce animals were spectacles admired by the most celebrated, as well as the most elegant nations of antiquity? and we may add, that it is a gratification, no ways artificial and improper for a reasonable being, to behold any creature exerting the generous energies of his nature.

The king of Spain has, however, prohibited the celebration of bull feasts, excepting only in those cases where the profits arising from them have been already assigned to some charitable, benevolent, or patriotic purpose, and that no other fund has yet been appropriated to supply the deficiency. He has likewise prohibited, under heavy penalties, the use of more than two horses or mules in gentlemen's carriages, within the limits of any of the towns of the kingdom. This injunction was attended with a circular letter to the foreign ministers, enclosing a copy of the edict, and acquainting them respectively, that his catholic ma-

jefty hoped they would set an example of compliance to the public, by their own conformity to this new regulation. The motive assigned in the preamble to the edict for these prohibitions is; that the former practice occasioned a great destruction of cattle, and the latter a great waste of their time and labour, when they might be so much more advantageously employed for the purposes of agriculture. The assigned motive does not seem at all to hold with respect to the suppression of the bull feasts, as the animals used in these spectacles were actual wild bulls, taken with great difficulty, and in an absolute state of nature, in the remotest forests; and these are too fierce and untameable to admit almost the possibility of their being broken down to country service.

The liberal disposition to improvement, at present prevalent in the court of Madrid, is not, however, confined to rural or domestic matters; it seems to reach to every thing, and to every part of their extensive dominions. The king, reflecting upon the number of ships and lives, both foreign and domestic, which were every year lost upon the coasts of the kingdom, through the want of an accurate knowledge of them, and the imperfection of the old charts, which instead of being the guides to safety, frequently led the unwary navigator into error and ruin, generously and humanely determined to remedy this evil. For the execution of this important purpose, Don Vincent Tosinode, a man of science, and who presides in the marine academies, has ever since the conclusion of the peace with England; accompanied by able assistants, been assiduously and successfully employed in surveying and



delineating the coasts of the kingdom. This is said to have been done with unexampled care and accuracy, taking in the whole coast from Cape Saint Vincent to the Streights of Gibraltar, and from thence to the Cape de Creux, on the coast of Catalonia, and including the opposite Barbary shores. There has not yet been time to publish the charts, but it is expected that they will be found a great nautical improvement, and prove a treasure to mariners.

In the same spirit, the king determined that the various accounts of the Streights of Magellan, which have been given by the navigators of different nations, should be examined and corrected. For this purpose a frigate was dispatched from Cadiz, under the conduct of Don Antonio Cordova of Lafo, who was so fortunate as in a few months fully to execute his commission. This officer brought home an accurate chart of the streights, in which all the capes, bays, promontories, and other remarkable objects on the opposite coasts, are distinctly laid down, with their longitudes, latitudes, and respective distances, ascertained by astronomical observation. With all the delays incident to this material service, and to the unequalled turbulence of that boisterous climate, they arrived in little more than five weeks from their entering the streights at Port St. Joseph, the most southern of the continent. From thence Don Antonio went in his barge to explore the chanuel of St. Barbe, which lies three leagues from that port, on the coast of the Terra del Fuego, where he found the passage which had been long conjectured, but never before ascertained, that leads into the South

Seas. After examining the western parts of the freight to the Capes Lunes and Providence, which they found to be eleven leagues distant from those called the Pillars and Victoria, he returned to Port St. Joseph. From thence the frigate returned home through the streights, having lost but two men in the course of three months which they spent in that region of eternal winter, tempests, and desolation, which had so long been the terror of mariners. It is probable that this ship was indebted for her unusual healthiness to the admirable and successful measures adopted and published by captain Cook for the preservation of his seamen.

The exertions of Spain for the improvement and increase of her naval power, have not only been unremittingly continued, but carried on with fresh vigour, and in a more extensive degree, since the conclusion of the war. This system will probably continue, so long as the French influence predominates at the court of Madrid, and the family compact retains its full vigour. This, however, ought not to cause any great alarm to those who duly weigh the temporary effect and short duration of any influence, and the fragile nature of family and all other political compacts. Money may enable princes to build or purchase great fleets, but that alone will be found very unequal to the rendering them effective, or really formidable. Bold and able seamen, with gallant and experienced officers, are treasures not to be purchased. Most of the states of Europe possess a considerable number of large and well-looking ships of war, and these exhibit a formidable appearance of artillery: yet, what figure have they ever

ever made, or would they now make, in action?

This being, however, the era of reform and improvement in Spain, she is paying an unusual degree of attention to her foreign commerce and to her colonies, (much finer and more permanent sources of naval strength) as well as to the other parts of her political œconomy. Among the instances of this attention, an East India company, under the name of the Royal Philippine, was established in the beginning of the year 1785. The capital of this company was fixed at 30 millions of livres, being something about £. 1,300,000 sterling; of which the old Caraccas company, now united with the new, furnished nine millions, the king five, the bank of Madrid, and the inhabitants of the Philippine islands, three each; the remaining ten millions were allotted into shares of a thousand livres each, and subscribed for by the public at large. The company is charged with the equipment of the merchant ships destined for Spanish America, which they are to supply with European merchandize, and to receive the products of those countries in return. A discretionary number of ships are to proceed yearly from Acapulco to the Philippines, with coined silver, corn, fruits, and such other products or commodities of Europe or America as were found to suit the market; and with these they were to purchase the goods of India and China, for the supply both of the mother country and her colonies. The company are to have a council of administration at Acapulco, another at Manilla, and a supreme one at Madrid, which is to receive the correspondence and to controul the conduct of the other

two. The king has likewise opened the ports of the Philippine islands to all nations.

This last measure seems to give some countenance to a report which has been currently spread, that the Spanish administration have for some time past had it in serious contemplation to break through that narrow system of policy, which has been so long and so unremittingly pursued, of restricting the commerce of Spanish America entirely to the mother country; and that now adopting more liberal ideas, and taking a more clear and scientific view of the nature both of trade and of colonies, they were actually digesting plans for opening a trade with foreign nations on the western coast of South America, by the constituting of three free ports in the latter; and that this design had been so far advanced, that the ports of Baldivia in Chili, of Bonaventura in New Granada, and of Cinalea in New Mexico, were those proposed for the purpose, and would probably be fixed upon. The time which has elapsed since the circulation of this report, does not serve entirely to overthrow its credibility, nor even afford any absolute demonstration that the project is now abandoned, if its former existence be admitted; as a measure of so much novelty and importance, involved in such a multitude of complicated consequences, of collateral connections and circumstances, could not but require much nicety of enquiry, as well as much previous and mature consideration.

Though the Spaniards have at all times endeavoured to cover, with a veil of impenetrable obscurity and secrecy, the state, circumstances, and transactions of their colonies in

Southern America, endeavouring, as much as it was in human power, to seclude them from all intercourse and correspondence with the rest of mankind, yet neither the penalties of laws, the industry and vigilance of power, nor the immensity of seas and deserts, can at all times prevent "the secrets of the prison house" from escaping. Most of the public prints throughout Europe have for some years abounded with accounts of dangerous rebellions, and even expected revolutions, in Peru, Chili, and other parts of South America. It has even been pretended, that a descendant of the Incas was at the head of a numerous Indian army, and making successful efforts to recover the throne, and to re-establish the empire of his ancestors.

Although the extravagance of these accounts was sufficient to destroy their credibility, even in those things that were possibly true, yet it may be gathered upon the whole, from the concurrence of circumstances which did not admit of doubt, that the Spanish dominion in South America has for some years been considerably disturbed by commotions of some sort or other. It would seem, however, in speculation (the dim lights afforded us not admitting of any clear view) that these disturbances could not have proceeded entirely, if at all, from the Indians: for, excepting the brave and unconquered nations of Chili (who are not, however, capable of carrying on a distant or regular war) we hold the Indians to be involved in too great a multitude of moral, physical, and political incapacities, to admit of their acting with that vigour and union, which could alone afford the most distant prospect of recovering their liber-

ties; and that they are too much debilitated, and have been too long broken down to the yoke, to be capable of becoming even the principals in any considerable commotion.

It is well known, that the old Spanish settlers and natives of that vast continent, have from time immemorial been exceedingly discontented with many circumstances in the government and internal administration of those countries. That, in particular, the constant disposal of all places of trust and emolument to Europeans, has long been regarded by them with the greatest jealousy and resentment, and considered as a badge of the most intolerable slavery. That the insupportable arrogance of these new comers, the haughty disdain they display, and the contemptuous insolence with which, upon every occasion, they treat the natives, would alone be sufficient to render them odious in the extreme: but when with these are reckoned their numberless other ill qualities and vices; the avarice and oppression with which they rapidly collect immense fortunes; and their hasty conveyance of them out of the country, as if its plunder had been the only object of their mission; it is not to be wondered at that such a system of oppression, rapacity, and irritation, should beget a mortal aversion to the native Spaniards, and no small dislike to the government by which such enormities were admitted.

These general causes, concurring perhaps with other local and particular ones, have undoubtedly laid the foundations of some considerable disorders and commotions in Spanish America, although the means of information are too imperfect to admit

with any exact knowledge of their nature and extent. The resistance of the British colonies, and the extraordinary revolution which it occasioned, were events, which no powers of government could prevent from coming to the knowledge of the Spanish colonists; and nobody will hold any doubt of the effects which so successful and recent an example, and coming so directly to the point with respect to themselves, was liable to produce among a discontented people. It is, however, to be observed, especially as the fact is not generally known, that some years before this example was set, the discontents in those countries ran so high, that the most tempting offers were made to the court of London for procuring her support and protection. The integrity, justice, and good neighbourhood which she displayed in rejecting that proposal, has since been shamefully returned by Spain: although some cynic at the court of Madrid might possibly deny the motive, and instead of ascribing it to honour or justice, hold out, that England was so much occupied in the scheme of changing the government of her own colonies, that she had not leisure to engage in other projects, and of all things was least disposed to encourage ideas of resistance in those of any nation.

These discontents or disturbances have, however, produced no small apparent effect upon the Spanish government with respect to the administration of their colonies; and it is said that the measures pursued upon this occasion have been no less judicious than vigorous. While large reinforcements of the best and most veteran troops of Spain have been sent out under chosen

commanders to that continent, while old fortifications have been repaired and armed, and new ones constructed, the greatest care is said to have been taken, not only in the appointment of men of the first ability to the respective governments, but that they should likewise be men of a lenient and conciliating disposition, as well as of the most disinterested character. This new system of colonial government must undoubtedly produce the happiest effects, if continued; but, notwithstanding its excellency in other respects, is said to be so expensive, particularly by the augmentation of the forces upon that establishment, as to trench deeply upon the royal revenues arising from them; a circumstance too likely to abridge its duration.

We have heretofore had occasion to take notice of the connexion and friendship which was growing up between Spain and the Porte. M. de Boligny was accordingly sent minister from the court of Madrid to Constantinople, towards the close of the year 1784, where he was received and treated with peculiar marks of distinction. Among other grand or curious presents which he delivered from the catholic king at his first audience, was a field tent of singular greatness and magnificence, which derived lustre from its former service, as well as veneration from its antiquity. It had been constructed for and used by Ferdinand the Catholic, in the pride of conquest and victory, at the camp of Occanna; it was lined with crimson velvet, richly trimmed with gold tassels and lace, and containing such numerous and spacious apartments as had been sufficient to entertain a large court: the whole surrounded with a spacious gallery.

It seemed singular enough, that this old memorial of the extermination of infidels should be now a present from Spain to an infidel power.

The double marriages which took place in the Easter season of 1785, between the royal families of Spain and Portugal, not only served to heal the jealousies and differences which had so long prevailed between these courts, and to unite the two kingdoms in the closest bonds of amity, but laid the foundation for that treaty of alliance, which, under the mediation of Spain, has since taken place between France and Portugal; and which constitutes a complete union between the latter and the Bourbon family. These marriages were between the infant Don Gabriel of Spain, and the infanta Donna Mariana Victoria, princess of Portugal, on the one side, and the infant Don Juan of Portugal, with the infanta Donna Charlotta, eldest daughter of the prince of Asturias, on the other. The infantas met at Villa Viciosa, where they were mutually received and delivered; being probably the last as well as the first opportunity of their meeting.

The patriarchal age, upwards of one hundred and ten years, to which the celebrated archbishop of Seville, the cardinal de Solis, arrived, and in the full possession of all his faculties, quickness of hearing only excepted, would in some degree have rendered his dissolution an object of historical attention, even if his admirable qualities, the goodness of his heart, and the excellency of his life, had not otherwise entitled him to that distinction. Though he had spent that long life in the continual exercise of every moral and christian virtue, yet an unbounded charity,

and an universal benevolence to mankind, were the strongly marked lines of his character. He seemed to be the natural as well as the spiritual father of the numerous flock committed to his charge; and their grateful veneration and affection for him seemed to render them worthy of the care which he bestowed. In answer to the enquiries of his particular friends as to the means which he had used for preserving health, and prolonging life to so extraordinary a period, he observed, that by being old when he was young, he found himself now young when he was old; that he had led a sober and studious, but not a lazy or sedentary life; that his diet was delicate, though sparing; that his liquors were the best wines of Xeres and La Mancha, of which he never exceeded a pint at any one meal, excepting in cold weather, when he allowed himself a third more; that he rode or walked abroad every day, except in rainy weather, when he took exercise, for a couple of hours, within doors. So far, said he, I took care for the body; "and as  
" to the mind, I endeavoured to  
" preserve it in due temper by a scrupulous obedience to the divine  
" commands, and keeping (as the  
" apostle directs) a conscience void  
" of offence towards God and man.  
" By these easy and innocent means  
" I have arrived at the age of a  
" patriarch, with less injury to my  
" health and constitution than many  
" experience at forty. I am now,  
" like the ripe corn, ready for the  
" sickle of death, and, by the mercy  
" of my Redeemer, have strong  
" hopes of being translated into  
" his granary." "Glorious old  
" age!" exclaimed the king of  
" Spain: "Would to Heaven he had  
" appointed

“ appointed a successor; for the  
 “ people of Seville have been so  
 “ long used to excellence, that they  
 “ will never be satisfied with the  
 “ best prelate I can send them.”

This excellent prelate and man was of an ancient and noble house in the province of Andalusia; and was the last surviving son of Don Antonio de Solis, historiographer to Philip the IVth, and author of that eloquent and long-admired work, the History of the Conquest of Mexico.

The reform in Portugal has not yet, in importance or magnitude, approached in any degree of proportion to that in Spain. Any attempt, however, at reform or improvement, in a country which has been so long sinking under a weak, indolent, capricious, and sometimes cruel system of government, and amongst a people immersed in pernicious, destructive, and inveterate habits, should not be estimated merely by its present benefits, but considered likewise with a view to its farther operation, and hailed as the omen of greater and happier effects; the first step being generally the greatest difficulty in such cases.

The government of that country seems, so far as we can judge, to have been very laudably administered since the accession of the present queen; and while it has maintained respect abroad, has had the good fortune to attain the esteem and affection of the people at home. The measure of improvement which we have particularly to take notice of, relates to the police, to the due administration of criminal justice, and to a strict infliction of the law in all cases of an atrocious nature, particularly with respect to great offenders. In no other country in

Europe were so great a number of idle vagabonds suffered to loiter about the streets, and to infect the towns, as in Portugal; and these wretches having no apparent means of obtaining a livelihood, excepting the casual and insufficient resources of charity, were of necessity the pests of society, and spent their lives in watching opportunities for the commission of every species of villainy. In few civilized countries, likewise, had the abominable crime of assassination been refined so much into a system, and carried to so glaring and daring a pitch of enormity; and this not so much from any defect in the laws, as from the impunity which the great and their dependents derived, through the ease, if not certainty, with which pardons were procured by rank and influence. This could not but slacken the nerves of justice with respect to the other classes of the people; as it would have appeared too barefaced and shameless a mockery of it, to pursue small delinquents to the utmost extremity, for those crimes which were passed over without account in their superiors.

The queen seized the opportunity afforded by an assassination, which was attended with circumstances of the most atrocious nature, and where interest and power seemed to have the most certain prospect of procuring their usual impunity, not only resolutely to resist and positively to reject all solicitations for a pardon, but at the same time to make a public declaration, that she never would, in any instance, whatever the rank or quality of the offender might be, grant a pardon to any person guilty of a premeditated murder. Never did

any act of wisdom or justice produce a more speedy or more happy effect. Assassination is now no longer heard of; and it may well be hoped that the very passions which gave birth to it will in a great measure wear away, since they are cut off from their ultimate gratification.

This opening to reform and good government was succeeded by the excellent measure of taking up and providing for the idle and vicious, who had no visible means of living, wherever they were found in every part of the kingdom. These vagabonds were either remitted to their respective countries, under such regulations and means of coercion, as would compel them to become useful by a close application to the labours of husbandry, or were taken immediately into the hands of government, and being provided with due provisions and necessaries as its charge, were applied under its inspection to such works as were suited to their respective ability.

Some considerable attempts have likewise been made for the improvement of agriculture, and the introduction of a better system of cultivation among the farmers in Portugal. The immense sums of money sent every year into Spain for corn, and the constant drain upon the specie of the country by other nations for the same article, strongly urged the necessity of endeavouring at least to lessen the evil, by increasing the home production of grain. It is, however, generally vain to war against the decrees of nature. Portugal, like other countries, has its peculiar products, but neither the soil or climate seem capable of admitting any great and essential improvements in agricul-

ture. The former is generally too thin and light for the production of grain in any degree that would repay the labour and expence of the husbandman, while the great heats and long droughts would frequently check the progress of vegetation in the bud, were the soil even deeper and better. Some neglected vallies have indeed been discovered, which had hitherto escaped culture, and which being coated with a thicker if not better mould, and accordingly resisting the heat more, and retaining their moisture longer than common, have answered kindly to the plough, and produced such crops as were sufficient to excite hope and admiration in a country generally sterile of grain. But it is too much to be apprehended, that the quantity of such valuable soil to be discovered in the kingdom, will not be sufficient to produce any very material change in the general product: the addition of a few hundred acres of new fertile ground is a small matter indeed with respect to the supply of a nation. These attempts, however, at improvements in agriculture, gave occasion to a report, which was generally spread and credited, that it had been either in contemplation or act to make a great reduction of the vineyards in Portugal, and to convert the soil into arable land. This measure might perhaps have been desirable if it had been practicable; but the misfortune is, that the land covered with vines in that rocky and mountainous country, is seldom fit for the growing of corn, and would not probably have turned out so profitably under any other mode of culture as it does under the present, which seems to be that suited to its nature. Indeed, if the un-

wearied

wearied industry, which once made the mountains of Grenada smile in unexampled verdure, and beauty under the cultivation of the unfortunate Moors, could be transferred to Portugal, some hopes might be entertained, notwithstanding the inferiority of the country in soil and climate, of being thereby able to supply the defects of nature. As things really are, she must continue to exchange her native products for those which she wants from other nations; and if these are not equivalent to a full supply, fortune has abundantly supplied her with other means, by those inexhaustible sources of gold and diamonds with which she has so liberally endowed her in the new world.

The late intimacy and friendship grown up with Spain, and the new alliances concluded with that kingdom and France, are likely for some time to insure ease and security to the government of Portugal. The political wisdom of drawing the ties still firmer with the former, by the double marriages which have taken place, may, however, be well called in question; for it may be laid down as a political axiom of the greatest weight and importance, that nothing can be more dangerous to the safety and independence of a weaker state, than the entering into any ties of affinity with a near neighbour, who is much its superior in power. The weaker state, for the present sunshine of a transitory summer, frequently entails upon itself all the rigours of a long, severe, and perhaps eternal winter. Portugal has already, by undergoing a degree of ruin from which she can never entirely recover, most deplorably experienced the truth of this position. Spain

herself can attest its truth. Neither oaths nor treaties could save her from falling into the hands of the house of Bourbon; from being for a long course of years subjected to all the calamities of foreign and civil wars raging in her very bowels; and from her being at length sacrificed to interests inimical to her own, and rendered the standing dupe of foreign councils. How dearly has Courland paid for the honour of a May-day wedding with a daughter of Peter the Great? But every part of history abounds with such instances, and there are few countries that cannot shew present examples of them. If the stronger state has any old claims (as in the present case) which only lie dormant through the want of a proper opportunity for enforcing them, then the new connection of affinity is the more imprudent, and becomes the more dangerous in its consequences. Every minority, every weak administration, every change of succession, every public loss, and every discontent of the people, will afford a colour or pretence for the fatal interference of the greater power. But the misfortune is, that sovereigns, acting merely like private persons in the disposal of their children, look no farther than to their immediate family interests and satisfaction, while they entirely overlook the security and prosperity of the people whom they govern, and to whom they owe every thing. In no country could an error of this nature be more dangerous than in Portugal; as the animosity between that people and the Spaniards is so extreme and incurable, that no union of government can take place between them, in which the dependent nation must not be reduced

to



to extreme misery, and to the most abject state of degradation.

It seems that the preposterous marriages between uncles and nieces, nephews and aunts, which so peculiarly distinguished the royal line of Portugal, and which custom had rendered too familiar, began at length to threaten the extinction of the house of Braganza, through the failure of issue to which these marriages were so naturally liable; and this alarming consideration, along with the desire of cancelling all past jealousies, and cementing friendship and good neighbourhood with Spain, were the motives which led to the measure in question. For the marriage between the prince of Brazil and his aunt, not having hitherto proved propitious, and the prospect of issue from it being now probably hopeless, it became necessary that his brother Don Juan should in time procure a wife that seemed capable of supplying that defect.

Italy has suffered the hard fortune of late years, of being more distinguished by volcanoes, earthquakes, and the calamities incident to those awful and destructive phenomena of nature, than by those great actions, or those splendid exertions of talents and science, which have in such early ages, and at such remote periods, either exhibited her as the scourge and terror, or as the instructress, civilizer, and admiration of mankind. She is not, however, even at the present day, destitute of science, philosophy, or of learned men, who, dedicating their time and labours to the most useful studies and beneficial pursuits, afford honourable testimonies that her ancient genius is by no means extinguished; and that whatever, in the vicissitudes of fashion, disposition,

and things, she may have lost in the practical arts, has been amply supplied in other respects not less useful.

It was little to be expected that the present degradation of the papacy, and that unexampled loss of power and resource which the court of Rome has within less than an age sustained, should have been dignified by a public labour of such magnitude and utility, as would have done honour to ancient Rome in the days of her pride and glory. The present pontiff, Pius the VIth, has, however, determined to render his name and age memorable, by gallantly undertaking, and bravely persevering in the Herculean task of draining the Pontine marshes; an undertaking the more meritorious, and indeed glorious, as several of his predecessors, as well as of the western emperors, had already failed in the attempt; which had accordingly been long considered as hopeless.

The pope has been engaged for some years, with unwearied perseverance, and at an immense expence, in the prosecution of this design; and the success with which it has already been attended, seems to warrant an assurance that it will not be abandoned. It is, however, to be wished, that the man who had courage and generosity, so late in life, to venture upon so great an undertaking, and nobly to apply his wealth to the present and future benefit of mankind, may have the pleasure of seeing its accomplishment, and of reaping, without diminution, that glory which he so amply merits. The Appian Way, which had for so many ages been lost, and buried under a deep morass, has at length been recovered, cleared,

ed, repaired, and will soon be rendered passable, houses being already built for the convenience of travellers, and facility of commerce, and a time fixed for the post to pass that way. But these are only a small part of the benefits to be derived from this admirable improvement. Besides recovering a large tract of fertile land to the use of the public, which has so long been only the noisome source of stench and pestilential exhalations, and greatly adorning and beautifying the face of the country, it will in time have the happy effect of contributing greatly to purify the air, and of tending to prevent those dangerous and fatal disorders, which, as regularly as the season, every summer infest for many miles the environs of Rome. It will likewise tend more remotely to a similar draining and improvement of the Campania in general, and of rendering it again the seat of population and culture, if not of beauty, which it was in the hands of the ancient Romans. Upon the whole it will, if completed, be a work truly royal, and worthy the emulation of kings!

Some differences which subsisted between the courts of Naples and Madrid, originating entirely in private and family matters and jealousies, and seeming now to be entirely done away, do not require any particular notice. The young king felt and displayed the right he had to an emancipation from direction, and to think and act as an independent sovereign, sooner than was probably wished or expected; nor does he perhaps pay all that regard to foreign views and interests, which those grown old in system, and habituated to a certain political creed, from which no de-

viation was to be admitted, might think absolutely necessary. That increase of courage, force, and depredation, which has of late so eminently and dangerously distinguished the piratical states of Barbary, and so greatly and justly alarmed all the christian nations bordering on the Mediterranean, has occasioned the king of Naples to pay an attention to the forming of a marine force, which had not been before known in this newly-revived monarchy, although so peculiarly demanded by its situation.

The Neapolitans can now boast more than one ship of the line, of their own construction, besides several good frigates, and a considerable force in gallees, and the other vessels peculiar to that sea; and can farther boast of having behaved with distinguished courage, and acquiring no small honour in the late attacks made by Spain upon Algiers. The king seems himself to have a peculiar disposition to naval affairs, which may be gathered not only from the marked distinction with which he has constantly treated those British commanders of royal ships or squadrons that have arrived in the bay of Naples, but from the curious attention with which he examined the construction and manner of working of their vessels, and the evident pleasure with which he has regarded their various evolutions.

We have heretofore had occasion more than once to pay due praise to the grand duke of Tuscany, for the many excellent regulations which he had introduced into the government of that dutchy, with respect to the administration both of ecclesiastical and secular affairs; and have particularly applauded the reforms which he had made in the dispensa-

dispensation of civil and criminal justice, and the mitigation of penal punishments. This disposition continues with unabating, and, perhaps, increasing force; and there is no disposition which requires a more cautious guard or constant check upon it, than that which leads to reform, for it easily and imperceptibly grows into a passion for innovation; becomes capricious or cruel, as circumstance or opposition, the infirmity of nature, or obstinacy of age, may chance to give it a bias; will at length sacrifice the inherent rights, or dearest feelings of mankind, to the petty gratification of rounding a system, or the hope of framing some clockwork establishment of things, which their nature forbids to exist; and thus may end in the most absolute and deplorable tyranny of mind and body.

The failure of so many of his brother, the emperor's, multifarious projects, and the ill-will and ridicule of which a much greater number were so abundantly productive, and particularly the opposition made by that part of his subjects, which had been the longest inured to hereditary despotism, to the edict for consuming the dead bodies of their friends in lime, and which, notwithstanding his vast power, and a perseverance, which is supposed to be closely allied to obstinacy, he found it necessary to recal, might have afforded sufficient warning to the grand duke, not to be too hasty in violating the common feelings, and general opinions, or even prejudices of mankind.

Yet, without regard to these considerations or examples, the inhabitants of the ancient and beautiful city of Florence are compelled eternally to resign the dead bodies of

their dearest friends, within a short limited term after their decease, without any distinction of age, sex, beauty, rank, or quality, into the rude and vulgar hands of that lowest class of mankind, who could alone be found to submit to so odious an employment. All the circumstances relative to this disposal of the dead, are odious and horrid in the extreme. A machine, upon the construction of a waggon, and large enough to contain all the dead of the city, calls about midnight; the body must be delivered stark naked, and is thrown headlong into this common receptacle, amidst the carcases of all sorts, and in all states of distemper, which it already holds; so that the grave is not necessary in this instance to level all distinction: the friends and relations can neither see, hear, or know any thing farther of the loved husband, wife, child, or parent. The horrid waggon is driven in the dark to a walled cemetery, at a few miles distance, where the bodies are thrown promiscuously into one common grave: the thief, the murderer, and those whose bodies are already putrid with the most loathsome distempers, being thus indiscriminately blended with learning, virtue, courage, the unspotted matron of high rank, and the modest delicate virgin, whose opening beauties seem yet scarcely faded.

Such an outrage upon all the feelings and habits of humanity, upon those mournful duties and attentions to the remains of the deceased, which time and piety had rendered sacred in almost all ages and countries, to the laws of decorum and decency, and to the delicacy of the softer sex, has seldom been attempted. The dreadful enor-

mities

inities to which the bodies may in some cases be subjected, under the ruffianly hands to which they are committed, will be felt by those who know the profligacy of mankind.

It needs scarcely to be mentioned, that this regulation, if it deserves so gentle a name, has excited the utmost disgust and horror in the inhabitants of Florence and its environs; particularly those of the superior orders. It is said that the nobility have abandoned their beautiful villas, whether in sight of the cemetery, or in the neighbourhood of the road through which the horrible night-waggon takes its staid course. Pasquinades, epigrams, and bitter private complaints and reflections, afford the only vent which the people have yet found for their indignation and grief. In this state of vexation, the measure in question

has been severely attributed to the arbitrary levelling disposition of the house of Austria, who wishing to establish European government upon what is commonly but erroneously supposed the Asiatic model and principle, would wish to destroy all the usual distinctions among men, and to reduce them to the simple condition of sovereigns and slaves. It is indeed to be regretted, that the grand duke, who in other respects has done much to the satisfaction and for the good of his subjects, and thereby gained their affection in a very considerable degree, should thus have hazarded his well-earned popularity, by hastily adopting a project so evidently repugnant to general opinion, and which carried with it the appearance of invading the common rights, and wantonly sporting with the tenderest feelings of mankind.

C H A P. III.

*Retrospective view continued. Venice. War with Tunis. Germany. Disappointment in the Emperor's commercial views. Failure of the Asiatic company. A crown and regalia of Hungary removed from Presburg to Vienna. Archduke Maximilian succeeds to the electorate of Cologne. Admirable improvements in the ecclesiastical electorates. Pastoral letter from the elector of Trier. Death of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. Turkey. New prophet. Some account of the Sheikh Mansour. Porte obliged to procure a peace for the Emperor's subjects with the Barbary states. Persian physician constructs a balloon at Constantinople, and ascends successfully into the air, with two others, in the presence of the court and city. Nobly rewarded by the Grand Signior. Proffered services of a celebrated aeronaut, about the same time rejected by the Emperor and the king of Prussia. All attempts of the sort forbidden in the Russian empire. Denmark. Prince Royal, displaying uncommon early abilities, is declared major. Unexpected revolution in the ministry, and wisdom with which it was conducted. New council or administration formed under the auspices of the prince. Queen Dowager presented with the royal castle of Frederickburgh, in Holstein, to which she retires. Prince supports with lustre the early hopes formed of his talents and virtues. Becomes the encourager of literature, and patron of learned men. Liberal and successful attempts*

to recover the antiquities, and to procure materials for establishing the history of the northern nations. Succession of irregular seasons, with violent shocks of the earth, extraordinary commotions in the heavens, and other natural evils, produce great calamities to mankind in various parts of the world. Pestilence desolates the coasts of the Levant with unexampled malignity. Failure of harvests in Europe. Many parts of Italy, Hungary, Germany, and France desolated through the inundations of their great rivers. Prince Leopold of Brunswick unfortunately perishes in the Oder. Famine and distresses of every kind prevail in the northern kingdoms. Russia refuses the stipulated supply of grain to Sweden from Livonia, which increases the calamity of that country. Complicated distresses of Norway. Unexampled destruction, and calamity of Iceland.

**T**HE republic of Venice seems for some time past to have been rather departing from that quiescent and pacific system, which has been so peculiarly her characteristic since the beginning of the present century. Besides her late quarrel with the Dutch, which, considering the extreme obstinacy, and a sort of sisterly captiousness and jealousy which appeared in both the parties, would not have been easily qualified, if the ill humour of one had not been suddenly arrested by immediate and imminent danger, she has ever since been engaged in an expensive and unprofitable maritime war with the regency of Tunis. We do not recollect that the occasions for this war were greater, or the offences given of a deeper dye, than those which usually occur in transactions with the African states. The Venetian fleet have, however, repeatedly insulted the coasts of that kingdom, have cannonaded and bombarded, with less or greater effect, several of the Tunisian ports or maritime fortresses, and have particularly succeeded in destroying the defences of Sfax, and laying the town in ashes.

Although from that commercial disposition which so singularly distinguishes the state of Tunis, a war of this nature is infinitely more pre-

judicial to it than it would to any other of the Barbary powers, yet the obstinacy of the dey has hitherto appeared unconquerable. He had laid it down at the beginning, as a principle never to be departed from, that a full indemnification, on the side of Venice, for all the expences he had been put to in arming and defence, and every loss which he or his subjects sustained in the war, should be the *sine qua non*, the leading preliminary to a peace; and without which no terms of accommodation can ever be received or listened to. To this resolution he has adhered with the utmost inflexibility; and the republic is in the strange situation, that every success the gains only serves to render the conclusion of peace the more impracticable. Their admiral Emo has, however, gained considerable credit and applause by his conduct and exertions, and their marine some reputation and experience in this war. Perhaps the old lion of St. Mark is only whetting his claws and trying his strength in small adventure, in order to prepare himself for some harder and greater encounter, which he foresees the probable occasion for in that quarter of Europe. It is indeed probable, considering the æconomical disposition of the republic, that the war

war with Tunis is only a pretext for keeping up a considerable naval armament.

While the commercial state of Venice is addressing itself to arms, the emperor has already experienced that disappointment in his commercial schemes, to which those are liable who attempt to over-rule or counteract the designs of nature, in that distribution which she has thought fit to make of advantage or incommodity to the various situations of mankind. This disappointment was the more sensibly felt, as it affected that favourite and captivating part of his projects, which was to render the remote tails or outskirts of his widely extended continental dominions, the sources of a great and productive commerce with the eastern world. The Asiatic company of Ostend and Trieste, which had been so much the favourite object of his nurture, care and hope, and which probably afforded a leading motive for his quarrel with Holland, and attempt of opening the Scheldt, became bankrupt for the heavy sum of twenty millions of French livres, early in the summer of 1785. This heavy blow, which severely affected the whole rising commerce of the Austrian Netherlands, and the monied men in other parts of his dominions, as well as foreigners, was said to have been accelerated by the spirit of some Dutch merchants, whose indignation being excited at the unjust claims which they conceived that prince was making upon their country, procured, as a measure of retaliation, bills for a great amount to be drawn upon the Asiatic company from Paris; and these being unexpectedly presented, and, in the usual mercantile manner, protested

for non-payment, this excited so great and sudden an alarm among the other creditors, that the Count de Preli, the principal or ostensible director, was obliged to abscond, and the whole commercial fabric fell at once to the ground. It was not, however, now necessary to establish the axiom, that commerce, at least in her nonage, must walk slowly and regularly, with peace in one hand, and with justice in the other, if she expects to grow or to flourish; and that unbridled power, immense standing armies, views of conquest, and rapacious violations of good faith and neighbourhood, are utterly incompatible with her prosperity, whose arts are all of the conciliatory kind.

Nor does it seem that the emperor has been much more fortunate in his other commercial projects than in his East India adventure. Even the new trade of the Danube and Black Sea, from which such wonders had been expected, and which had been so hardly wrested from the Porte in the hour of distress and danger, is said to have hitherto afforded little more than disappointment and loss; nor is the commerce of the Adriatic represented as being much more productive. In the mean time, the internal commerce of his dominions, which is naturally very great and productive, and capable of prodigious improvement, is disturbed and overlaid by that infinite series of edicts and regulations, which frequently militating with each other, as well as with all the principles of trade, are destructive of that quiet, stability, and power of free agency, which are essential to its existence; and which, if they do not prove ruinous to those already concerned, will at least

least deter others from hazarding their property upon such quicksand foundations. Among these are to be reckoned those heavy duties, amounting, in effect to prohibitions, which were laid upon various English manufactures, particularly those of iron and steel, which, from their extravagance, and the failure of considering or understanding their certain or probable consequences, carried their own overthrow along with them, and have accordingly been since either abolished or modified. This has, however, been considered rather as a political measure, than a mere act of commercial regulation, and attributed to the resentment excited by the king of Great Britain's accession, as elector of Hanover, to the Germanic league, which was an object of so much jealousy and vexation to the court of Vienna.

Of the numerous innovations which are said to have occasioned so much disgust and dissatisfaction among the Hungarians, few could seem better calculated for that purpose, especially to a proud, fierce and superstitious people, violently attached to their old manners and habits, and still vain of a liberty and glory which have been long defunct, than the measure adopted by the emperor in the year 1784, of removing their ancient crown and regalia from Presburgh to Vienna. The crown was fortified with all those sanctions, which in past ages could render it the supposed palladium of a country. It had been a present so long ago as the year 1000, from Pope Sylvester the II<sup>d</sup> to St. Stephen, then king of Hungary; so that all the reverence of sanctity was added to that communicated by time. The crown was of pure and solid gold, and, to stamp the greater value on it, it was

made after the fashion of that worn by the Greek emperors; it was adorned with an emerald of great size, and several hundreds of rubies, sapphires and pearls; besides being ornamented with images of the apostles and patriarchs in massy gold. The pope added to the crown a donation of a large silver cross, which was afterwards inserted in the arms of Hungary, and afforded an opportunity to its kings to assume the title of *Apostolic*; a title latterly revived and assumed by the late Maria Theresa; who was crowned queen of Hungary with this regalia at Presburgh, in the days of her greatest tribulation. These, with the sceptre and globe of the kingdom, which boasted, besides their antiquity, being made of pure Arabian gold, a magnificent two-edged sword, and a curious mantle for coronations, richly wrought in gold with figures, images, and inscriptions, by Gisele, the celebrated consort of St. Stephen, were all carried away to Vienna.

It seemed rather a wanton sporting with the feelings of such a people, to deprive them of these vestiges of lost royalty, and harmless objects of national pride. If it was any relief or gratification to a people, bending under the irksome weight of a foreign yoke, to see that their masters were once in their lives under a necessity of visiting them, and of receiving the insignia of royalty and government at their hands, why should they not be indulged in so innocent a gratification? Nor is the necessity of such observances, however trivial they may appear, entirely unimportant to a people, as they are symbols of their connection with the governing power, and serve occasionally to remind it

it of its duties. Feeble ties indeed! but what ties are strong to controul the extravagancies of power? All we can do is to supply with number the deficiency of strength, and to hope that those lesser ones may operate on the imagination, where the greater sanctions fail to lay hold upon the levity, or to subdue the viciousness of our nature. The spirits of the Hungarians have been too much broken, and the measures of late years pursued to make them degenerate from their antient character, have been too successful, for this or any other measure to produce any much greater effect than that of private murmur. Indeed, what spirits could remain unbroken, under the controul of a standing army of 300,000 men?

The Arch Duke Maximilian's accession to the electorate of Cologne, and to its great appendage the sovereign bishopric of Munster, (which forms so potent a principality in itself) upon the death of the late elector, in 1784, was no novelty in the affairs of Germany, as being a matter already settled by his previous election to the coadjutorship; an election which we may remember had been warmly, and with much strength of reasoning and political judgment, opposed by the king of Prussia; though the superiority of the Austrian interest rendered his arguments and interposition ineffectual. This prince has hitherto taken no apparent part in the general politics of Germany; and by the attention he pays to the government of his electorate, and the good of his subjects, has already acquired their affection, as well as the esteem of his neighbours, in a very considerable degree; and which a wise and munificent disposal of his

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great and princely revenues (to which his inclination is said to lead him) will effectually secure.

The extraordinary change which has taken place in the circumstances of the three ecclesiastical electorates, within less than an age, whether considered with regard to improvements in civil or ecclesiastical government, to the wearing-off of prejudices, the extension of religious toleration, to the introduction of a judicious system of education, the establishment of public schools, and the encouragement given to learning, and the cultivation of the arts and sciences among the superior classes of the people, is in every respect truly surprising; and will be considered as the more admirable, under the reflection that these great improvements are not the effect of any religious or political revolution, of any change in the order or nature of government, nor of any foreign or domestic violence upon the disposition either of princes or people.

A pastoral letter, which was issued in the year 1784, by the elector and archbishop of Trier to his clergy, will serve considerably to illustrate this observation, and is the more remarkable, as that prince (who is of the house of Saxony) is considered as being peculiarly attached to the tenets of that church of which he is so considerable a member; and that the outward marks of his zeal in that respect have gone much beyond any that have been displayed by his brethren of Mentz and Cologne.

This curious pastoral letter will, however, speak for him and for itself. After stating to his clergy the objects which they should have in view, and the conduct which they should

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should



should observe in the discharge of those sacred functions to which they are assigned; he dwells particularly upon the instructions which they should give to the people on religious subjects; and strictly charges the rectors to confine themselves in their sermons to morality, and to the practical duties of a virtuous life, which all may understand and profit by, instead of entering into abstruse questions and theological disquisitions, which, beyond the capacity of most of their auditors, serve only to excite troublesome or dangerous doubts, and to diffuse an idle spirit of disputation, which frequently tends to the treating of the most delicate or sacred subjects with irreverence. He then strictly prescribes that all luxury should be banished from the churches: observing (rather in the sentiments of a presbyter of a reformed church, than the language of a Roman Catholic prince and prelate) "That neatness and decency are all that are befitting the House of the Lord:" that, on days of ceremony, worldly magnificence should be avoided, the effect of which was to excite more of curiosity than of devotion; and forbids that the music of the theatres should ever be brought into the churches. He enjoins the pastors to use their utmost endeavours to undeceive and to wean the people from their present absurd notions and prejudices, concerning wizards, phantoms, spells, and raising the devil, all of which are the offspring of the grossest folly and ignorance; that they shall discharge to their flocks the respective functions of fathers, judges, and spiritual physicians; that they should visit them frequently; and that they should never, except in cases of absolute necessity, send

substitutes to supply their own place among the poor, who are those that stand most in need of consolation and assistance.

It should not be forgotten here, that the Elector of Mentz has commenced a reform of the ecclesiastical orders in his dominion; that he has already obtained the consent of the pope for the suppression of three monasteries, and has applied their revenues to the support of the university, and to the use of some of the new schools, which, upon the plan of an improved system of education, have been instituted and most liberally endowed by himself. It may likewise be a matter of some curiosity to take notice, that the Bible, in the language of the country, is frequently to be met with in the hands of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of that electorate; and that the clergy have for several years permitted it to be read, under some very moderate restrictions with respect to the age and qualifications of the parties applying.

We now return to affairs merely political. The sudden death of the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, which happened on the last of October 1785, was not capable of producing any immediate effect on the public state of Germany; his eldest son, William, count of Hanau, who was then turned of forty years of age, succeeding of course in his possessions. The late landgrave had, during his father's life-time, and so long ago as the year 1754, departed so far from the religious principles of his ancestors, as to enter into the Roman Catholic communion; which, however, producing no change in the state of the government, nor in the condition or persuasion of his subjects, was to be considered merely

ly as a private transaction. It is well known that he had lived for many years upon very ill terms with the princess Mary, his consort, who was a daughter of England; and he is said to have been much disposed to French interests and politics, although the love of money induced him to hire his troops to England in the American war. The political sentiments of the present landgrave are said to be directly the reverse of those held by his father; and as he is closely allied in blood, so he is said to be no less attached by disposition to the interests of the reigning family of Great Britain. The vast sums of money which that country and family have drawn from England through the course of the late war, together with the very large pecuniary legacies which have been since willed to the latter by the princess Amelia, seem to afford them the means, along with the military turn of the people, the arbitrary nature of the government, and their large hereditary possessions, of becoming very potent in Germany; and it may well be presumed, will have no small effect in supporting their claim to the ninth electorate; a business which lies so long dormant, through the clashing of the great political interests that divide the empire.

The springing up of a new prophet in the Upper Asia (an instance of ambition under a different character) might, at certain periods, have been considered as the indication of some extraordinary revolution in the Eastern world. But the general disposition of things in the present day is far from being favourable to the growth, in any great degree, of such impostures; and even in those regions which seemed

at all times to have been peculiarly adapted by nature or circumstance to the production of fanatical enthusiasm, checks and difficulties now occur, which prevent the former dangerous and wonderful effects from taking place.

The Sheich Mansour pretended that he was pre-destined by the eternal and immutable decrees of Heaven to fill up the measure of divine revelation to mankind; that as he was the last prophet that ever was to appear, so he was to close up and to affix the seal to the ordinances of Providence; that he was not sent to subvert the institutes and doctrine of Mahomet, whose mission was equally divine with his own, but to restore them to their original purity, with such additions and alterations as the present state of things rendered necessary; that the fore-known corruptions of mankind, and of the text and doctrines of Mahomet, had occasioned his being pre-destined from the beginning to this great and important office. As the reform of mankind was to be now general and complete, and that the obstinacy of many infidels was too incorrigible to be wrought upon by persuasion, or even by miracle, so, in imitation of his great prototype, he assumed the use of the sword, as well as of the spirit, for the accomplishment of that great work.

It was at first given out that it was his object entirely to overthrow the doctrine of Mahomet, and to erect a new edifice upon its ruins; and that, representing the mission of that prophet as completed, and his power and authority in the government of this world as expired, he had forbidden the pilgrimages to Mecca, and all acts of devotion to him, as unlawful. But these ac-

counts do not accord with subsequent well-supported circumstances; and it seems probable that he only pretended that his new mission was intended to reform the doctrines, and to supply the deficiencies of the former, with such additions as the present state of mankind required, and the new lights communicated to him prescribed; but at the same time assuming greater powers, as the last prophet, than had been communicated to the former, or to any other; for it is to be remembered that the scriptures, especially the old, form much of the groundwork for all Mahometan reformers and prophets. It is also probable that the impostor's doctrines and pretensions varied according to circumstances, the effect which he found they produced, and the condition or temper of his hearers; that the language which he held with the Turkish theologians was probably very different from that used to his barbarous followers; and that, even among them, great mysteries were reserved for the chosen few.

The wide and desolate regions bordering on the Caspian sea were for various causes, particularly their remoteness, the diversity and weakness of their governments, with the ignorance and superstition of the people, the best chosen scene for the new prophet's exhibition that perhaps the world in the present day could have afforded. He had accordingly made a considerable progress in his undertaking before he was heard of at Constantinople, and then he was represented as being already at the head of a multitude of armed enthusiasts, and that he intended nothing less than the subversion of the established religion.

In the present convulsed and disordered state of the empire this intelligence could not but cause much alarm to the Porte; they were not ignorant of the effect which a pretended revelation from heaven might produce in countries so prone to religious delusion; and they knew that the restless temper of these barbarous nations rendered them at all times ready to follow any leader, without even the presence of religion, who held out prospects of war and spoil to them. The innumerable sects into which the Mahometan religion is split, and the extraordinary opinions held by many of them, seemed likewise to open the way for any bold innovator, who pretended to new lights, and an extraordinary sanctity, to accomplish a dangerous revolution.

Orders were accordingly dispatched to the Turkish commanders in Armenia and the adjoining countries, to be studiously upon their guard against the designs of the impostor; and at the same time that they narrowly watched his motions and conduct, and endeavoured to penetrate into his real character and designs, to abstain from any wanton outrage against him or his followers. Turkish divines and theologians were likewise commissioned to confer with him, to enquire into his religious opinions, and particularly into the objects of his pretended mission. The remoteness of the scene, with the difficulties of communication, and of obtaining intelligence in these waste and wide countries, whose limits are scarcely known by their immediate rulers, occasioned long anxious expectation at Constantinople for the result of these enquiries. It however at length appeared, that the prophet had

had given full satisfaction to the deputed divines on the subject of religion, and the orthodoxy of his principles; but what was of infinitely more importance than his religious tenets, it was at the same time discovered, that all the military fury of his zeal was directed against the Christians; they being the infidels, whose conversion being hopeless, rendered their extermination necessary.

This intelligence was soon farther confirmed, by the new saint's commencing, at the head of his followers, a fierce war against the Georgians; and they being allied with the Russians; and his enmity being directed equally against all Christians, this original object of alarm soon became an useful instrument of the Turkish government. For he founded the alarm among the Lessghis, and all the other nations of Caucasian Tartars (who have in all ages been among the fiercest, bravest, and most independent of mankind) of the danger to which their religion and liberties were exposed, through the power and near approach of the Russians; and thus contributed to the forming of a general combination against them, at a time when the Porte, from the critical situation of her affairs, however dangerous and fatal she knew their progress in that quarter would be to her interests and safety, could not venture to make any direct opposition to their designs.

Among the other extraordinary concessions which the emperor extorted from the Porte, not as the price of his friendship (for that was not even pretended) but merely of his present quiescence, none could be more singular in the conception,

or extravagantly unreasonable and unjust in the demand, than that of his requiring payment at Constantinople for the losses which his subjects had sustained from the piracies of the Barbary states, together with the restoration of the captives; and a peremptory requisition that they should in future be entirely freed from their depredations. It was in vain shewn that the grand signior held no such authority at present over those states as could in any degree enable him to restrain their piracies, or even warrant his making such a demand upon them; that he was not in a condition to compel them to any measures which were contrary to their own interests or likings; but that, if it had been otherwise, it would be as contrary to justice as to reason, that, having no complaint against them himself, he should enter into such a war on the account of another; that the idea of his being answerable for their piracies, and making good the losses sustained by them, was so extravagant in its nature, that it could scarcely be supposed it was seriously adopted.

The arrogance of power on the one side, and a fearful sense of it on the other, could not but produce humiliating effects. The Barbary states have, of late years, shaken off almost every appearance of dependence on the Porte, (nor was that at any time so perfect as to restrain their piracies) and the Algerines not long since refused, with the greatest insolence, to pay a small customary tribute upon the accession of a new dey. Yet the grand signior found himself under the necessity of suing to his old vassals to afford that security to the emperor's new commerce at Trieste and

Fiume, (who had not a single ship or frigate of war for its protection) which the old trading powers of the Mediterranean, possessed of considerable naval force, cannot procure for themselves. It cannot be doubted that some respect for past dignity, a regard to the general interests and security of the Mahometan religion, with a consideration of the shaken and critical state of the Ottoman empire, were the motives that operated with the piratical states of Barbary in granting a peace to the emperor's subjects.

We have before taken notice of the progress which arts and general knowledge are making in Constantinople, and that the grand signior had himself ordered the erection of printing-presses. He has since gone farther, and has ordered editions of the Ottonian History, and of several useful and valuable works, to be printed at his own expence.

It was not, however, to be expected, that the new experiments and physical discoveries with respect to air, and the means of human conveyance through it, should have yet reached that capital, which had so long been wrapped in the seemingly impenetrable gloom of indolence and ignorance, and where a stupid pride shut out the means of information, and seemed even to seal up the sources of curiosity. It was as little to be expected, that whenever such knowledge was communicated, or its effect displayed, the artist or adventurer should not have been a native of the Western world.

But, contrary to all speculation on that subject, a Persian physician had the honour to be the first aeronaut, who not only attempted but successfully accomplished the pur-

pose of ascending into the regions of the clouds at Constantinople. Though this Eastern philosopher, undoubtedly, derived his knowledge from the numberless experiments made in France and England, yet, considering the frequent failures which occurred in both, and the great expence which constantly attends these projects, the facility with which he constructed and filled with gas, or air, a balloon of great size, without subscription or support of any kind, is not a little surprizing. His ingenuity and courage were, however, amply rewarded in the event. In the presence of the grand signior and his principal officers, he, accompanied with two gentlemen of the court, ascended into the air from the grand terrace, which had been elegantly decorated for the purpose. They had previously paid their respects personally to the sultan, who presented each of them with a rich pelice, which they triumphantly wore in the ascent. Nothing could be more flattering to the aeronauts, or more magnificent, than the sight which they had to contemplate; all the inhabitants of that imperial city gazing and lost in admiration, and the forbidden beautiful gardens of the seraglio open to view, and filled with the sultanas and ladies in their richest habits. They passed over into Asia, and came prosperously to ground at about 30 leagues distance from the capital, after surveying one of the most beautiful and most delightful countries in the universe. After a knowledge of the terrors which the sight of balloons have impressed on the minds of the people in the philosophical countries of England and France, we may form some idea of the effect which this produced on the

the Asiatic side of the Hellespont, at such a distance from the capital. But the Mahometans were struck with peculiar and inexpressible dread and horror, under the supposition that their prophet was coming to take vengeance for their manifold offences. In this terror they prostrated themselves every where upon the earth; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the aeronauts could so far undeceive a few of the most sensible and courageous, as to procure assistance for securing the balloon. The aeronauts were treated with the greatest marks of distinction and honour upon their return to court, and most nobly rewarded; particularly the Persian physician, by the grand signior; who likewise ordered the balloon to be hung up in the church of St. Sophia as a perpetual memorial of so wonderful an event.

At the same time that this adventure excited so much pleasure, and was so amply rewarded at Constantinople, such is the difference of taste and opinion, that the proffered exertions of one of the most eminent aerial voyagers were rejected by the emperor of Germany and the Prussian monarch; and all attempts of the kind were absolutely forbidden by the empress of Russia in any part of her dominions. The refusal of these great princes was founded on the inutility of the discovery, and the fatal consequences to which these voyages were liable, and with which they had already been attended. The great expence which they occasioned, and the loss of time and idleness which they excited among the people, were undoubtedly, though not specified, among the operating causes of rejection with these prudent princes.

In the beginning of the year 1784, an unexpected ministerial revolution took place in Denmark. It was not, however, attended with any other consequences, than that of a reform or change in the councils and government of that kingdom. The queen dowager, who is a princess of the house of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, and who in common with her family is possessed of no small share of spirit and ability, is almost necessarily fond of power, and strongly addicted to state intrigue. Her being a second wife, perhaps, enabled her to acquire the greater degree of influence in the late reign, and other circumstances afforded her an opportunity not only of retaining but increasing it in the present. This fondness for power, and the jealousy attendant on it, were generally supposed to have operated principally in producing that fatal revolution, in which the late unfortunate queen Carolina Matilda was the chief victim, but in which two of the ruling ministers and favourites perished, under circumstances of such inhuman cruelty, as struck all Europe with horror. The nation has since been sunk in a degrading state of apathy, and seemed almost entirely to have lost its rank in the estimation and consideration of the other powers of Europe.

That bloody catastrophe served to establish the power of the queen dowager beyond all controul, and beyond the probability of its being shaken. She had filled the great offices of state with her adherents and favourites; and the infant son of the unhappy Matilda being little thought of, and the probabilities against his life at that tender age being considerable, her son prince

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Frederic

Frederic (the king's half brother) who was already arrived at manhood, was looked up to as the presumptive successor to the throne: so that all things seemed to concur in securing her influence and authority for life; as they seemed firmly fixed for the present, and they could not be expected to suffer any diminution under the future government of an only son, brought up under her own tuition and maxims.

But time, which, though the great destroyer, is likewise the great renovator of all sublunary things, was preparing to throw a sudden cloud over all these bright and flattering prospects. The late infant prince royal was approaching fast to maturity, and besides those pleasing embellishments incident to the vigour of youth and a good constitution, afforded indications of other qualities which, though highly grateful to the people at large, were particularly flattering to the hopes of the friends and partizans of his mother; and that description including all those who had either suffered themselves through the consequences of the late revolution, or who resented the injuries of their friends who had, together with all such who were dissatisfied, upon whatever account, with the present conduct of public affairs, the party could not but be numerous.

Jan. 1784. Upon the opening of his 17th year, the prince appeared with such uncommonly early accomplishments, and displayed such forward and manly talents and abilities, that he became the hope and darling object of the nation. We are not sufficiently masters of the subject, to be able to give any detail of the pre-

vious measures which he pursued for the overthrow of the junto, who, under the name of the cabinet, or council of state, were the ostensible directors of the affairs of the kingdom; the event, however, shews, that he derived every benefit from his own popularity, and from the odium under which the ruling powers laboured on account of the fate of his mother, for the accomplishment of his purpose; and it is evident that his measures were judicious, and his councils (from whatever quarter derived) prudent and wise. That darkness which ever prevails in despotic courts renders us equally incapable of determining whether the king took a previous, or any active share in the business; or whether he only gave a sanction and confirmation to what was already done.

However these things were, the first great April 14th. point publicly attained by the prince was his being declared *major*, and his taking his place at the head of the council-board accordingly. This was the immediate prelude to the dissolution of the junto, who seemed to have no intimation of their approaching fate, until they were informed by the prince, that the king his father had no farther occasion for their services. At the same time all the public departments received notice, that they were not to acknowledge or obey any orders from the late cabinet; and an ordinance was immediately published, that no orders from the council of state were in future to be received or considered as valid, which had not been previously reported to the king, signed by him, and countersigned by the prince royal. This was followed by the late ministers, the

the counts Rosencrantz and Bernstorff, being recalled from their long exile, and placed at the head of a new administration, in which only one of the late cabinet was retained. At their first meeting a new plan of administration, said to be composed by the prince, and to have already received the royal sanction, was read by him in the presence of his father; and, being approved of by all, and then signed by the king, became an authentic instrument of government. The prince was immediately appointed president of the new council, which was composed of his uncle prince Frederic, and five or six of the newly-appointed great officers of state.

No revolution of the sort, under such a government, affecting a party so long and so firmly rooted in power, and supported by such great interests, was ever accomplished with greater facility; nor has the temper, moderation, and wisdom, which presided in the whole conduct of the business, been often equalled. No other marks of reprobation or resentment were experienced by the members of the late cabinet, than the mere deprivation of their power, and loss of their places: the smallest harshness, or remembrance of past injury, did not appear in any part of the proceedings. This conduct will appear the more exemplary and wise, to those who recollect the unequalled cruelties which stained the preceding revolution, and who consider the bitterness of spirit which their remembrance could not still but inevitably excite.

The same moderation and wisdom prevailed in every thing. The queen dowager, as some consolation

for that disappointment which her ambition suffered, and for that loss of masked power, which holds out such irresistible charms to her sex and time of life, was gratified by the princely donation from the king, of the superb castle of Fredericburgh, in the duchy of Holstein, with the extensive demesnes, estates, and royalties appertaining to it; and, to render this free gift the more pleasing and complete, it was granted in perpetuity, with full authority to the queen to transfer, sell, or dispose of it by bequest, in whatever manner she might think proper. Similar large possessions, with the same unlimited rights, were conferred upon prince Frederic, whose conduct through all the past transactions had been so blameless, that even his being the instrument or object of another's ambition could not throw the smallest degree of imputation upon his character. The queen dowager retired to her castle in Holstein, and the most perfect tranquillity prevailed and continued throughout the kingdom.

The prince royal of Denmark has had the happy fortune, instead of diminishing the early hopes that were formed of him, or losing any part of the estimation in which he was held, to confirm and increase both in a very high degree. Besides his unusual attention and application to public business, he shews a most laudable disposition to letters, and is become the patron of learned men, and of literature. Instead of wasting his time in the amusements and sports incident to his time of life and condition, he is already erecting an indelible monument to his fame, by becoming the restorer of the learning, history, and antiquities of his country.



country. The early history of the Northern nations has been buried in the deepest darkness, which has likewise served to involve that of a great part of Europe in much obscurity. Yet such a share of learning as was equal to the preservation, in some form or degree, of the traditions and monuments of antiquity, prevailed in several parts of the North, which now retain no vestiges of their ever possessing any such light; and late discoveries shew, that it was extended even to remote parts of Russia. But Iceland, which was first the great and last depository of the old Runic learning, fables, and mythology, became suddenly the great luminary of the North, with respect to the new Christian literature. Iceland soon sunk, under the pressure of calamity and the gloom of ignorance, into nearly a forgetfulness of its past state; while the labours of its bards and sages, with the still more early remains of antiquity, were buried in obscurity.

The prince has most liberally applied a considerable share of his personal income or revenue to the recovery and development of this ancient lore. For this purpose he has employed learned men and judicious antiquaries to examine the public archives and private depositories in Denmark and Norway, including the royal libraries and museums, for every thing that could tend to throw light upon the objects which they had in view. The long-forgotten repositories of Iceland were scrutinized in the same manner; and the remains of antiquity, in prose and verse, have been retrieved from dust and ashes, once more to behold the light. The result of this search has been highly favourable and flattering to its au-

thors. The most valuable discoveries are said to have been made; and it is farther said, that great ability, judgment, and industry, are used in selecting, collating, and preparing for the press, those parts which appear deserving of publication. From some detached parts or fragments of them which have already appeared, it may be expected that they will throw no small light upon the early history of these kingdoms, at least upon that of the northern parts of Great Britain, of Ireland, and of the numerous islands appertaining to Scotland. It is not impossible, nor even improbable, considering the long depredations of the Danes in these countries, but that some valuable records or monuments, of which no memorial is existing at home, may be discovered in these researches.

It may not be thought improper to turn our eyes for a moment from the contemplation of political revolutions to those great events of nature which seem to have marked the present time. They are equally interesting to all nations, as they affect the concerns we hold in common, and strike the imagination with the greatest force, because in those calamities which we inflict upon each other the power as well as the feebleness of man is displayed, and his sufferings seem alleviated by the gratification of his vanity: but in those which proceed from natural causes, we are entirely impotent and passive, we bow down, and recognize the imbecility of our condition.

A succession of severe, irregular, and what are deemed unnatural seasons, attended with many violent shocks of the earth, and extraordinary commotions in the heavens, have,

have, for some years, grievously afflicted mankind in various parts of the world, and in every quarter of the globe. The desolation occasioned by earthquakes was not confined to Calabria or to Europe. Few great portions of the earth, from Formosa in the East, to Santa Fé and Mexico in the West, have escaped being injured or alarmed by these awful concussions of nature. In the same manner, tempests, hurricanes, tornadoes, attended with their usual concomitant, violent irruptions, and fatal inundations of the sea, have more or less swept the seas, and desolated the coasts, nearly in all countries and climates: those of the East, and of the West Indies, at all times liable to their influence, have now experienced their fury in a degree before unknown.

That other great scourge and destroyer of mankind, the pestilence, has desolated, with unequalled malignity, those countries which, from whatever cause, seem to lie more peculiarly within the sphere of its action. From the Atlantic borders of Morocco to the extremities of Egypt, and from Palestine to the mouth of the Euxine, the African and Asiatic coasts of the Mediterranean, with those of Thrace on the European side, the cruelty of its ravages has been more severe, and the destruction of mankind greater, than at any period within the reach of memory, or perhaps within the records of history.

Europe has likewise had its share of those evils, which no wisdom can foresee, no art or force prevent. Through a succession of such untoward seasons as we have mentioned; from the summer's partaking of the nature of winter; from the winters

being without example in their severity; from destructive tempests, violent and untimely rains and snows, long droughts, and excessive heats; and, to sum up all, from an excess and irregularity in the usual operations of nature, the labours and hopes of the husbandman have been frequently frustrated, and a very great failure of the fruits and products of the earth has very generally taken place.

To increase these calamities, some of the finest parts of Germany, Hungary, Italy, and France, where the fertility of the soil, or the height of cultivation, seemed in some sort to bid defiance to the asperity of the seasons, have been desolated by the repeated and untimely inundations of their great rivers; which, having frequently taken place in the summer and autumn, were the more fatally destructive in their effect. It was upon one of these afflicting occasions, that the illustrious prince Leopold of Brunswick became a victim to his humane and heroic endeavour (on the 27th of April 1785) to save the lives of a distracted mother's children, who were enclosed by the still-increasing waters of the Oder, and on the point of perishing before her eyes. The prince, partly perhaps as a rebuke to the cowardliness of the peasants, but more through the generosity of his nature, put off in a small boat to their assistance, which being driven by the violence of the current against the stump of an overthrown tree, it was unhappily staved and overfet. — Poland and Lithuania, bowed down as they already were under the weight of their moral and political evils, were likewise doomed to bear their proportion of these physical calamities; nor did Prussia (now only

only their neighbour) escape any better.

It was estimated that Germany alone lost a million of sheep by the inundations, and by the consequent want of food, and distempers which they produced; the loss in cattle was proportional. The most fertile countries in Europe, and those which had been wont to relieve the necessities of others, being thus reduced to penury by the failure or destruction of their harvests, it is no wonder that the frozen and sterile regions of the North should now experience the greatest distress. Their winters for three or four years had been severe beyond all known example. The extremity of the cold was insupportable to man and beast. The most fertile provinces of Russia, and even Livonia itself (the plenteous granary of the North) failed of producing their accustomed harvests. This afforded either cause or pretence to the court of Peterburgh, (for it is supposed that political suspicion or jealousy operated at least equally) to withhold the stipulated supplies of corn from Livonia to Sweden, which she was by treaty bound to permit the exportation of. By this means Sweden was reduced to the greatest distress, and her northern provinces particularly suffered every degree of calamity.

The Danish islands would have been abundantly supplied by their German provinces, if other wants, much more extensive than their own, had not demanded immediate supplies. The great kingdom of Norway had for some years laboured under almost every degree of natural evil which the irregularity or violence of seasons could inflict. Nearly all the resources of sustenance and means of supporting life

were cut off, at the very time that the extremity of the cold rendered a more than usual supply necessary to its preservation: even the prolific northern seas refused their tribute of fish, a supply which had ever before appeared inexhaustible. Government did every thing in its power to assist a nation which forms its principal strength; but the country was too extensive, and the demands too vast, for any foreign supply. The consequences were dreadful: many thousands perished through absolute famine; and a much greater number through the fatal disorders which it produces.

But the heavy portion of calamity allotted to the unhappy country of Iceland, besides being singular in its nature, seemed in the amount to exceed that of any other. That sequestered island, once the seat of the northern muses, had been before desolated by a dreadful pestilence, which in the 14th century swept all the regions of the north, but had been particularly fatal here. It never recovered in any respect the effects of that shock, nor in any degree its former state of population. Its pastoral inhabitants, being in a great measure secured by poverty and distance from rapine and oppression, and ignorant of the artificial wants which alternately sweeten and embitter human life in more genial climates, were contented and happy under all the rigours of their inclement skies, and found in their flocks, herds, and fisheries, a compensation for the sterility of their country with respect to corn.

But they had been at all times exposed to a dreadful internal enemy, whose rage was as irresistible, as its operations were uncertain and unlimited. Mount Hecla, and the other

other volcanoes which so much distinguish that island, although, perhaps, they promote the purposes of vegetation, by communicating a genial warmth to its frozen bosom, have at all times been the terror, and at particular periods the scourge and destroyers, of the inhabitants.

The calamity, however, in the present instance, was of a nature hitherto without example. Instead of the open desolation common to the awful eruptions of volcanoes, the country itself, together with its products, were now consumed by a creeping subterraneous fire. This destroyer of nature in its source, made its first appearance in the month of June 1784, in the western part of the district of Skaptfield, and on a mountain called Skapton Gluver. The devouring fire, which consumed, or reduced to cinders, every thing in its way, continued burning until the month of May in the following year, having in that time extended its devastation about twenty leagues in length, and from four to five in breadth. The great river Skaptage, which was from seven to eight fathoms in depth, and some leagues in breadth, was entirely dried up, its bed and channel presenting a dreadfully awning chafin. About a fourth part of the consumed soil consisted of a lava of great antiquity, and of mossy bogs or marshes; the remains of the burnt earth resembled vast heaps of calcined stones, and were of the colour of vitriol.

A similar fire broke out about the same time on the eastern side of the same range of mountains, and pursued its course in the opposite direction. This made its first appearance in a place which seemed the

least capable of any of exhibiting such a phenomenon; it broke out in the very channel of another great river called the Herervisfiødt, which was nearly of the same depth with the Skaptage, but, in that part, not above a league in breadth. The contention between the two elements, however violent, did not continue long, the waters being soon lost in the superior magnitude and force of the outrageous flames. This fire was far more dreadful than that on the western side, the flames soon after their first appearance forming an area of about ten leagues in extent. At first they darted perpendicularly upwards, and seemed to proceed from the lower regions of the earth, but afterwards they rolled along the surface, in waves resembling those of the sea; and when they reached the frozen mountains, whose bowels were impregnated with immense quantities of sulphur and nitre, these powerful materials endued them with such activity, that nothing could escape any more than withstand their fury. Cattle, men, houses, villages, every thing living and dead was consumed in a moment. We are not furnished with any precise account, either of the extent of this ravage, or of the time of its continuance; it being only given in general terms, that seventeen districts had been entirely ruined; but whether this proceeded from the immediate action, or whether it includes the consequent effects of the conflagration, is left unspecified.

The former was, however, happily limited in its progress; but its pernicious effects were widely diffused, and afflicted in different degrees the greater part, if not the whole, of that very extensive island.

For

For that country abounding with sulphur beyond any other perhaps in the known world, and the earth being likewise impregnated with various other minerals in a prodigious degree, the exhalations caused by these vehement conflagrations were in the highest degree noxious to every thing possessing animal or vegetable life. Nor was this all:—but the ashes and cinders, being conveyed to prodigious distances by the winds, and being little less noxious than the vapours, destroyed or contaminated the herbage wherever they fell. And the country producing but little corn, but affording a profusion of herbage, the people in the inland parts depended almost entirely upon the produce of their numerous flocks and herds for sustenance. But this resource was now almost entirely cut off, for such of the cattle as escaped being poisoned or starved during the summer, either perished through the want of hay in the ensuing long winter, or died of the contagious distempers caused by noxious aliment and effluvia. On the other hand, fish, whether fresh or dry, formed a principal part of the food of the people near the coasts, besides a large supply for the inland parts, and sufficient to barter for corn and other foreign necessaries. But as misfortunes seldom come single, the fisheries failed of their bounty in a degree never before known; and the length and severity of the ensuing winter was unexampled even under their polar skies.

It was estimated that five-sixths of the cattle, and three-fourths of the sheep, in the whole island perished; and, as many parts were out of the reach of the conflagrations, or of

their apparent effects, it may from thence be judged how complete the destruction was within their immediate influence. The people adjacent to the trading towns on the coasts were relieved in some degree from the pressure of the general calamity, through the bounty which Denmark could ill afford to bestow, under the great and general penury which prevailed at home, and the famine which at the same time was raging in Norway. But those in the interior parts were cut off from all help, for their horses having perished, they were deprived of the means of drawing supplies from the coasts, if they had even possessed those of purchasing them. Thus their condition was deplorable in the extreme. Besides the losses occasioned by famine and distempers, great numbers have since abandoned those houses and farms which their ancestors had possessed from time immemorial, through the impossibility of replacing their flocks of cattle. It would seem that this stroke would in a great measure prove conclusive with respect to the future destiny of this very unfortunate island; at least so far as relates to its interior culture and habitation. It had in no degree recovered the destruction of the 14th century. Before that fatal period, it is said to have been very populous, and was held in no small estimation by the nations of the North on account of its learning. The people are likewise said to have possessed at that time a portion of happiness beyond what could have been expected from their climate and situation; but to which the innocency of their pastoral lives seemed to afford no small claim.

## C H A P. IV.

Neither the danger of foreign war, nor the resignation of the duke of Brunswick, serve in any degree to allay the ferment in Holland, or to restore tranquillity to the Stadtholder's government. Great point gained by the adverse party, in procuring a French General to command the armies of the Republic. Some account of the Marshal de Maillebois. Short view of the origin and history of that celebrated republican party, which has subsisted in Holland from the days of Prince Maurice to the present time. Motives on both sides for the close connection which generally subsisted between that party and France. Late war with England, and its consequences, afforded the means for that party to become again formidable. General charges against the Stadtholder with respect to the conduct of that war, and the answers made to them. Repeatedly challenges them to the proof. Their views answered by supporting and spreading the clamour and jealousy. Specific enquiry into the conduct of the navy, after a long and tedious course of proceeding, produces nothing equal to the public expectation. Various causes which concurred at this time to raise the republican spirit to the highest pitch in that country. Injudicious measure of placing arms in the hands of the burghers, produces effects little expected or wished by the leaders of the party, and causes great innovations in the government of many towns. Peculiar advantages possessed by the adverse party over those on the Orange side. Great legal, official, and natural powers, and resources, possessed by the Prince Stadtholder. Violent measure of deposing the Prince from the government of the Hague. Prince and family abandon the Hague. Ineffectual interposition of the late King of Prussia. Judicious measure of the Prince Stadtholder in retiring to Guelderland. Assemblage of the States of Holland and West Friesland at the Hague. Riot on opening the Stadtholder's gate. Violent dissensions and great preparations for defence or war, in the city of Utrecht. Large subscriptions for supporting the armed burghers and volunteers. Republic convulsed in all its parts. Great debates in the Assembly of the States of Holland and West Friesland, on the question for restoring the Stadtholder to the government of the Hague. Question lost by a single vote. Spirited letter, immediately upon his accession, from the present King of Prussia in behalf of the Stadtholder, conveyed by his minister of State, the Baron de Goeris. Little effect produced by the King's representations. Memorial from the Court of Versailles, not only disclaiming all interference herself in the government of the republic, but declaring her intention to prevent their being disturbed by that of others. Refractory burghers of Elbourg and Hautem reduced by the Stadtholder, under the orders of the States of Guelderland. Violent ferment on the taking of these towns. States of Holland suspend the Stadtholder from all the functions appertaining to his office of Captain General within their province; and discharge the troops from their military oath to obey his orders.

THE

**T**HE spirit raised in Holland against the house of Orange by the French or republican party, which in this respect were the same, was too violent to be laid by concession. The resignation of the duke Lewis of Brunwick, and his total dereliction of the country, instead of contributing, as was hoped, to allay the ferment, by removing the supposed object of uneasiness and jealousy, produced effects directly contrary. This intended measure of conciliation, being considered merely as the effect of irresolution and weakness, was regarded and treated accordingly. It served to sink the political character of the stadtholder still lower in the estimation of the republican party; and as it rendered them more sensible of their power, to extend their views, and make them more ardent and confident in the prosecution of their designs; while that prince, being left exposed, without any intervening medium, to the storm, became personally subject to their obloquy and invective, and the immediate object of all their attacks.

The succeeding imminent danger from without to which the state was exposed by the contest with the emperor, it was well to be presumed would in this instance (as foreign danger generally does in similar cases) have proved the means of healing internal dissension, and of restoring the executive power to its due share of weight and consideration. In defiance of all speculation and experience, this circumstance, through some peculiar infelicity, produced effects the direct reverse of those which were to be expected. The immediate danger, indeed, produced some temporary cessation

of the violence against the stadtholder; but its consequences were exceedingly detrimental to his interests, and served no less to exalt and to strengthen his adversaries both in power and in number. For the terrors of a most perilous invasion succeeding closely upon the loss of the duke of Brunwick's military experience and ability, the immediate preservation of the country seemed to depend upon the procuring of a commander well versed in war, to supply his place. This circumstance threw the game entirely into the hands of the adverse faction, and procured them an opportunity which of all others they most wished, and had least expected, that of placing the military force of the republic in the hands of a French general.

The military abilities of the marshal de Maillebois, who was appointed to this important command, were too well known to admit of any objection against him on that account; and that peculiar spirit of intrigue, and turbulence of disposition, which had drawn so long a course of degradation and suffering upon him through a great part of his life, were probably not considered as detracting from his eligibility for this service. His ostensible command, being subordinate to that of the stadtholder as captain general, and only supplying the place of the duke of Brunwick, seemed to afford no room for uneasiness or jealousy; but the party who brought him in, considered themselves as having far advanced by this measure towards attaining the summit of their wishes. Whatever the fortune of the war might be, they were well aware that they had

had obtained a general, who from his natural character, national policy, and other concurring circumstances, would not fail to go all the lengths they could wish with them upon the return of peace; and they would deem it their own fault, if they did not fortify his power so strongly in the army, as to render him by degrees independent of the captain general.

The conclusion of the contest with the emperor, and the circumstances with which it was accompanied, were still more favourable to the views of that party than its commencement or progress. The distinguished part which the court of Versailles had taken in procuring, if not forcing that accommodation, was so signal an obligation and service, the value being estimated by the greatness of the apprehension, as well as of the danger which it removed, that no limits could be prescribed to the gratitude which it excited in all orders, parties and degrees of the people. This of course threw into the hands of France (independent of the vast influence which she derived from the late war) nearly an unbounded sway; not only in the collective councils of the state, but in its numberless component parts, where every province was an independent sovereign, and every city a distinct republic.

Much, however, would have been still wanting to confirm the strength, and to complete the views of the republican party, if it had not been for that singular treaty of alliance between Holland and France, which accompanied, or seemed rather to grow out of the contest with the emperor. That alliance, which seemed rather founded upon the principle of consolidating two na-

tions into one, under the same common sovereign, than upon ideas of parity, mutual convenience and security, between independent states, endued France with such powers, and afforded her such rights or pretences for intermeddling in the internal as well as external affairs of the republic, that the most considerable party must have become dominant under her countenance; while the stadtholder, without any direct invasion of his rights, must have dwindled into a cypher, and the lesser country, in the usual course of things, must, without some extraordinary interruption, have gradually become, either actually or virtually, a province to the greater.

It may be necessary here to premise, somewhat more fully than we have heretofore done, what the causes were of that coincidence of views which subsisted between France and the antistadtholderian faction in Holland.

For this purpose it will be sufficient barely to observe, upon a subject generally known, that William the first of Orange, with the princes his brothers, had laid and cemented with their blood the foundations of that republic. The cruel and treacherous assassination of the former happened just at the time when the states of the country were upon the point of establishing in his person, and rendering hereditary in his family, such a limited sovereignty, as had been held by their ancient counts, and was afterwards transferred by marriage to the princes of the house of Burgundy. The nonage of his son, and successor in the stadtholdership, the celebrated prince Maurice, prevented his being able to profit of the occasion while it lasted; and it could never be recovered. It is



well known that in the long and arduous wars which involved the greatest part of his life, and in which he became the first captain of the age, he not only established the independence of the republic, but carried its power and splendour to a height which astonished all the world.

It was natural that Maurice and his successors should look back with regret to that sovereignty, which had been so nearly obtained, and so unfortunately missed in the first instance; and that they should endeavour to enlarge their official powers as stadtholders to the utmost extent. Nor was it less natural that the potent citizens, who had grown up, along with the fortune of the republic, to great power and immense wealth, should not only oppose their designs, but that they should endeavour by all means to circumscribe a power, which they considered as becoming dangerous to public liberty, and inimical to the principles of the constitution. The bitterness of such a contest soon effaced all memory of the services which the state had received from the Orange family, in the minds of those who had been deeply engaged in the opposition, or who had suffered from the part which they had taken. Great generals seemed no longer necessary in a season of peace and prosperity, nor did it follow, because it had hitherto so proved, that every prince was to be a great general. The party accordingly extended their views to the total abolition of the office of stadtholder, and to a distribution of its various powers amongst their own leaders.

Such was the origin and foundation of that celebrated republican party, which holds so splendid a share in the history of Holland;

which has produced men of the first eminence for patriotism and ability; and which, under various denominations, has subsisted from the days of prince Maurice and Barnaveldt to the present time.

It has been the constant and the obvious policy of France, to maintain her influence in the councils of Holland, and, at the same time, to restrain or weaken as much as possible the power and political activity of the republic. The princes of the house of Orange were generally inimical to the views of France, and linked by blood and alliance with powers who acted upon principles diametrically opposite to her politics. This state of things occasioned a standing enmity on her side against the house of Orange; and their views entirely coinciding in that respect, naturally produced an intimate connection between her and the republican party.

This policy was accordingly steadily pursued, and her interest with that powerful party diligently cultivated by France, excepting only in that single instance, when the pride and vanity of Louis XIV, co-operating with his immense power, led him to disdain all motives of prudence, and all bonds of political amity, and impelled him to the wanton attack which he made upon the united provinces in the year 1672. The party of which we treat, under the auspices of the celebrated De Witt, was then in the zenith of its power, having succeeded in totally abolishing the stadtholderate, and having for several years conducted the affairs of the republic with uncommon abilities, splendour, and success: but that unexpected and violent irruption occasioned its total degradation

and ruin. The stadtholderate was restored; and that great statesman and patriot *De Witt*, (whose only fault was his placing too much confidence in the faith of France) together with his brother, scarcely less eminent, became miserable sacrifices to the fury of a cruel rabble.

The stadtholderate became extinct by the death of William the Third of England, the states not thinking proper to renew it in favour of that part of his family who had succeeded to the title of Orange, as well as to the principal part of his inheritance. Another French war, and another invasion, produced a second revolution in the government of the republic. In the year 1748, the office was renewed in its full plenitude of power, in favour of the late Prince of Orange, father of the present, with the great additional security of being rendered hereditary, not only in the male, but the female lines of his family.

It would seem that as this settlement went to cut off entirely the views of the adverse party, so it could no longer have any ground of existence, or at least, that if it was at all held up, it could have no other objects, than those of watching with a suspicious and jealous eye the conduct of future stadtholders, of being in constant readiness to resist any extension of their power, or to counteract any measures which might appear capable in their consequences of becoming dangerous to public liberty.

Such was probably for many years the state of this party. But though depressed, or at least withheld from any means of political exertion, they were still potent and numerous, and only waited for some favour-

able opportunity which should operate as a signal for union and exertion. In the mean time, France had long seen and lamented the miserable policy of Louis XIV. and even in their most depressed and hopeless state, had omitted no pains to renew her connections and recover her interest with the leaders of the party. A long minority, and a succeeding administration of affairs, which, if not absolutely weak, was not much distinguished by vigour, nor much blest with popularity, could not but prove favourable, either to the nursing of a new, or the renovating of an old party; and this accordingly began to lift up its head, and to become conspicuous and troublesome.

It would, however, have been still but little considered, if the late unfortunate war with England, and its ruinous consequences, having shaken the republic to its foundations, and occasioned a departure from many of its ancient maxims and principles, had not likewise made way for the growth of this party, and called all its powers into action. The stadtholder's known averfeness to any political connection with France, and above all to the entering into any treaty with, or affording any support to the American colonies, which were then in a state of open rebellion against the mother country, together with his near relation in blood to the British sovereign, and supposed strong predilection for his interests, served all together, even from the beginning, to afford ample room for suspicion, that he could not engage very heartily in a cause which went so directly against opinions in which he had been nurtured.

Such suspicions would have easily died

died away, and been soon forgotten, had the war been attended with success. But when it produced nothing but the most disgraceful and ruinous consequences, and the republic seemed irrevocably sunk in point of estimation and character, it was no difficult transition in the temper incident to so grievous a situation, to convert suspicion into censure, and jealousy into charge and accusation. The faction adverse to the stadtholder, led by Van Berkel, the pensionary of Holland, had been themselves the abettors of that war which, whether it was brought on by the unreasonable expectations of the one, or the infidelity of the other, was equally inconsistent with the true policy of both nations. By a sort of singular fortune, the heaviest strokes of the war fell principally upon the republicans. The rich merchants of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and other great towns of Holland, who might be considered as the sinews of that party, having sustained the deepest losses by the capture of St. Eustatia, with the other severe blows, as well on the seas as in both the Indies, which the republic had received during that ill-fought and unfortunate conflict.

It is common with those who are severely smarting under adversity, by casting the blame of particular evils upon others, to endeavour to divert their minds from an examination and a possible condemnation of the general line of their own conduct. It was likewise no small consolation, that these circumstances of public and private misfortune, might be converted into an engine of offence against their political adversary; with the farther, but inviting hope, that by proper management they might afford the

means of his degradation from office and power. Upon these principles, and perhaps upon opinion, however founded, the accidents of the war were attributed to the prince stadtholder, whose foreign connections, it was held out, had warped him to interests and principles distinct from, and even adverse to, those of the republic. Many others who had been sufferers by the war, as well as the members of the adverse party, glad to find some object on which to vent their discontents, adopted and promulgated the same opinion. It was besides a kind of resource to national vanity, and particularly to those who felt most for the reputation and honour of their country, to attribute her disgraces rather to personal misconduct than to perhaps the real causes which, waving the impolicy of the late war, were to be found in the declension and weakness, into which a long course of indolence and negligence had relaxed the blessings of security and peace, in that selfish and distorted policy a nation easily contracts when its views are no longer carried beyond itself, when great interests cease to be agitated, and great occasions cease to call forth great men. This state of things, as it made a sort of excuse for ill success, was no farther allowed by the republican party, than as they could impute it to the introduction of a monarchical principle into a small commercial state, which, being narrow in its extent, and poor in natural resources, could, as they asserted, flourish only when the spirit of liberty gave the fullest operation to industry and genius. That great countries had been often known to prosper under a monarchical form of government, but that

that in small states, the dominion of one was always the forerunner of imbecility and weakness.

Men who act together upon any public principle, or join in any common opinion, are apt to coalesce in other matters. Those who credited these reports so injurious to the stadtholder became proselytes to the party adverse to his power. The obloquy, which was first disseminated with some degree of caution, as it became more general was more publicly spoken; and as the clamour increased, so did the converts.

As the charges brought against the stadtholder were mostly general, they could only admit of general answers. It was said that he had not exerted the force with which he was entrusted by the state in that manner, or with that energy, which might have been done, and which would have been most effectual for counteracting the designs, and frustrating the efforts of the enemy; that the naval department had been shamefully neglected; its force, such as it was, misapplied or withheld; and that to these causes only was to be imputed the ruin of their foreign commerce, and the loss of their colonies. On these points the prince in vain repeatedly challenged his adversaries to the enquiry and proof; which as they evaded, gave reason to believe that they did not want to bring them to a decision, the event of which was uncertain, and which must overlay their designs if it proved in his favour; that they only wished the scandal to lie, and the public clamour to increase or continue. He urged that the weak state and bad condition of their navy had rendered it totally incapable of performing the expected

services; and that the blame on this subject did not rest with him, but with the states themselves, to whom he had frequently remonstrated on the inattention shewn with respect to that department, and as frequently warned them of the necessity, as they were pursuing measures tending to a war, to be in due preparation for withstanding its consequences.

One specific object of enquiry was, indeed, brought early forward, and it was upon a subject which had made the deepest public impression, and excited the greatest clamour: this was upon the subject of the Dutch fleet's not proceeding to Brest, according to compact, in the year 1782, when the memorable scheme had been formed, that the whole combined naval force of the house of Bourbon and of Holland should have fallen at once upon the coasts of Great Britain (at a time when her strength was dispersed in every quarter of the globe) and swept every thing before it. The failure had been loudly attributed to criminal neglect, if not to treachery, and a committee was speedily appointed to enquire into the causes. The extreme tediousness of the proceedings probably answered all the purposes that were originally intended, in keeping the public attention and expectation awake, the popular clamour alive, and giving a colour to all other charges and surmises.

Nothing could exceed the public disappointment, when the result of this slow inquiry was at length published. None of the great discoveries that had been so long expected were made; nor any thing whatever that tended to affect the stadtholder. Some errors and mis-

managements in the conduct of their marine, particularly with regard to the mode of victualling their ships, and which had subsisted from time immemorial, were now for the first time detected; and some naval officers received blame for not obeying the orders of the states, and fulfilling the engagements with their allies, without regard to condition or circumstances.

Other concurring causes contributed at this time to render the party in question peculiarly powerful and numerous. The revolution in America, which seems to have given life to the seeds of liberty, in countries where it was least to be expected, could not fail to revive and increase the republican spirit, in a country diversified in so many governments, and of such peculiar forms, as Holland. The numerous sect of the Mennonites, with the other numberless sectaries that abound so much in that country, being generally levellers upon principle, were of course adverse to any thing that bore the most distant resemblance to regal power, in whatever manner it might be bound or modified. These people, being the great money-dealers of the country, had, in the course of near a century of peace, acquired immense wealth, which tended to strengthen the characteristic of that order of men, extreme selfishness, and an equal deficiency of public spirit. Their wealth, however, necessarily produced a very extensive degree of power and influence, the nobility being particularly enthralled to them, either through personal debts or heavy mortgages on their estates.

The republican spirit being once revived among the sectaries, in-

spired them with all the enthusiasm of their founders and ancestors. Enthusiasts are the most troublesome as well as the most dangerous of all enemies, being unwearied in their attacks, implacable in their animosity, and their operations the more difficult to be foreseen and counteracted, as no rules of reason or experience reach to measure the conduct of those who act without regard to any. These people became accordingly the most bitter and implacable of the stadtholder's enemies: while each seemed individually to consider him rather as a private enemy, from whom he had received some inexpiable injury, than as a member of the state with whom he differed upon public principles.

The measure of placing arms in the hands of the burghers, and of encouraging them to incorporate in military communities, for which the contest with the emperor afforded a pretext, seems to have been adopted with very little consideration by the leaders of the faction, was pregnant with much difficulty and trouble to themselves, and tended in its extent to the overthrow of all their designs, and to the introduction of such innovations, both in the general and particular forms of government in that country, as they had little foreseen or intended.

For the better comprehension of this part of the subject, it may be necessary to observe some peculiarities in the political state of the country, which are not always adverted to. The people at large, in the various aristocratical republics, whose union is considered as forming one great commonwealth, have in fact no more share in the government

government of their respective communities, than the subjects of Venice, Russia, or Turkey; and the sovereignty, with respect to them, is as supreme as it is in those countries. This constitution of government having subsisted from time immemorial, undoubtedly from the first institution of municipal communities in the country, was become so habitual to the people, that they did not seem to think of any other, nor to feel any inconvenience in their condition;—an extraordinary acquiescence in a people esteemed so jealous of their liberties, unless perhaps it be supposed, that the manners of the people prevailed over the forms of the constitution; and that the spirit of republican equality, leaving those who were magistrates in power only vicious in appearance, avoided abuse of authority on one side, and envy on the other. However that was, the aristocracies in the several distinct republics were so far self-elective, as to be subject only to the controul of the stadtholder, who had a right of nomination or negative with respect to a small limited number of their choosing.

It is farther to be particularly observed, that no ideas of general liberty, or what may more properly be called of any extension of the administration of government to the people at large, appears to have been entertained, either by the present, or by any of the former parties in that country, who had the name of republican. Their tendency was to strengthen the aristocracies, by removing those checks which the stadtholder held upon their self-election, and to place the general government in the hands of an oligarchy, composed of their own principal

leaders, who would likewise be self-elective and perpetual; and who, from their not being subject to the jealousy attendant on the government of a single person, would, in the nature of things, soon assume powers, and a decision of authority, which had never been possessed by the stadtholderate.

But when the rash and desperate measure of arming the multitude was adopted, it soon changed the face and nature of affairs, and produced effects as directly opposite to the wishes as to the intentions of those by whom it was framed. The people finding arms in their hands, began at once to feel their own importance; they awakened, as it were, from a dead sleep, and began to wonder why they held no share in that government which they were called upon to defend or support, and which it was evident could have no permanent security without them. The examples of Ireland and America were fresh before them; the very term of volunteers, which they assumed, contributed to stamp the character of the part they were to act. The democratical spirit being thus suddenly, and for the first time, brought to life, and feeling as it were the possession of its faculties, displayed all the vigour, and perhaps even the wantonness of youth.

The armed burghers had been intended as a counterpoize to the army, which was known to be generally attached to the stadtholder; and it was fondly expected, that when they had performed the service, they would have silently sunk into their former insignificance. But when, without waiting for that issue, they began to hold themselves up as constituent members of the commonwealth, and demanded to

be admitted to a share in the legislation and government of their respective cities, by electing delegates who were to be received as their legal representatives in the public assemblies, and thus form a popular counterpoize to the aristocratic power, nothing could exceed the surprize and consternation which they excited.

The aristocracies were aghast and confounded at pretensions, the possibility of which they had never even thought of; nor were the principal leaders of the faction less disconcerted and alarmed; they saw they had improvidently raised a dangerous spirit, and brought a new power into action, without a due consideration of the force and eccentricity of its movements; and that these were evidently beyond their controul or regulation. The situation was indeed critical and dangerous; for if they refused to comply with the demands of the armed burghers, it was to be feared that they would change sides directly, and go over to the Orange party, by which the stadtholder would have been rendered so triumphantly powerful, that all opposition must be at an end: on the other hand, if the aristocracies granted their claims, they must be for ever cut off from all the sweets of authority, now grown habitual, and which, by the means of self-election, they hoped to have rendered as nearly immortal as human institutions are capable of being.

In this dilemma, various means were adopted in various places, and much chicanery practised, in order to stave off the evil hour, in the hope that some fortunate interruption might prevent the question from being brought to an absolute

decision, or at least, that the presure of the present state of affairs might be eased before it was brought to an issue; in which case, the powers of the law and of the state being combined against the new pretensions, the popular party would of necessity be obliged to submit. In some places, where the claims were too impetuously urged, and the aristocracy too stiff to give way, the latter applied to the states of the province for protection, who accordingly ordered the military force of the state to reduce the armed burghers, and to restore the ancient constitution. This extremity was, however, only proceeded to in a few places. In the city of Utrecht, where the armed burghers amounted to several thousands, the popular spirit was carried to its highest extreme of violence; they not only set the states of the province at defiance, but taking the government of the city entirely into their own hands, and converting it into a place of arms, prepared for defence and open war, both against the provincial and general force of the state. In process of time, and after various tumults and struggles, the aristocracies were obliged in many places, particularly several towns of Holland, to give way to the prevailing necessity, and to submit in some degree to the claims of the popular party.

This was the only extension of public liberty which these dissensions have hitherto produced; and this proceeded from circumstance, occasion, and final necessity, and not from any previous design or wish.

The states of Holland and West Friesland were the great and constant unpugners of the stadtholder's authority

authority and prerogatives. They assumed a superiority not admitted by the constitution of the union, and derived only from the circumstances of the first-mentioned province possessing a greater share of wealth, and a larger extent of territory, than any of the others; they paid but little regard or attention to the states general in the measures which they pursued, and the continual warfare, as it may be called, which they waged against him; acting upon these occasions rather as a supreme dictator, than as an equal and co-regent with the other provinces. The most bitter animosity which appeared against that prince, seemed to be peculiarly lodged in the province of Holland; and the city of Amsterdam took the lead of all other places in the invariable display of that enmity. The pride and wealth of that city, with its paramount influence in its own province, had at all times frequently induced both to assume an odious pre-eminence over their fellows; and though this had been generally submitted to, yet when they have carried the spirit of domination to a certain degree of excess, it has occasionally excited such a resentment in other provinces, as more than once seemed to threaten a dissolution of the union. Their influence cannot, however, but continue great, from the causes we have mentioned.

It is easily seen, from the state of affairs which we have premised, that the adverse faction had many and great advantages over their adversaries of the Orange party in this contest. They were closely united, by having had for several years one common object in view, to which all their measures were

directed; while their antagonists, having no object to attain which might serve to unite their zeal, or excite their enterprize, were loose, careless, and unconnected. The adverse party had likewise the unspeakable advantage of being supported by the monied men; they were besides quickened by the ardour, and kept in constant exercise by the indefatigable zeal, and restless spirit, always observable in sectaries. And though the measure of arming the volunteers had been productive of much trouble and disorder among themselves, yet it afforded them at least the benefits of a formidable appearance, and of a menacing aspect.

It was necessary that the prince stadtholder should not be weak or unguarded, to withstand such a combination of adverse interests, parties, and circumstances. He was indeed strongly fortified on all sides. He was armed with great legal rights, authorities, and powers, of which he could not be deprived at less expence than a total rupture and nearly subversion of the system and constitution of the republic; at the same time that, during the course of the contest, they would have abundantly afforded him the means of their own preservation and defence. In virtue of his offices of captain-general and admiral-general of the union, the whole military force of the republic by sea and land was in his possession. This sovereign authority was confirmed and rendered more effective, by his having the sole disposal of all military commissions, from those of the colonels to the ensigns inclusively; by the troops being bound in an oath of fidelity to him personally, as well as to the states; and by the whole



whole army being obliged to obey his commands implicitly in all military cases. In the spirit of the same authority, he had the power of changing, lessening, or increasing garrisons, of directing all the movements of the troops, of assembling the army, or any part of it, and of ordering it to march at will. He held a similar authority in the naval department; and all these great powers were confirmed and rendered more effective, by the strong general attachment both of the fleet and army, to his person and interests.

But his authority and legal powers were by no means confined to the fleet and army. By his office of stadtholder, he was placed as president at the head of most if not all of the civil departments of the state. He presided, either in person or by deputy, as he chose, in all the assemblies of the several respective provinces. He had a seat, though not a vote, in the assembly of the states general; and it was not merely a matter of right, but a part of his official duty, to be present at their deliberations, and to give his opinion or advice upon all matters of their deliberation, in which he deemed either necessary; and this had not only a great influence upon their proceedings, but in times of harmony, and under a vigorous and successful administration of public affairs, was generally decisive of their conduct. His right of nomination or rejection with respect to the new members appointed to fill up the town senates and magistracies was now contested, and generally overruled, but could not fail to have given him by its past operation a great influence in those distinct republics. In the

quality of governor-general and supreme director of the East and West India companies, the stadtholder likewise had an unbounded influence in those great commercial bodies.

With these legal and official powers, he had a full moiety, at least, of the people at large either absolutely attached to his interests, or so far on his side, that from their averseness to all violent innovations in the constitution and government, they were well disposed to the support of his authority. Even in the province of Holland; and in Amsterdam itself, the great seat and strong hold of his enemies, no calculator could determine on which side the majority would appear, if the matters in dispute were to be decided by a general poll. The same diversity of party and opinion every where appeared. Nor was there a much greater concurrence in the aristocracies themselves than among the people. Even in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and the greater cities of Holland, which were those most peculiarly adverse to the stadtholder, the domineering party could only build upon majorities, nothing like unanimity being any where to be obtained. In the smaller towns, the parties in the government were generally more nearly upon an equality. With respect to the provincial states, those of Guelderland and Utrecht were entirely on his side; those of the three other provinces fluctuating; and disposed to be mediatorial; so that those only of Holland and West Friesland were absolutely inimical to him. Yet, even in the assembly of the states of Holland, the grand question relative to the government of the Hague, after being long and violently

lently agitated, was only carried against him by a single vote. The equestrian order, or nobles, which may in some degree be compared with what is called in England the *landed interest*, were, in the province of Holland, as every where else, generally on the prince's side. Their share in the government of that province is, however, but very small, as they hold only one voice in the assembly of the states, which consists of nineteen.

In such an estimate of the prince stadtholder's powers and resources it should not be entirely overlooked, that he held in his own inherent right, as derived from his ancestors, very considerable estates and possessions, including cities, castles, palaces, lordships, and marquises, in various parts of the country, and that these, of old right, endued him with several important privileges and authorities, independent of his offices under the state. Nor should that great external resource be forgotten, which he possessed in the friendship and protection of the Prussian monarch; a connection cemented by all the bands of policy, as well as by the ties of a near affinity: and which effectually shielded him from the apprehension of his adversaries being ever suffered to proceed beyond certain limited measures of violence against him.

The faction, however, found themselves so potent at home, and placed so unbounded a confidence in the support of France, which they now considered as the great palladium of the state, as well as of the party, that they paid less attention to the admonitions of the great Frederic, than a well-advised policy would at any time have admitted; and without even waiting

for the absolute conclusion of the negotiations with the emperor at Paris, proceeded at once to shew that they were no longer disposed to observe any measures of amity with the prince stadtholder, nor even to preserve those outward appearances which might indicate a disposition to future conciliation. This was announced by divesting him of the government and command of the garrison of the Hague; a measure not more violent in the act, than it was degrading in the execution, through the unusual circumstances with which it was accompanied.

The immediate and ostensible motive assigned for this measure, was a riot which had taken place at the Hague. The garrison were charged with not taking immediate and effectual measures for preventing or suppressing it. The riot in itself, compared with those which every day occurred in other places, was a matter of little consequence. A few armed volunteers from some neighbouring town came to parade at the Hague, equipped in their uniforms and peculiar badges, a proceeding which could not fail to irritate the inhabitants, who they knew were zealously attached to the person and interests of the prince of Orange. It was scarcely in the nature of things that a riot should not be the consequence; and the intruders were with some difficulty preserved from becoming victims to their own temerity, and to the fury of the people: they, however, escaped without any material injury.

This affair was resented with a violence disproportioned to its magnitude, and taken up with a high hand by the adverse faction. In-  
dependent

dependent of their desire to lessen the prince's authority, they likewise wished, and scarcely less, to subdue the spirit of the inhabitants of the Hague. The acting committee of the states of Holland, determining not to let the measure

Sept. 8th, issued a hasty resolution or decree, by  
1785.

which they deprived the prince of his government and command, forbidding the troops to receive the word from him, to obey his orders in any manner, or even to pay him any of the customary military honours. To render the degradation complete, and as it were to add the incurable sting of a personal insult, they at the same time stripped him of his own body-guards, and even of the hundred Swiss, who were destined merely to civil purposes, and to the support of state parade and magnificence. The prince's remonstrances and protestations, in which he termed this resolution a violent breach of the constitution, an invasion of his rights, an outrage offered to his authority, and an indignity to his person and character, could produce no other satisfaction, than the contemptuous intimation, that the guards were maintained for the purpose of supporting the grandeur of the state, and not for the aggrandizement of the stadtholder.

It was impossible that the prince and princess, after such a public indignity, could, with any degree of propriety, continue longer in a place, which was the seat of the court, of public business, and of government, as well as the residence of all the foreign ministers: they accordingly abandoned the Hague immediately; the prince retiring to his own city of Breda, and the

princess with the children, to West Friesland, where the people, notwithstanding the implacable enmity of the states of that province, were generally well affected to the Orange family. The prince and princess were obliged to perform these journeys without any other guard or security to their persons than their own domestics, although it was a season of the most lawless violence and tumult, and that the virulence of the opposite party was risen to such a pitch, that on a late journey, tho' then attended by their guards, such a riot was raised in a considerable town which they passed, that some of their attendants were killed; and their happening to quit the carriage, and go into a house before it commenced, was perhaps fortunate with respect to their own safety.

This measure was soon followed by an order for furnishing the guards with new colours, in which the arms of the house of Orange were totally omitted, and those of the province of Holland substituted in their place. These were presented in the name of the states, and a special order given to the officers, that the arms of the province, and no other, should be engraved on their gorgets.

The king of Prussia regarded this violent attack upon the authority, and personal insult offered to the stadtholder, with great but regulated indignation; he still preserved the most temperate language in his remonstrances; and while his expostulations placed in the fullest light the wrongs and undeserved injuries sustained by that prince, and sufficiently indicated that he was too much interested in his cause to permit his becoming ultimately  
a victim

a victim to oppression, yet for the present he appeared rather in the character of a friendly neighbour to both, and an amicable mediator, wishing to reconcile the differences and misunderstandings between the parties, than the direct advocate of either.

A hint was, however, about this time thrown out by his ministers, which seemed capable of inspiring some present caution in the governing powers of Holland, by shewing the open grounds for serious claim and discussion which he possessed in his own right, whenever he chose to occupy them; and the ease with which they might be applied to give a sanction to sudden movements, and to afford a cover for alarming measures, if their contests with the prince should be carried to such an extremity as might render them necessary. It was intimated to the states, that the king, in his own right, had matters of discussion of a long standing to settle with them, and which nothing but a forbearance founded on friendship could have permitted to remain so long in a state of suspension. That as they had now found it necessary to enter into a regulation and settlement of their limits in Brabant and Flanders with the emperor, it would be no less proper and necessary, that they condescended to pay a similar regard to him, by an adjustment of the disputed limits in East Friesland and Guelderland; in order thereby to prevent a renewal of those differences which had heretofore taken place upon these subjects, and to pay that attention to his claims and demands, which their nature and justness required.

As this was merely an intima-

tion, it probably produced no formal reply. Nor does it appear to have produced any cessation in the violence of the measures pursued against the prince. The ruling powers at the Hague, who represented the states of Holland and West Friesland, in their answer to the king's manifesto or memorial upon that subject, took care to lose no part of that high dignity appertaining to the most supreme sovereignty. In thanking him for the regards he expressed to, and the interest he took in the affairs of the republic, after taking care to remind him that those two provinces form the principal part of that constituent body, they proceed further to observe, that it was owing entirely to their particular respect for him, and to the mutual regards and friendship subsisting between them, that they could at all enter into any explanation of their conduct upon the present occasion; but that from these motives, and to convince the king that no duplicity was intended on their part, but that their views, like their conduct, were open, manly, and consistent (as it became sovereigns in all transactions with any of their servants, however highly exalted by posts or privileges they might be) they would inform him, that they could not in any manner recede from their resolutions with respect to the government of the Hague: that in other respects, in all cases of contest with foreign powers, they should at all times be desirous to accept the king's friendly intervention and mediation; but that in what related to internal government, to the security of the state, to public tranquillity, and particularly to the appointment, superintendance, or discharge of their

their own officers or servants, they could on no account derogate from their character of independent states, by admitting of any interference; and that he was himself too good a judge, and too strict a maintainer of the rights of sovereignty, to expect or to approve of such a derogation.

In other answers upon the same occasion, and about the same time, they disclaimed, in very loose and general terms, all oppressive and illegal acts or designs, either against the stadtholder, or any other of their servants; with the evidently implied reservation, of being themselves the sole judges of what constituted oppression or illegality. They attributed the king's applications to misinformation and misrepresentation, hoping (with an apparent sneer) that the stadtholder could not possibly have been so forgetful of the relation in which he stood with the republic, as to be the means of conveying them; and adding, that it would be placing all the parties in a strange relative situation indeed, if he were to make complaints of *them* to the king; a measure which in its consequences, if admitted, would tend to leave them nothing more than an empty name and very shadow of sovereignty. They spoke in the same general manner of civil commotions, of measures expedient for their own security, and of the necessity of putting an effectual stop to several abuses and encroachments which tended to the detriment of the country.

As a proof of the small Dec. 19, regard which they paid 1785. to the king of Prussia's remonstrance, they issued an order; that the military honours usually

paid to the stadtholder, in all his different capacities of captain general, governor of the Hague, and commander of the garrison, should in future be paid only to the president of their committee, as the representative of the states, and to the grand pensionary of Holland. This was in some time followed by an order to discharge all the troops in general of the province from their oath of fidelity to the stadtholder, and to prescribe a new oath, by which they were bound to the states only. All these innovations were submitted to by the troops in general, both officers and soldiers, with the greatest reluctance, and in numerous instances with apparent indignation. As the differences increased, the stadtholder's power of disposing of the regimental commissions was suspended for an unlimited time, and this essential branch of his prerogative usurped. The cause assigned, in answer to his remonstrances, for this measure, was not so much a justification of a right to assume, as a reason for the use of power, "that the influence which he derived from that authority in the army was not, in the present situation of affairs, deemed consonant with the security of the state."

The domineering party no longer contained themselves within any sort of bounds; they laid the heaviest hand of power over all those who gave marks of attachment to the stadtholder's interest. The virulence and malice of the contention was so great, that tumults were almost continual; and while the rioters on one side were severely punished, even for petty excesses, those on the other were protected in the grossest violence and outrage. They proceeded

ceeded without restraint, and without regard to general law, or particular constitutions, to weed the magistracies of all those who were even suspected of any attachment to the Orange interest, filling up their places with the most turbulent of their own party; and even submitted to the democratic enroachments of the armed burghers, and thereby totally changed the nature of the old constitution, in order to carry that favourite point. They had taken the press entirely into their hands: while the most scurrilous invectives were every day published, not only with impunity, but apparent encouragement against the stadtholder, the most temperate writings in defence of his rights, or bare statement of their nature, subjected the publishers and the writers to severe and certain punishment.

Not that the Orange party was even then entirely devoid of a disposition to excess and outrage, nor perhaps in their hour are they more respectful of individual or constitutional rights. Certain it is, however unfortunately, that the first operation of civil dissensions is to suspend those very laws of which each party assumes to be the assertor. To judge truly of the merits of political questions, we must resort to the original cause of quarrel, and not look too minutely to the occasional infringements of right which intervene, and are in a manner inevitable in violent contests. The disputed territory is trampled by those who defend as well as those who invade it. We must not therefore, as many are apt to do, form too hasty a conclusion to the disadvantage of mankind, and suppose, from the excesses that arise on all sides; nor even because a departure

from the principles set out upon is observed in many controversies, that all pretences are false, and all motives unjust. Without presuming to direct the judgment of our readers, we only point out the criterion, and we apprehend it is to be sought in those grand objects, and that general line of policy, which characterizes each contending party; and we are persuaded that all English readers entertain a favourable disposition towards that which cements the natural union between the maritime powers and free constitutions of England and the united states, and which tends to secure in a chief magistrate an effective authority, but limited by law.

Although the republican party carried their constitutional innovations, and the violation of corporate and private rights, with little comparative resistance, the course of their affairs was not entirely smooth. Man is so indefinable a being, that he frequently engages, in contempt of all dangers and hazards, in the defence of trifles, at the same time that he gives up objects of the greatest moment to his security and happiness, and submits to oppressions that embitter his existence, with scarcely a murmur. In the present instance, the wearing and prohibiting of orange - coloured cockades and ribbons seemed for a time to be the great object of contest and animosity between the rival factions. Even the military, both officers and private men, notwithstanding their habits of implicit submission, became eager parties in this contest; and, in defiance of proclamations and punishments, were continually flying in the face of their employers and paymasters, by wearing of this interdicted colour;

so that it seemed for a time doubtful, whether the very harsh exercise of very strong powers of government could have suppressed the display of this ensign of party zeal, without striking directly at the existence of the manufacture.

The prince stadtholder and his family, after sojourning for some considerable time at Middleburgh in Zealand, when he found that the faction in Holland were proceeding to the utmost extremities against him, and that it became every day more apparent, that nothing less than an appeal to the last resort of princes could preserve those remains of his authority which were still left, had he even submitted to the loss already sustained, removed at length to the province of Guelderland. This was the most judicious measure that he could possibly have taken; for, besides that the states of that province, as well as of its neighbour Utrecht, were entirely on his side, and the little country of Over-Yssel, from its situation, entirely within his power whenever he found exertion absolutely necessary, he was likewise within such a distance of the turbulent city of Utrecht, as at least to protect the states of that province, whom they had already obliged to retire to Amersfort, from any obstruction or disturbance in their proceedings at that place.— These were, however, but secondary objects, when compared with the great advantages which that situation would afford, if matters were brought to a certain degree of extremity, through the nearness of the Prussian territories, which inclosed Gueldres on two sides, with limits so mixed and open, that the intercourse could not be interrupted.

Obvious as these advantages were,

they seemed to escape the observation of the adverse faction in Holland, until they began to be perceived in their consequences. The prince still retained the command of the forces of five provinces, which were about equal in strength to those of Holland; so that from his retreat to Guelderland he lay no longer at the mercy of his enemies. From the attachment of the troops to him, it was doubtful how far they might obey even the orders of their respective states, in withdrawing from his command, if such a scene of disorder was once opened as might afford a colour for discretionary conduct, or hold out a sanction to disobedience.

We are now, however, to look to several matters that preceded and led to this last resource which the prince adopted, of retiring with a military force to his strong hold in Guelderland. Great expectations had been formed on both sides, from the assemblage of the states of Holland and West Friesland, which was to take place at the Hague in the middle of March. Although the stadtholder had no vote in that assembly, it would have been his duty to have attended, in order to give his advice, and to lay such proposals and matters relative to public affairs as he thought fitting, before them for regular discussion, had not the late affronts which he received put it out of his power to return to that place, until he was restored to his former dignities and authority. The states themselves seemed to entertain no small apprehension of the tumults which might take place upon that occasion, from the great and general attachment of the inhabitants to the prince, and the strong sensations of grief and

and indignation, which the novelty and cause of his absence, with the public display of his degradation, were likely to produce.

To obviate these disagreeable effects, after a day of public prayer and fasting had been supposed to diffuse a serious disposition among the people, they issued a proclamation a few days previous to the meeting, strictly forbidding, under the severest penalties, all the usual popular marks of rejoicing, upon any public days or occasions whatever, particularly prohibiting the hoisting of flags upon steeples or other places, and the selling or wearing of any badges of distinction, especially of orange-coloured cockades, and ribbands; which being a colour, they observe, not sanctioned by authority, could only be worn from the spirit of party; the delinquents, whether sellers or wearers, being subjected to the heavy arbitrary penalties of imprisonment, corporal punishment, and even death, to be discretionally inflicted: encouragement was held out to the most odious of men, informers; and in a degrading, arbitrary, and probably injudicious exertion of power, it was declared that those who did not inform should be found equally guilty for the misprison, and punished as principals.

March 15th, The states at their first meeting disappointed the public, when a prodigious crowd was already assembled, by an adjournment to the following day. On that morning, to fix an idea of the majesty of their sovereign assembly, as well as to awe the people, the garriſon were drawn out armed, and arrayed in their best uniforms, opposite the hall of the states. A crowd of three or four thousand peo-

ple shewed such strong marks of dissatisfaction, and disposition to tumult, that the fixed bayonets, and firm conduct and countenance of the soldiers, were absolutely necessary to keep them in order. But a new and very peculiar source of discord remained still to be opened. A gate, which derived its name from the stadtholder's office, and the particular use it was assigned to, possessed the singular privilege (at least in modern times) of never being opened, excepting when that first magistrate of the state was to pass through it upon public occasions, such as the present. The president of the assembly, to shew the fullness of power, and to prepare the people for submission and acquiescence in all other novelties, ordered this interdicted gate to be opened, and a detachment of grenadiers were assigned to the important service. This invidious measure was beheld with the highest indignation by the people; but the terror of the soldiers weapons, together with the satisfaction of seeing that no attempt was made to pass through the gate, (the prevention of which was now made the point of honour, when the first was given up) served to prevent their proceeding to any actual violence.

The burghers of the Orange party, considering this first invasion of privilege as the prelude to farther outrage, held a meeting in the night, where, after deep debate, it was determined to preserve, at all events and hazards, the purity of their favourite gate from the last degree of violation. On the third morning the stadtholder's gate was again opened, and matters were conducted with a reasonable degree of tranquillity through the day;

[F] but



but upon the breaking up of the states in the evening, the pensionary of Dort, whether through vanity, to shew his contempt of the stadtholder, or to try the temper of the people, while the means of their chastisement were at hand, ordered his coach to be driven through the gate. This was the signal of alarm, the people immediately interfered, both in preventing the design, and in endeavouring to discharge their fury upon the adventurous pensionary; the riot was violent, and those who were not engaged shuddered for the consequences, nothing less than a general massacre of the unarmed populace being expected. In this instant of terror and danger, the horse guards rushed in with the utmost violence upon the crowd, flourishing their swords with terrible threats, and the most dreadful parade of execution. In little more than a moment the tumultuous crowd were either overthrown by the horses, and lying in heaps upon each other, or dispersed and flying on every side. Never was so violent a tumult so suddenly quelled, and with so little mischief. Not a single man was killed, nor a single wound given with the sword; the horses were the only combatants, and left many sore remembrances of their weight, and of the iron armour on their hoofs. It was no less remarkable that only a single prisoner was made, where all lay at the mercy of the victors. This unfortunate culprit was a sober tradesman, the master of a house and family: he had been so active in the commencement of the riot as to be particularly conspicuous, which occasioned his being early secured; and every body was in expectation of his being hanged, as an example, the following morning.

The conduct of the troops upon this occasion can never be too much praised or admired, and should be received and adopted as a most excellent model in all cases of suppressing civil commotions. Had the infantry, who were quiet lookers-on, undertaken to quell this riot, the slaughter, from the narrowness of the place, the closeness of the crowd, and the nature of their weapons, would have been immense; and when broken and intermixed with the populace (which would have been unavoidable) the conflict must have been attended with loss to themselves. Nor would the destruction have been small to the people, if the cavalry had made that cruel use of their swords which was so entirely in their power, and of which they made so effective and happy a display. Whatever share may be ascribed to discipline in this excellent conduct, no doubt can be entertained but that a much greater was due to the private sentiments and disposition of the troops.

This riot, together with the general ill temper of the people, put a stop for some time to the deliberations of the states of Holland. So many intercessions were made for the life of the unfortunate peruke-maker who had been taken up in the late tumult, that the sentence of death on him was changed to an order of imprisonment for 20 years.

In the mean time, the dissensions in the city of Utrecht became so violent, that the ruling faction issued the singularly arbitrary decree, that not more than two persons should, under any pretence, and under severe penalties, stop to confer in the streets. They were not only in a state of hostility with their fellow-citizens, and the states of the

the province, but they flew in the face of their own immediate delegates, who declared, that in consideration of their oaths, and a full knowledge that the dignities conferred on the stadtholder in 1749 had been granted by the unanimous voice of all the regents of that time, as the only means of preserving the nation, they could not in any manner concur in depriving him of them; although, if any new regulation should, with his own consent, and with the same unanimity be adopted, they should by no means oppose such a reform, but act in concert with the states in general. This moderation in their delegates could produce no corresponding effect in the constituents, who, determined to support their violence by arms, hired soldiers, and procured officers from all parts, and at any expence, making every possible preparation at the same time to withstand a siege vigorously if attacked, as they continually expected.

If the subscriptions to the patriotic funds (which were to support the numberless petty armaments of this time) were really as large as represented, it would indeed be astonishing, considering the heavy losses which individuals as well as the republic had sustained by the war with England, and the subsequent prodigious expences and damage occasioned by the contest with the emperor, first in the preparations for war, and the overflowing of the country, and lastly in the purchase of peace, and the reparation which they were compelled to make to his subjects for their damages. It was said, that subscriptions from individuals of eight or ten thousand florins were common upon this occa-

sion; and that so large a sum as 100,000 (amounting to something between seven and eight thousand pounds) had been sent without a name; but this last was probably no more than a lure, to excite a similar liberality from such an example.

In the mean time the republic was torn to pieces and convulsed in all its parts and members. Nothing could be more deplorable than the face of tumult, riot, and confusion which every where prevailed. Many of the towns presented little less than a scene of continual civil war. The multitude of ill-connected petty sovereignties, of which the republic is composed, afforded room for a general, as well as for particular degrees of anarchy, which could not perhaps have been equalled under any other form of government. Nor has it possibly been known in any civil contention, in which religion was not the object of the contest, that the animosity and malice of the contending factions was carried to so extreme an excess as in the present. Their riots were accordingly, and perhaps it may be said, according to the peculiar genius and temper of the people, fierce, cruel, and bloody. Multitudes of people were said to have been sacrificed, without count or enquiry, in these tumults, while the canals served commodiously for the instant in hiding the effects of their mutual enormity.

The debates in the assembly of the states of Holland; upon the subject of restoring the stadtholder to his dignity, or at least to the government of the Hague, were conducted with a degree of heat and vehemence said to be unequalled in the Dutch councils. Every method

was accordingly used, that the nature of such proceedings will admit, in order to conceal the particulars of what passed in that assembly from the knowledge of the people. The count de Maillebois, who was supposed to be the secret mover of most, if not all, of the harsh measures adopted against the stadtholder, was now become so extremely odious, at least with one party, that he was very generally burnt in effigy in those places where they were prevalent.

After various debates upon the subject, the grand question, with respect to the command at the Hague, was carried against the prince of Orange in the assembly of the states of Holland by a single vote, the numbers being ten to

July 27th. nine. A protest was immediately entered by the equestrian order, as well as by the deputies or representatives of some towns, against this resolution, as being premature and violent, as well as unconstitutional and illegal.

This resolution was not silently acquiesced in by the stadtholder. He transmitted a strong letter to the states of Holland, in which, after taking notice that he could consider this resolution as nothing less than a violent outrage upon his dignity and authority, and an usurpation upon a right which did not admit of being doubted; after observing the defect of unanimity among themselves, and the closeness of the division upon which a question of such importance was carried; he denies the legality of any one member of the confederacy depriving him of rights which had been unanimously conferred upon him by the whole union; and, though he by no means acknowledges the right

even of the whole union to dispossess him of dignities and powers which were in the fullest manner rendered hereditary in his family, yet, waving that question for the present, he observes, that it would at least be necessary, in order to give any colour of sanction to such a proceeding, that the retraction should be attended with the same unanimity which prevailed in the donation.

Though this letter was considered as amounting to a defiance by the most violent of the adverse faction, yet it induced the states of Holland to a re-consideration (perhaps merely for form) of the late resolution; the result of which was only a farther confirmation of the measure, by a declaration that it was strictly legal, and in all respects consonant to the constitution, and to the spirit of the general union.

The death of the late king of Prussia, and the accession of the present monarch, to whose sister the stadtholder is married, could not be supposed to weaken his interest at the court of Berlin. The new king indeed did not leave it long in doubt what part he was determined to take in favour of his brother-in-law. For he scarcely had Sept. 2d. time to feel himself well in the throne, before he dispatched a long letter, fully declaratory of his sentiments, to the states-general; and, to give the greater weight to them, it was conveyed by no less a person than the count de Goertz, his minister of state, in the character of envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary.

In this nervous and spirited letter he refrains from entering into any particular detail of the injuries offered to the stadtholder; referring them

them for that, as well as for his own sentiments upon the subject, to certain specified letters or memorials transmitted by his uncle and predecessor, both to their high mightinesses, and to the states of Holland and West Friezeland; every part of which he now, for himself, renews and confirms. He takes care to remove every objection to his interference, as being unwarranted, intrusive, or dictatorial to a sovereign state, by shewing that the long and tried friendship which had for two centuries subsisted between his predecessors and the republic, would even have demanded his friendly and mediatorial interposition in the present unhappy and dangerous state of their civil dissensions: that, exclusive of friendship, his situation as their nearest neighbour, and the vicinity of a part of his dominions to their territories, must necessarily prevent his being indifferent to any violent or essential change that was attempted to be made in the constitution of the republic: but that, independent of these causes, the near relation in which he stood with the prince stadtholder, and the affection which he bore for the princess his sister, rendered it impossible that he could be unconcerned in seeing them degraded from their high rank and dignities, and the stadtholder arbitrarily deprived of his rights and prerogatives.

He therefore strongly but amiably pressed the states general to use their powerful mediation in the most serious manner with the states of Holland and West Friezeland for settling the present differences; and to take such other measures as might appear necessary for healing the dangerous dissensions so glaringly prevalent, for restoring the prince

to his rights, and enabling him to return with honour and propriety to the resumption of his high offices at the Hague: offering his own counsel and mediation, if it were necessary, in conjunction with other friends and neighbours of the republic, to bring all remaining differences and matters of debate to an equitable, final, and happy termination, and in a manner that would be equally consonant to the honour and true interests of all the parties. He farther informed the states, that they were to receive and consider all communications from the count de Goertz as coming directly from himself.

This early display of the new king's character seemed to afford no small indication, that though the great Frederic was no more, the spirit and vigour of his councils were by no means departed.

The states of five of the provinces referred the consideration of the king of Prussia's letter to the committee for foreign affairs; but those of Holland and West Friezeland, persevering in their system, and bating nothing of their usual obstinacy, declaring their adherence to the resolution of the preceding December, against the admission of any foreign interference in the regulation of their domestic affairs, would pay no attention whatever to the letter.

The court of Versailles, conscious of having the game so effectually in her own hands as to render all public intervention in the affairs of Holland, on her side, totally unnecessary, could have no disposition to admit the interference of other powers, whose views and principles she knew to be diametrically opposite to her own. She had accordingly presented to the states, some considerable time before, as a

guarded precaution against what was like to happen, a memorial couched in very equivocal terms, in which, after much parade of the French king's friendship and regards, and of his attachment to the subsisting alliance between them, he declares his wishes to see those abuses reformed, which had occasioned internal dissensions in the republic, and that he should be happy to see tranquillity restored upon the true principles of its constitution; but that, without pretending to meddle in the internal government of the seven provinces, he would on the contrary use his utmost endeavours to prevent their high mightinesses being troubled from without as well as from within.

The republican party was now become so insolent, and their violence so extreme, that they seemed not only to cast off all obedience to their own laws, but all regard to those of nations, and all respect to foreign sovereigns. A courier from the court of Berlin to that of London, upon his return was stopped, and narrowly escaped being rummaged, and his dispatches examined, by the populace in the town of Woerden. This outrage obliged the count de Goertz formally to demand a passport from the states general for a courier he was sending with dispatches to the king his master.

The states of Guelderland, after various strong remonstrances, couched in terms of great indignation to those of Holland, for the encouragement which they had given, and the support they promised, to the refractory or rebellious burghers in their towns of Hattem and Elbourg, declaring that such an undue interference in their government,

and outrage offered to their sovereignty, must, if persevered in or repeated, lead to an immediate dissolution of the union, determined at length to remove this bone of internal and external contention, by applying force as the last remedy for the eradication of the evil.

They accordingly passed a written resolution, tantamount in effect to a commission, charging the prince stadtholder, as captain-general, immediately to send a sufficient number of troops, under the conduct of an experienced officer, to these towns, with injunctions to continue there until further orders; but that if the inhabitants were to make any resistance to the performance of this service, such officer was authorized, in spite of all obstacles, to support the sovereign authority of their noble mightinesses, by proceeding to force and violence in the establishment of those garrisons.

The states likewise wrote to the magistracies of both towns (who were equally disobeyed and slighted with themselves by the turbulent burghers) inclosing a copy of their resolution, and requiring them to give every assistance in their power to the troops; and particularly to exhort the inhabitants to the most docile submission to all injunctions that might come from their assembly.

General Spengler, with four regiments, and proper artillery, was appointed by the stadtholder to this service, with strict injunctions, if possible, to avoid the shedding of blood. The armed burghers of Hattem, being reinforced by as many volunteers as money or party zeal could procure from different quarters, exhibited a great parade of making a most obstinate resistance.

ance. Their cannon were mounted on the walls and works, and on the approach of the stadtholder's little army, as they called the regular forces by way of contempt, fired several rounds of artillery with great briiknefs, but with fo little judgment in the direction, as not to produce the fmalleft effect. As foon as Spengler arrived within a proper diftance, he pointed his artillery, in order to do the leaft poffible mischief, at the chimnies and tops of the houfes only. This, however, along with the bold advance and near approach of the troops, foon produced the defired effect; the armed burghers, with their adherents and auxiliaries, abandoned the town; and Spengler's men entered at one gate, as they were retiring through another. Elbourg was abandoned in the fame manner, and with ftill lefs trouble.

As the public papers were entirely in the hands of the republicans, fo nothing could be more ridiculous than the pompous and gafconading accounts published of the paltry affair at Hattem. The armed burghers and volunteers were defcribed as inheriting all the valour, and all the prowefs, which had ever been attributed to the heroic ages. The contemptible invading army had been repulfed and put to flight, with a confiderable flaugter of men and officers, who were plainly diftinguifhed as they dropped or were carried off; and, to give the better colour to the tale, fome fmall lofs was acknowledged on their own fide. Yet, in the moment of victory; they abandoned all thefe advantages, merely in compliance with the requifitions of many of their diftant and moft refpectable friends, who, thuddering under the apprehenfion

of any wanton or needlefs profufion of patriotic blood, preffed them to referve their courage for fome occafion more worthy of it—than the defence of their native town, and the protection of their houfes, poffeffions, wives, and families.

In the fame ftyle of delufion, nothing could be more fhocking or deplorable than the accounts which they published of the enormities, the plunder, and cruelties, committed by the troops upon their gaining poffeffion of Hattem and Elbourg. It was no wonder that the public at large, and efpecially thofe at a diftance, fhould have been impofed on by thefe representations, when even the ftates of Guelderland, notwithstanding their vicinity, fwallowed the delufion fo implicitly, that under the double impreffion of indignation at the conduct of the troops, and compaffion for the fuppofed fufferers, they ifued a hasty proclamation, promifing fully to indemnify and to grant adequate fatisfaction to all perfons who had fufained lofs or injury from them.

To the difappointment and mortification, however, of all lovers of the marvellous, as well as to the great vexation of the faction themfelves, general Spengler's detail to his maifters, the ftates, of the operations of the troops under his command, was foon published, by which it appeared that not a fingle man had been killed or wounded on either fide in the boafted action of Hattem; and that the difcipline of the troops had been fo exact, and their conduct fo laudable, that there was not a fingle complainant from either town to appear againft them.

In the mean time the felf-exiled burghers of thofe two towns, with their armed confederates, fuddenly

changing their late boasting into lamentation, and, notwithstanding that the states of Guelderland had published an amnesty in favour of all who would return to their houses within a limited time, filled all places with their clamours, on the woeful detail of their losses and sufferings; the effect of their complaints being the more quickened by the heavy burthen which they proved to their friends, in the various towns where they took refuge.

The taking of these two towns was considered or represented by the adverse faction, not only as the signal, but the actual commencement of civil war; and nothing was to be heard but execrations, as well against the states of Gueldres, as the prince stadtholder. In the province of Holland especially, the flames seemed to be blown up nearly to the greatest height at which they were capable of arriving. All regard to forms was now laid aside, in completing the deposition by force of those magistrates, senators, and members of the respective town councils, who were known or suspected to be of the opposite party.

Sept. 22d. The states of Holland, without regard to the mission and presence of the count de Goertz, immediately suspended, for an indefinite time, the prince stadtholder from all the functions appertaining to his office of captain general within their province; and discharged the troops from that part of their military oath which bound them to obey his orders. At the same time they recalled their regiments from Maastricht, and other garrisons without the province, and ordered a strong line of troops to be formed along the inland frontier towards Utrecht and Guelderland, and magazines to be provided for their subsistence during the winter; general Van Ryffel, their commander, being likewise ordered to be in constant force and readiness for succouring and protecting the city of Utrecht, if any attempt should be made upon it, under the orders of the states of that province, who were assembled at Amersfort. Such was the deplorable state of affairs in this once great and flourishing republic, towards the close of the year 1786.

## C H A P. V.

*Opening of the third session of parliament. Amendments moved upon the address in both houses, and negatived without a division. Mr. Fox's observations on the king's speech—on the state of foreign alliances—treaty between France and the United Provinces—Germanic league—treaty with Russia—commercial treaty with France—preposterous mode of conducting the public business—Irish propositions—affairs of India. Mr. Pitt's reply; his observations on Mr. Fox's dexterity in debate; his account of the Russian treaty and German confederacy; his opinion respecting the connection between Hanover and Great Britain; defence of his India bill; flourishing state of the revenues. Remarks by Mr. Fox on the minister's opinion concerning the political connection between Great Britain and Hanover. Major Scott calls on Mr. Burke to bring forward his charges against Mr. Hastings. Mr. Burke relates in reply an anecdote of the duke of Parma. Grand debate on the duke of Richmond's proposed fortification of the dock-yards. Instructions to the board of land and sea-officers, and extracts from their report. Mr. Pitt's motion and arguments in support of the plan proposed, as necessary, as best adapted to their purpose, as tending to increase the effects of our naval force, and to reduce the army. Amendment to Mr. Pitt's motion by Mr. Bastard and Sir William Lemon. Mr. Sheridan's speech in favour of the amendment; first he shews that the plan proposed was dangerous to the constitution; he denies it would reduce the standing army, and if it did, he proves that in the same proportion it would increase its power; 2dly, he denies that it is sanctioned by the report of the board of officers, the extracts from the report prove the members were not agreed; the report itself founded on hypothetical suggestions from the master general. Mr. Pitt's motion rejected by the casting vote of the speaker. Debate in the house of lords on the new clause in the mutiny bill for subjecting officers by brevet to the military law; amendment proposed by lords Carlisle and Stormont; rejected on a division; question started, whether an officer could resign his commission at pleasure; opinions of the lord chancellor and lord Loughborough.*

**T**HE third session of the present parliament was opened on the 24th of January 1786, by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty, after having mentioned the amicable conclusion to which the disputes that threatened an interruption to the tranquillity of Europe had been brought, the friendly disposition of foreign powers towards this country, the extension of trade, the improvement of the revenue,

and the increase of public credit, informed his parliament that the resolutions which they had laid before him, as the basis of an adjustment of the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, had been by his direction recommended to the parliament of that kingdom, but that no effectual step had hitherto been taken thereupon, which could enable them to make any further progress in that salutary work.



work. He afterwards called the attention of the house of commons to the establishment of a fixed plan for the reduction of the national debt, a measure which he trusted the flourishing state of the revenue would be sufficient to effect, with little addition to the public burthens. He concluded with saying, that the vigour and resources of the country, so fully manifested in its present situation, would encourage his parliament to give their utmost attention to every object of national concern; particularly to the consideration of such measures as might be necessary, in order to give further security to the revenue, and to promote and extend, as far as possible, the trade and general industry of his subjects.

An address\* in the usual form being moved and read in the house of lords, the earl Fitzwilliam proposed to omit that part of it which related to the commercial negotiations with Ireland; first, as nugatory, it being acknowledged in the speech, that nothing more could be done on the subject; secondly, as containing an indirect reflection, upon the conduct of the parliament of Ireland; and thirdly, as tending to revive the discussion of a measure almost universally reprobated in one kingdom, received with great jealousy and alarm in this, and marked with the disapprobation of a considerable minority in both houses of parliament. An amendment to the same purpose, and for the same reasons, was moved in the house of commons by lord Surry; and al-

though both the addresses were carried as originally moved, without any division, yet the speech itself underwent a considerable degree of animadversion in both houses, principally on account of the vague and general terms in which it was worded, and the scanty information it held out to parliament.

As the debate on the address to his majesty on the first day of the session, is always considered as open to any general observations on the state of the nation, Mr. Fox took this opportunity to enter at large into the situation in which we stood with respect to the several powers of Europe. He strongly censured the impolitic conduct of his majesty's ministers, in not cultivating continental alliances, and their negligence in being perpetually behindhand in all their foreign negotiations. It was owing, he said, to their criminal misconduct that the house of Bourbon had got the start of us in their late treaty with the United Provinces, and that our ambassador at the Hague had been expoied to the ridicule of presenting an useless memorial to the states on the subject, after the above treaty had been actually ratified. This treaty, which the court of Versailles had persuaded the United States to enter into (rashly indeed he thought, and impolitically on the part of the latter) and which effectually secured Holland in its interests, he considered as highly dangerous and hostile to this country, in as much as it combined France, Spain, and Holland, three of the most powerful maritime pow-

\* The address in the house of lords was moved by the earl of Morton, and seconded by lord Fortescue; in the house of commons it was moved by Mr. Smyth, member for Promfret, and seconded by Mr. Addington, member for the Devises.

ers of Europe, in a confederacy against Great Britain.

In order to counterbalance the mischievous tendency of this confederacy, a more close connection with the courts of Peterburg and Vienna seemed naturally to suggest itself. But what had been the conduct of his majesty's ministers? The emperor, who was the most able, as well as the most likely to cut out work for France, in case of a future war, had been imprudently disgusted by the part which the king, as elector of Hanover, had taken with respect to the electorate of Bavaria, and by his joining with the Germanic princes in a league, founded on the plea of preserving the liberties of the empire. He desired the house to recollect, that in all her wars, France had been most embarrassed by her continental situation, and the dread of an attack from the neighbouring powers; the whole of her policy therefore had been directed to engage them in such a manner as to secure their neutrality, and by that means free her from the burthen of maintaining a ruinous frontier establishment; and hence it was, that in her late contest with Great Britain, she had been enabled to aid her resources by a reduction of her army in the midst of a war, and to apply the savings to the increase of her maritime strength. And what were we to expect in a future war? She was safe by the family compact on the side of Spain; she had, by the late treaty, secured Holland in her interest. The emperor (whose designs, notwithstanding the treaties subsisting between them, and all the endearing bonds of family connection, it was well known she still watched with jealous apprehensions) was the only power

in Europe she had any cause to dread. France therefore had nothing to wish for before the late league was made, but that some circumstances should happen to create a jealousy and dislike of Great Britain in the emperor. That circumstance we had ourselves provided; by the effects of that league we had secured the frontier of France gratis at a moment when she would have paid any price for it, as was apparent from the great sums she had expended in bringing about the peace between the United Provinces and the emperor. The most sanguine dreamer of national good fortune could not have pictured to himself the possibility of such a fortunate event.

With respect to Russia, a crisis had occurred two years ago, of which this country ought to have taken advantage, and which he himself had at the precise moment pointed out in that house: the moment to which he alluded was that when the empress of Russia had settled her differences with the Porte on the subject of the Crimea, when overtures of the most advantageous nature were made to the British court. At the same time, though he was convinced that the best opportunity for treating with Russia had been lost, yet he expressed his satisfaction at having heard, from good authority, that a treaty was then actually negotiating, and in a fair way of being concluded.

Mr. Fox next adverted to the negotiation for a commercial treaty, which was then on the point of being opened at Paris. He gave a decisive opinion against the policy of such a measure; appealing to the experience of former times, which, he said, proved that this nation had grown

grown great, prosperous, and flourishing, from the moment that she quitted all commercial connexions with France. The selection of a distinguished member of opposition, whose knowledge of commercial affairs had given no small trouble to the minister in the preceding session, for the negotiation of this treaty, and the singularity of the time of its commencement, were the objects of much pointed raillery. By the articles of the peace of Versailles, a treaty of commerce was to have been settled between this country and France on or before the first of January 1786, and from that day all negotiation was to be at an end: but now that the time of negotiation was past, the board of trade were busy with the subject, and were about to send out a negotiator. The same unseemly, but more criminal mismanagement, had marked their conduct respecting the treaty between France and Holland, against the conclusion of which sir James Harris was directed to present a memorial to the states, but unfortunately several days after it had been ratified. The like preposterous arrangement of public business had also taken place in the projected settlement with Ireland; when, after the commercial propositions had been transmitted by his majesty's servants from that country, and just as the British parliament was called upon to vote them, the board of trade proceeded to enquire whether the propositions were, in fact, such as were fit for either country to accept.

Upon this subject, Mr. Fox remarked with some triumph, the flat contradiction which the event had given to the arguments used by the

minister and his supporters, upon the propriety of first taking the sense of the Irish parliament, in order to ascertain their expectations, before the English parliament was called upon to consider the subject. He put the chancellor of the exchequer in mind of the confidence with which he had again and again told the house, respecting the relative situation of the two countries, *that it was impossible things could remain as they were*; and desired to know, what was the meaning of that part of his majesty's speech which related to this subject, if it was not *that things must remain as they were*?

Mr. Fox, finally, took a concise view of the affairs of India, insisting principally on the alarm, the disgust, and indignation, which certain regulating clauses in Mr. Pitt's bill had justly occasioned amongst the company's servants in India; and upon the extraordinary orders sent out by the board of controul for restoring to the Nabob of Arcot the collection and management of the revenues of the Carnatic, which lord Macartney, from the conviction of the necessity of taking them, not out of his hands, but out of the hands of his agents, British usurers, who plundered the natives and robbed him, had vested in the company. It was owing, he said, to this order, that lord Macartney had resigned his government, and that the company had been deprived of the services of that able and uncorrupt nobleman.

When Mr. Fox had finished, the chancellor of the exchequer, after a short pause, rose and said, he waited to see if any member had objections to make to the address, as the right hon. gentleman who  
spoke

spoke last had certainly made none. He could not avoid bearing testimony to that peculiar and almost instinctive dexterity with which that gentleman was enabled, on all occasions, to leave out of the discussion such parts of the subject as were unfavourable to him; and he had on the present occasion an opportunity of equally admiring a similar talent in him, of introducing, however foreign and unconnected, such matter as he expected would be favourable. He did not mean, however, to follow him in those deviations from the subject. The right hon. gentleman had assumed the liberty of speaking of foreign politics without restraint, on the ground of his not being a minister; and he for his part should avail himself of the delicacy and caution requisite in that character, and should not suffer himself to be diverted from it.

Mr. Pitt then acquainted the house, that the treaty with the empress of Russia was in a state of great forwardness, and he had every reason to hope would be completed in such a manner as to give general satisfaction. With respect to the Germanic confederacy, it was a measure, he said, with the merits or demerits of which his majesty's ministers had no concern; and he desired to have it understood, that Great Britain was by no means committed by any league lately entered into by the elector of Hanover, but was in the present instance, what she always ought to be, perfectly unconnected with the politics of that electorate. He was clear and explicit upon this point. Accident, he said, had placed the sovereignty of that country and of this in the same hands; but it by

no means followed that the interests of each must necessarily be the same, though perhaps it might be for their mutual advantage to make their interests as reconcilable to each other as possible. He pointed out the inconsistency of Mr. Fox's apprehensions of our being involved in difficulties through the means of his majesty's German territories, and yet his expecting that the administration of those territories should be subordinate to, and regulated by, the ministers of Great Britain; as if that very circumstance would not bind this country on all occasions to assist and protect the electorate, whereas the only way for Great Britain to avoid embroiling herself in quarrels for Hanover, was by our government being kept, as much as possible, independent of Hanoverian politics.

He next adverted to Mr. Fox's remarks on the affairs of India, and defended the obnoxious clause in the India bill against the invectives with which it had been treated, as militating against the trial by juries. He contended, that there might be tribunals established in certain cases that would be found to answer equally all the purposes of public justice; and he considered the present as resembling in its constitution the best sort of special jury, and as totally exempt from the imputation of hardship, since no man became subject to it but by his own choice. With respect to the orders relative to the nabob of Arcot, he remarked, that though the policy of the measure was with lord Maccartney, yet the good faith of the nation required that the sacrifice should be made.

Having followed Mr. Fox through these parts of his speech, he took  
notice

notice of the contemptuous manner he had treated that part of his majesty's speech which respected the flourishing state of our finances. He was, however, glad to find that he had changed his sentiments a little since the last session, and that instead of the great deficiency he had then foretold, he had now declared that no person could have ever doubted but there must be *some surplus*. He then declared, that it would shortly appear, that the surplus was considerable and important.

He lastly turned to Mr. Fox's observations upon the subject of Ireland, and condemned in the strongest terms the impropriety of speaking on a subject of such delicacy in the unguarded and inflammatory manner they had just heard. He recapitulated the arguments used in the last session in defence of those measures; and concluded with lamenting their failure, and expressing his sincere regret, that while this country had to contemplate the present prosperous state of her affairs, and the pleasing prospect before her, she had not been able to extend the blessings still further, by communicating those of her commerce to the sister kingdom.

Mr. Pitt's idea that Great Britain was not committed by treaties made by the king, as elector of Hanover, was ridiculed by Mr. Fox with great success. He put a variety of cases, in some of which the sovereign might, with one part of his forces, endeavour to support a particular cause, and with the other attempt to pull it down; in others, Great Britain might be called on to act against the electorate, and lend a hand to strip their king of his hereditary dominions; nay, a British

army might be directed to act hostily against troops, led in person by their sovereign, as elector of Hanover.

Before the house rose, Major Scott (member for West Looe, and agent to the late governor general of Bengal) observing Mr. Burke in his place, begged leave to remind the house that Mr. Hastings had been arrived in England some months; and he therefore called upon that gentleman to produce the charges which he had pledged himself in the preceding session to bring forward against Mr. Hastings, and to fix the earliest day possible for the discussion of them. Mr. Burke replied to the major, by relating an anecdote of the great duke of Parma, who, being challenged by Henry the Fourth of France "to bring his forces into the open field, and instantly decide their disputes;" answered with a smile, "that he knew very well what he had to do, and was not come so far to be directed by an enemy."

The first object of Feb. 27. importance that engaged the attention of parliament in the present session, was a measure which originated with the duke of Richmond, the master-general of the ordnance. It was a plan for fortifying the dock-yards at Portsmouth and Plymouth.

The house of commons had in the preceding session expressed their unwillingness to apply any part of the public money for this purpose, before they were made acquainted with the opinions of such persons as were best able to decide concerning the utility and propriety of such a measure. In consequence of this intimation, a board of military and naval officers was appointed by the king,

king, with the master general of the ordnance as their president; and the proposed plan of fortifications was referred to them for their opinions and advice. After they had investigated the subject, and had made their report thereon, the plans recommended were laid before a board of engineers to make an estimate of the expences necessary to carry them into execution.

This estimate, which amounted to no less a sum than 760,097l. Mr. Pitt laid before the house on the 10th Feb. 10th of February 1786, the day on which the 1786. rest of the ordnance estimates were brought forward; and it was originally intended by Mr. Pitt that it should be debated and decided upon, together with the latter estimates, as a mere collateral question.

Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, who was one of the board of officers that made the report, expressed his desire, that before the business was further proceeded upon, so much both of the report itself, and of the instructions upon which it was founded, as could be made public with safety to the state,

should be laid upon the table of the house of commons. The reason alledged by him was, that the house might otherwise unwarily be led to think that the report functioned the plan of fortifications proposed, more than it really did.

In support of this mode of proceeding, Mr. Sheridan, Feb. 16th. on the 16th of February, moved "for a copy of the appointment of the board of naval and military officers, and of such parts of their instructions, and of their report, as his majesty's discretion might deem proper to be made public, with perfect consistency to the safety of the state;" but as the board in question had been constituted by circular letters from the king, without any official commission or appointment, Mr. Pitt substituted another motion, the same in effect as the foregoing, but more conformable to the fact, which passed unanimously.

These papers \* being laid before the house, Mr. Pitt, on Feb. 27th. the 27th of February, introduced the measure in the form of a general resolution, to the following

\* As the instructions transmitted to the board, and the extracts from their report, are necessary for the elucidation of the following debates, we have thought proper to insert them here.

GEORGE R.

Instructions for our right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin and counsellor Charles Duke of Richmond, Lenox, and Aubigny, Master General of our Ordnance, whom we have thought fit shall be President of a Board of Land and Sea Officers, appointed under our royal authority, to investigate, and report to us on the proper system of defence, and on the expediency and efficacy of the proposed plans for better securing our dock yards at Portsmouth and Plymouth. Given at our Court at St. James's, the thirteenth day of April 1785, in the twenty-fifth year of our reign.

UPON the receipt of these instructions, you are to give notice to the members named in the inclosed list, of the day on which they are to assemble at Portsmouth, and fix the hour and place where they are to meet.

As

lowing effect: " That it appears to " the most æconomical principles,  
 " this house, that to provide effec- " and requiring the smallest num-  
 " tually for securing his majesty's " ber of troops possible to answer  
 " dock-yards at Portsmouth and " the purpose of such security, is an  
 " Plymouth, by a permanent sys- " essential object for the safety of  
 " tem of fortification, founded on " the state, intimately connected  
 " with

As soon as seven of our said land officers, and five of our said sea officers are assembled, they are to proceed to business, and to adjourn from time to time as they shall see occasion.

You are to appoint some intelligent officer to act as secretary, who is regularly to enter in a book the proceedings of the board.

In case of difference of opinion, the reasons for such difference are to be stated, either jointly or separately, and are to be signed by each member present.

The matters treated of, and the opinion of the members, are not to be divulged without our royal permission.

As the inquiries necessary to be made, to enable the board to give a well-informed opinion on this important subject, must branch out into a variety of matter, we have directed that they should be arranged under separate heads; which have been accordingly prepared for this purpose, and are hereunto annexed. On these the board are to report their opinion to us.

Under each head is added a set of more minute and detailed questions and observations. The answers which the board will give to them will form the basis of their more general conclusions. These questions, with the answers, as well as these instructions, the separate heads, and the report, are to be entered in a book, containing the proceedings of the board; which are also to be laid before us, that we may be able at any time to refer to the grounds on which their opinions have been formed.

If any other matter, not contained under those heads or questions, should occur, and appear to the board to throw more light on this subject, they will add it to their report, with any farther observations they may think proper to submit to our consideration.

The first part of the subject referred to the investigation of the board is, in general terms, the proper system of defence for Portsmouth and Plymouth; which will naturally lead them to consider, whether a system of naval defence alone; a system of land defence, from troops alone; or a system of naval and land defence combined; can be relied on for the protection of the dock-yards of Portsmouth and Plymouth; or whether fortifications are necessary: if they are, the second part of the subject referred to this board, viz. the expediency and efficacy of the proposed plans, will next require their attention.

But before they can agree on any system of defence, it will be necessary for them to agree on the nature and extent of the attack against which it is to be calculated, and on the circumstances to which the kingdom may be reduced by the events of war, when called upon to defend its dock-yards.

Note.—(Then follow six data, stating circumstances that may prevent the fleet from affording effectual protection to the dock-yards, the force of the enemy against which it may be prudent to guard, the number and sort of troops that may be had for the defence of these places, and the time it may require to collect the strength of the country from other parts of the kingdom. These six data are omitted, because the matter they contain is not proper to be divulged, and because the board established two new data in place of the two first, and considerably varied two of the others.)

The

“ with the general defence of the “ prosecution of offensive opera-  
 “ kingdom, and necessary for ena- “ tions, in any war in which the na-  
 “ bling the fleet to act with full “ tion may hereafter be engaged.”  
 “ vigour and effect for the protec- This mode of debating and dis-  
 “ tion of commerce, the support of posing of the question, he said, he had  
 “ our distant possessions, and the devised, as best calculated, in his  
 opinion,

The board will vary or add to these data as they shall see occasion.

The heads and questions under them will best explain the manner in which the board is to proceed in applying these data.

We have ordered that such naval assistance as may be wanted at the ports shall be given; and that such engineers and artillery officers as the board may wish to examine, shall attend them; they will also have the proper plans and surveys laid before them.

It will be necessary for the naval officers to examine the shores, as well as for the land officers to study the country, which must undoubtedly take up time; but we hope that the board will be able to make their report by the first week in June.

With respect to calculations of expence, or making out plans upon any ideas that may be proposed, the board will give their directions for this purpose, either to the engineer on the spot, or to the committee of engineers at the Tower, as they shall see occasion; and their reports are to be entered in the proceedings of the board.

As accurate estimates can only be made on works which in every particular are finally settled, and upon detailed drawings and sections of them, such computations as may give a general idea of the probable amount of the expence will be sufficient.

G. R.

Extracts from the report made to his majesty by the board of land and sea officers, appointed by his majesty to investigate and report on the proper system of defence, and on the expediency and efficacy of the proposed plans for better securing the dock-yards at Portsmouth and Plymouth, bearing date the 24th day of June 1785.

MEMBERS Present.

At PORTSMOUTH.

Gen. D. of Richmond, Pref.  
 V. Ad. Barrington,  
 Lt. Gen. Sir Guy Carleton,  
 Lt. G. Sir Will. Howe,  
 Lt. G. Lord Geo. Lenox,  
 Lt. G. Burgoyne,  
 Lt. G. Earl Percy,  
 Lt. G. Earl Cornwallis,  
 Lt. G. Sir David Lindsay,  
 Lt. G. Sir Charles Grey,  
 Major G. Pattison,  
 Major G. Cleaveland,  
 Rear Ad. Lord Hood,  
 Major G. Bramham,  
 Major G. Green,  
 Major G. Roy,  
 Major G. Garth,

At PLYMOUTH.

Gen. D. of Richmond, Pref.  
 V. A. Barrington,  
 Lt. Gen. Sir Guy Carleton,  
 Lt. Gen. Sir Will. Howe,  
 Lt. G. Earl Cornwallis,  
 Lt. G. Sir David Lindsay,  
 Vice Ad. Millbanke,  
 Lt. Gen. Sir Charles Grey,  
 Major G. Pattison,  
 Major G. Cleaveland,  
 Rear Ad. Graves,  
 Major G. Bramham,  
 Major G. Green,  
 Major G. Roy,  
 Major G. Garth,  
 Capt. Hotham,  
 Capt. Macbride,



opinion, to afford an opportunity of thought, more consistent with the discussing, in their fullest extent, great importance of the subject to every principle which could possibly be involved in the proceeding, bring it immediately before the house separately, and in the form as well those in opposition to it, as of a specific resolution, than to those in its favour. It was also, he send it to the committee involved with

Capt. Hotham,  
 Capt. Sir John Jarvis,  
 Capt. Bowyer,  
 Capt. Sir A. Hammond,  
 Capt. James Luttrell.

Capt. Sir A. Hammond.

Report of the board of land and sea officers appointed by your majesty to investigate and report on the proper system of defence, and on the expediency and efficacy of the proposed plans for better securing the dock-yards at Portsmouth and Plymouth.

Having fully taken into our consideration your majesty's instructions, under your majesty's signet and sign manual, dated the thirteenth day of April 1785, and observing that your majesty has been graciously pleased to allow us to vary or add to the data contained therein, as we should see occasion, we have availed ourselves of your majesty's permission so to do; and as, in consequence of such alterations, some of the heads and questions under them appeared to us to have been already answered in some of the data, we conceived any discussion of them became unnecessary, as will more fully be seen in the minutes of our proceedings, herewith laid before your majesty.

We therefore, in obedience to your majesty's commands, beg leave humbly to report to your majesty, that we have agreed on the following data, as the grounds on which our subsequent opinions have been formed.

First datum, agreed to unanimously by both land and sea officers at Portsmouth and Plymouth.

That it is perfectly right, necessary, and wise, effectually to provide in time of peace for the security of your majesty's dock-yards at Portsmouth and Plymouth, by fortifications capable of resisting such an attack as an enemy may be able to make upon them during the absence of the fleet, or whilst, from other causes, the fleet may be prevented from affording its protection to the dock-yards.

Second datum, agreed to unanimously by both land and sea officers at Portsmouth and Plymouth.

That, as far as is consistent with due considerations of expence, and the probable strength of the land forces, it will be adviseable to provide a defence by fortifications for the dock-yards at Portsmouth and Plymouth, against the chances of the fleet, or such part thereof as might give them protection, being absent for— (a certain time named, which is omitted, as not being proper to be disclosed.)

*Note.*—The third datum, stating the force of the enemy, against which it may be prudent to guard, the number of embarkations, and the detailed account of ships proper for this purpose, and agreed to unanimously by both land and sea officers, is omitted, as it cannot be proper that such particulars should be disclosed.

The fourth datum, ascertaining the precise number and sort of troops which may reasonably be expected to be had for the defence of Portsmouth and Plymouth, as established by the land officers, and an observation thereupon, is of a nature not proper to

with the rest of the ordnance estimates.

In support of the resolution, Mr. Pitt undertook to prove the following positions: First, that the fortifying the dock-yards at Portsmouth

and Plymouth was a measure of absolute necessity; secondly, that the plan of fortifications proposed by the duke of Richmond was the best possible plan for that purpose; thirdly, that these fortifications would

to be disclosed. The dissent of lieutenant-generals Burgoyne and Earl Percy, is in substance contained in their proviso, under another head hereinafter stated at length; but the particular reasons contained in this dissent of lieutenant-generals Burgoyne and Earl Percy, are for the same reason omitted.

The fifth datum, agreed to unanimously by the land officers, ascertaining the time that it may require before the strength of the country can be collected from other parts of the kingdom in such force as to defeat such an attempt as is supposed, is for the same reason omitted.

Your majesty's land officers at Portsmouth and Plymouth are unanimously of opinion, that such is the situation of the present works, that no finishing, repairs, or improvements, without additional works, can, under the circumstances of the data, afford that degree of security to the dock-yards—(for the time mentioned in the preceding datum) as may enable your majesty to employ your whole fleet, if necessary, on foreign service.

*Note.*—All the details relative to the insufficiency of the present fortifications, unanimously agreed to by the land officers, are omitted.

Your majesty's land officers, both at Portsmouth and Plymouth, are unanimously of opinion, that a system of detached forts is the most proper for the purpose of protecting the dock-yards.

Your majesty's land officers, both at Portsmouth and Plymouth, are unanimously of opinion, that the system of detached works, as proposed, has, in the extensive situations of Portsmouth and Plymouth, this advantage, that the security to be derived therefrom will not be wholly delayed till the whole of the proposed plan is executed, but an additional degree of strength will be acquired as the detached works are progressively finished.

Your majesty's land officers, both at Portsmouth and Plymouth, are unanimously of opinion, that the situations of the several places therein specified, are well chosen for detached works.

Your majesty's land officers at Portsmouth and Plymouth are unanimously of opinion, that the new works proposed are well adapted to those situations.

*Note.*—The detail of the peculiar advantages of these works, unanimously agreed to by the land officers, is omitted.

Your majesty's land officers at Plymouth are unanimously of opinion, that the distance of the situation proposed, in lieu of Merrifield, from the dock, appears too great for the circumstances of the data; and would, if fortified, require a greater garrison and greater expence, and would not afford the same security to the dock-yard as Merrifield, and therefore the land officers must give the preference to Merrifield.

Your majesty's land officers at Portsmouth are unanimously of opinion, that the proposed finishing for works already begun, the improvements to old ones, and the plan for re-building South-Sea castle, will, together with the new works proposed, give a reasonable degree of security for your majesty's dock-yard at Portsmouth, for the time and under the circumstances of the data, with a garrison of the numbers before specified (regulars and militia) which the land officers are of opinion is sufficient for its defence; whereas the present works, even when re-

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paired,

would be the means of giving a greater scope and effect to the operations of our fleets; and lastly, that they would diminish the standing army.

With respect to the necessity of the measure, he said, that the board

had fully established that point, by declaring, that neither any naval or military force, nor even both united, could afford such a degree of security as was adequate to the importance of our dock-yards, but that

paired, finished, and improved, would require a larger force for their defence; with which they would still be ineffectual for the purpose of securing this dock-yard.

Your majesty's land officers at Plymouth are unanimously of opinion, that a garrison—(of the numbers before specified, regulars and militia) appears sufficient, if the proposed new works and repair of old ones are executed; and that for the present works, even when repaired, a much larger garrison would be ineffectual for the purpose of securing this dock-yard.

Your majesty's land officers having taken into consideration the whole situation of Plymouth, are unanimously of opinion, that the proposed new works, in addition to the old ones, when properly repaired, as suggested in our proceedings, (with a garrison of the numbers before specified, regulars and militia) will give a reasonable degree of security for your majesty's dock-yard at Plymouth for the time and under the circumstances of the data.

Your majesty's land officers, as far as they were respectively concerned at Portsmouth or Plymouth, do report to your majesty, that from the report of the committee of engineers at the Tower, which they have unanimously agreed to adopt, it appears, that the expence of the works proposed for securing your majesty's dock-yards at Portsmouth and Plymouth, will be as follows:

*Note.*—This paper has been already delivered to the house.

Your majesty's instructions under the 23d head, having required, what improvements or alterations, or what other system of defence, the board would suggest, the unanimous opinion of your majesty's sea officers is, that—(a certain number therein specified) of gun-boats at Portsmouth and Plymouth will form a great arm of defence against an invading enemy.

And your majesty's land officers entirely concur in this opinion with the sea officers, considering these gun-boats as a great improvement in the defence of these places.

Your majesty's land and sea officers beg leave to recommend a set of signals to be established on the projecting head-lands—(of certain parts of the coast therein specified) with intelligent mariners to make them, as of essential advantage in conveying early intelligence of the approach of an enemy, and for the protection of commerce.

Your majesty's land and sea officers unanimously recommend—(an improvement in the supply of fresh water at Plymouth; if to be had at a reasonable expence.)

The board has no other improvement, or other system of defence to suggest to your majesty.

Lastly, your majesty's land and sea officers humbly beg leave to observe, that they make this report to your majesty, in full confidence, that the providing an additional security to the dock-yards at Portsmouth and Plymouth is in no respect inconsistent with the necessary exertions for the support of the navy; which they consider

that fortifications were absolutely necessary in addition to both. Secondly, with respect to the mode of fortification, they had declared the plan suggested by the master general of the ordnance to be the most eligible, as being the most adequate to the defence of the places in question, capable of being manned by the smallest force, requiring the least expence to erect, and particularly as affording an increasing degree

consider as the first object of attention for the safety and prosperity of the kingdom.

(Signed)

Richmond, Lennox, and Aubigny.

Sam. Barrington,  
Guy Carleton,  
Will. Howe,  
Geo. H. Lenox,  
John Burgoyne,  
Percy,  
Cornwallis,  
David Lindsay,  
Mark Millbanke,  
Charles Grey,  
James Pattison,  
Sam. Cleaveland,

Tho. Graves,  
Hood,  
James Bramham,  
William Green,  
William Roy,  
Geo. Garth,  
William Hotham,  
John Macbride,  
John Jarvis,  
Geo. Bowyer,  
A. Snape Hammond,  
James Luttrell.

Captain Macbride entered the following objection to the third datum, on the subject of the enemy's force against which the board thought it necessary to provide.

I object to this datum, because it is founded upon a calculation of a large imaginary force. My idea of a descent goes only to the probability of an armament that may possibly consist of—(a certain force which he specifies) which I think sufficient to provide against.

To the question, What improvement or alterations, or what other system of defence the board would suggest?

Lieutenant-generals Burgoyne and earl Percy, vice-admiral Millbanke, and major general Green, stated, that they had none to suggest under the circumstances of the data.

Rear-admiral Graves stated, that he had none to suggest under the excess of the data:

Vice-admiral Barrington, rear-admiral lord Hood, captains Hotham, Bowyer, sir Andrew Snape Hammond, and the honourable James Luttrell, stated, that they thought it more properly belonged to the land officers of this board, than to them, as the minutes of their proceedings will shew, to enter into any system of defence or fortifications, except such parts as are intended for a defence against ships of war, and the proposals they have offered for gun-boats.

Captain Macbride stated, that he had no farther improvements to suggest; but entered his objections to the proposed system of defence.

*Note.*—Captain Macbride's objections are omitted, because they contain detailed descriptions of the coast, roadsteads, currents, tides, and bottoms, and anchorage, by no means proper to be divulged. Captain Macbride concludes his objections with these words:

gree of security in the course of their erection, in so much as that, if any given portion of them was completed, and the remainder unfinished, yet even that part so completed would afford a great deal of additional strength. In support of his third position, he urged, that the dock-yards being thus protected, the navy would consequently be unfettered, and left at liberty to act as occasion might require, in whatever part

I am therefore of opinion that no new works are at present necessary to be erected at Plymouth.

(Signed)

J. Macbride.

On the board having declared it to be their unanimous opinion, that no member is precluded, by the data agreed to by the board, from suggesting any other system of defence, on those or any other data, for the consideration of the board, in answer to the question contained in the 23d head under his majesty's instructions;

The following proviso was added:

But we do not think ourselves required, as individuals, by his majesty's instructions, or any questions under them, to produce any other system, or other data.

(Signed)

S. Barrington,  
J. Burgoyne,  
Percy,  
M. Millbanke,  
Tho. Graves,

Will. Green,  
Will. Hotham,  
John Jarvis,  
Geo. Bowyer.

Rear-admiral Graves, in assenting to the article of the report expressing the full confidence of the board, that the providing an additional security to the dock-yard at Plymouth is in no respect inconsistent with the necessary support of the navy; to avoid being misunderstood, desired to explain himself by the following proviso:

I perfectly agree with the rest of the board, as to the importance of the royal navy towards the safety and prosperity of this maritime and insular kingdom; but would not have it implied, that I think any new system of additional land fortifications for the security of Plymouth necessary.

(Signed)

T. Graves.

Lieutenant-generals Burgoyne and earl Percy, vice-admiral Millbanke, rear-admiral Graves, and captain sir John Jarvis, on signing the report, beg leave to represent to your majesty as follows:

That our proceedings have been founded upon the supposition of the whole fleet being absent (for a certain time) as mentioned in the second datum, and therefore that the enemy may bring over an army (of the force mentioned in the third datum) with an artillery proportionate to an attack on Portsmouth or Plymouth, having (a certain time) to act in, uninterrupted by the British fleet, as mentioned in the third datum: the bare possibility of such an event we do not pretend to deny; but how far it is probable that the whole British fleet may be sent on any service requiring so long an absence, at a time when the enemy is prepared to invade this country with (a force as that mentioned in the third datum) we must humbly leave to your majesty's superior wisdom; and therefore, whether it is necessary, in consequence of such a supposition, to erect works of so expensive a nature as those proposed, and which require such large garrisons to defend them.

(Signed)

J. Burgoyne,  
Percy,  
M. Millbanke,

T. Graves,  
J. Jarvis.

Lieutenant-

part of the world their presence might be most necessary. Whoever, he said, turned in his mind the events of the last war, would, he was sure, be convinced of the great benefit that might be drawn from our fleets being enabled to act in such a manner; and he particularly alluded to that period when the French were hovering upon our coasts, and when the renown of de-

fending and relieving Gibraltar would have been lost, but for some accidental circumstances that luckily at that moment secured us from the danger of an attack at home, and enabled the fleet under lord Howe to sail on that important service. In proof of his last position, that the fortifications in question would reduce our standing army, he said, that if, in case of a threatened

Lieutenant-generals Burgoyne and earl Percy, on agreeing to the erection of new works, and to the system of detached forts being the most proper for the preservation of the dock-yard at Portsmouth, entered the following proviso:

We approve of the system of detached works, and we agree to the above, under the circumstances settled in the data, provided the expence to be incurred shall not exceed such sums as the state can afford to grant for these purposes, and that the number of troops supposed to be allotted by the fourth datum, can be spared for the defence of Portsmouth, consistently with the general defence of the kingdom.

(Signed) J. Burgoyne,  
Percy.

To which proviso the rest of the land officers, members of this board, think it their duty to add:

That we the under-written humbly desire that it may be understood by your majesty, that we never entertained an idea that any expence to be incurred should exceed such sums as the state could afford for these purposes, as we apprehend was fully stated in our second datum; or that we meant to recommend works requiring a greater number of troops to defend than could be spared for the defence of Portsmouth, consistently with the general defence of the kingdom.

On the contrary, the works we recommend appear to us to be calculated upon the most economical principles, and to require the smallest number of troops possible to answer the purpose of effectually securing your majesty's dock-yards at Portsmouth and Plymouth. We conceive that such numbers can be spared for this purpose; we consider such protection to be an essential object for the safety of the state, and intimately connected with the general defence of the kingdom; but we do not consider it to be our province minutely to enter into a consideration of the abilities of the state to provide the necessary supplies for this purpose.

(Signed)  
Richmond, Lennox, and Aubigny.  
Guy Carleton, James Pattison,  
Will. Howe, Sam. Cleaveland,  
Geo. H. Lennox, James Bramham,  
Cornwallis, William Greer,  
David Lindsay, William Roy,  
Charles Grey, George Garth.

RICHMOND, &c. President  
of the Board of Land and  
Sea Officers, &c.

invasion, we should trust only to our standing army, and remain without fortifications, there would be a necessity of augmenting to a most enormous degree that army, on which the whole safety of the kingdom was to rest; whereas, if it was assisted with fortifications, a much smaller force would be sufficient, it being absurd to contend that any number of troops, independent of fortifications, were able to defend a place better than the same number, assisted by fortifications. But it had been, he said, already proved, that the plan proposed for the security of the dock-yards was the best that could be devised, and was capable of defence by the smallest number of troops; it would therefore follow of course, that the fortifications in question would reduce the standing army to the lowest possible number that the circumstances of the case would admit of. This last argument he hoped would completely remove those alarms that prevailed both within and beyond the walls of the house, from a mistaken idea that the measure was unconstitutional in its tendency, by laying the foundation for a standing army, and diverting into an useless and dangerous channel those resources which should strengthen our navy. He concluded with declaring, that he viewed it as a naval question, and as such it ought to be considered, because while it gave security to the vital springs and sources of our marine, by protecting the dock-yards, so far from rendering an increase of the military force of the kingdom necessary, as some gentlemen, from a laudable jealousy of the standing army, and from a natural and zealous regard for the constitution, had been led to imagine, it would actu-

ally tend to remove the necessity of keeping up so large a military establishment as otherwise must be maintained.

Such were the leading arguments by which the resolution was supported. The other speakers in favour of it were lord Hood, the honourable captain Berkeley, the honourable James Luttrell, captain Bowyer, Sir C. Middleton, Mr. J. Hawkins Browne, and lord Mahon.

In opposition to the measure, it was moved as an amendment, by Mr. Bastard, and seconded by Sir W. Lemon, one of the members for the county of Cornwall, to leave out of the resolution all the words from the word "house" to the end of the question; and to insert, "that fortifications on so extensive a plan as proposed by the board, are inexpedient."

This amendment was defended by Mr. Wallwyn, general Burgoyne, capt. Macbride, colonel Barré, Mr. Courtenay, the honourable Charles Marsham, Mr. Windham, Mr. Fox, lord North, and Mr. Sheridan.

The speech of the last-mentioned gentleman on this occasion was the subject of much admiration; and indeed, independent of such arguments as were peculiar to itself, it appears to have comprehended every other which was made use of in contradiction to the proposed plan of fortifications. His objections to the system were of a two-fold nature;—first, such as went to shew that it was in itself, and in its consequences, dangerous and inimical to the constitution;—and secondly, that such were the nature and circumstances of the report made by the board of officers, that the report itself

itself did not warrant or authorize the system. Under the first of these heads he took notice of the arguments that had been used to shew that this system of fortification would actually diminish the standing army in this country, and that, the number of troops being so diminished, there would be proportionably less cause for constitutional jealousy. The position that this system of defence by fortifications could, under any circumstances whatever, have the effect of reducing the standing army, he utterly denied. But even allowing that such fortifications would lessen the standing army, it did not follow, he said, as a conclusion, that there would be less cause for constitutional jealousy; that when we talked of a constitutional jealousy of the military power of the crown, what was the real object we pointed our suspicion at, but that it was in the nature of kings to love power, and in the constitution of armies to obey kings?—That whenever we spoke of a constitutional jealousy of the army, it was upon a supposition that the unhappy time might come, when a prince might be misled by evil counsellors, and that an army might be found who would support their military head in an attempt upon the rights and liberties of their country.—The possible existence of this case, and the probable coincidence of these circumstances, was in contemplation whenever an argument was admitted upon the subject; otherwise we burlesqued and derided the wisdom of our ancestors in the provisions of the bill of rights, and made a mere mockery of the salutary and sacred reserve with which for a short and limited period we annually entrusted the executive magistrate

with the necessary defence of the country.

This plain statement being the case, it was not merely to the number of soldiers a king might have, that we were to look. The jet and substance of the question was, in which of the two situations, the one with, the other without the proposed fortifications, would such a misled king and his counsellors find themselves in a state of the greatest military force and preparation, and most likely to command and to receive a military support? In this point of view, would it be argued that these fortresses, which were to become capable of resisting the siege of a foreign enemy landed in force would not serve as a sufficient strength in the hands of the crown, when the enemy was his people? Again, would no stress be given to the great important distinction between troops selected and separated from their fellow citizens in garrisons and forts, and men living scattered and entangled in all the common duties and connections of their countrymen? Was this an argument of no weight, when applied to the militia, who were to form a part of these garrisons? or would it, even for a moment, be pretended, that men, under such circumstances, and in such disciplined habits, were not a thousand times more likely to despise the breath of parliament, and to lend themselves to the active purposes of tyranny and ambition, than the loose and unconnected bodies which exist, even with jealousy, under the present regulations? It was unnecessary to press the distinction; the fact was, that those strong military holds, if maintained as they must be in peace by full and disciplined garrisons; if well provided



vided; and calculated to stand regular sieges, as the present plan proposed; and if extended to all the objects to which the system must inevitably lead, whether they were to be considered as inducements to tempt a weak prince to evil views, or as engines of power in case of an actual rupture, would in truth promise ten-fold the means of curbing and subduing the country that could be stated to arise even from doubling the present military establishment; with this extraordinary aggravation attending the folly of consenting to such a system, that those very naval stores and magazines, the effectual preservation of which was the pretence for these unassailable fortresses, would in that case become a pledge and hostage in the hands of the crown, which, in a country circumstanced as this was, must ensure an unconditional submission to the most extravagant claims which despotism could dictate.

He next adverted to the arguments which had been used to shew that the present system of fortification would lessen the standing army; the fallacy of which he said was evident, in supposing that the system of defence by fortifications was necessarily to stop, when Portsmouth and Plymouth should become secured, and that the reasoning upon which the extensive works for these places were justified, would not apply to any other parts of the kingdom, wherever their importance called for defence; or their situation exposed them to attack. The shortest method of refuting this idea, was simply to suppose the same board of officers, acting under the same instructions, and deliberating under the same data, going a circuit round the coast of the kingdom, and directed to re-

port upon the various places in their progress, and let any person fairly consider the suppositions under which they make their present report, and then hesitate to confess, that they must of necessity recommend a similar plan of defence, proportionable to the importance of every place to which their attention was directed.

Mr. Sheridan now proceeded to examine so much of the report made by the board of officers as had been laid before the house; which, he argued, was framed in such a manner, and under such circumstances, as by no means sanctioned or warranted the plan under their consideration. Had the board been left to their own free and unfettered judgment, and had they then reported, as they decided and unqualified opinion; that the system proposed by the master general of the ordnance was a measure worthy of the wisdom of parliament to adopt, he should, he said, have acquiesced in their determination; but to shew that this was not the case, he should appeal to, and argue from the report itself. First, he observed, that, mutilated as the state of it was, it was still evident that, so far from its having received the unanimous sanction of the board, there was good reason to believe, from the reference which was made to the minutes of the naval officers, (the result of which was withheld) that those minutes contained a condemnation of the plan. He did not think it would be argued, that the result of those minutes could not be communicated, because they were mixed with such other matters of intelligence as it might be dangerous to reveal; since a sufficient

cient degree of ingenuity had been shewn in the manner of making the extracts from the report; and it would prove extraordinary indeed, if, wherever the judgment was unfavourable, it should have been so blinded and complicated with matter of detail and dangerous discussion, that no chemical process in the ordnance laboratory could possibly separate them; while, on the contrary, every approving opinion, like a subtle oily fluid, floated at the top at once, and the clumsiest clerk was capable of presenting it to the house pure and untinged by a single particle of the reason or information which produced it.

Secondly, he contended that the opinion of the land officers was founded upon hypothetical and conditional *suggestions*, and upon such *data* as the master general had proposed to them; the truth or probability of which *suggestions* and *data* the board invariably and unanimously refused to authorize or make themselves responsible for. This circumstance, he said, deserved particular attention, since the report had been so artfully framed and managed as to warrant a contrary assertion, namely, that the board had acceded to the truth or probability of the *data* themselves. In speaking of these *data*, Mr. Sheridan used much wit and ingenious raillery, at the expence of the master general. He said that his grace deserved the warmest panegyrics for the striking proofs which he had given of his genius as an engineer, which appeared even in the planning and constructing of the report in question; the professional ability of the master general shone conspicuously there,

as it would upon our coasts: he had made an argument of posts, and conducted his reasoning upon principles of trigonometry as well as logic. There were certain detached *data* like advanced works to keep the enemy at a distance from the main object in debate; strong provisions covered the flanks of his assertions; his very queries were in casemates; no impression therefore was to be made on this fortress of sophistry by desultory observations, and it was necessary to fit down before it and assail it by regular approaches. It was fortunate however, he said, to observe; that notwithstanding all the skill employed by the noble and literary engineer, his mode of defence on paper was open to the same objection which had been urged against his other fortifications; that, if his adversary got possession of one of his posts, it became strength against him, and the means of subduing the whole line of his argument.

Lastly, he argued, that the *data* themselves were founded upon a supposition of events so desperate and improbable, as would, were they to take effect, not only produce imminent danger to Portsmouth and Plymouth, but equally so to every other part of the country, and in fact the actual conquest of the island.—*Under the circumstances of the data*, it was necessary to suppose literally as follows:—“The  
“ absence of the whole British fleet  
“ for the space of three months,  
“ while an army of thirty or forty  
“ thousand men was ready on the  
“ enemy’s coast to invade this  
“ country, that enemy to chuse  
“ their point of landing, to land  
“ and encamp with heavy artil-  
“ lery,

“ lery, and every necessary for a  
 “ siege, while no force in Great  
 “ Britain could be collected in  
 “ less than two months to oppose  
 “ them.”

Admitting first as a fact, what was not at all certain, namely, that the enemy should decide to attack Portsmouth and Plymouth, instead of striking at the heart of the empire, yet it did not then follow, he said, that these only objects were effectually secured and provided for; since, in the first place, it had not yet been made out that the enemy might not either land or march to the eastward of Plymouth, where no defence was yet intended to be constructed; and, secondly, as the whole question turned upon the supposition of our being inferior at sea, we must either, upon the return of our inferior fleet, trust to its beating the superior fleet of the enemy, or the consequence must be fatal to the besieged dockyards—for it was expressly stated in the report, that the defence of Portsmouth and Plymouth was calculated only *against the force, and for the time stated in the data*. But, by supposition, the enemy was to have the superior fleet; and should the inferior fleet either be absent or be beat, they would then, being masters of the sea, obviously have it in their power to recruit their own army, to continue the siege, and to keep the other exposed parts of the kingdom in such check and alarm, as thereby to prevent the possibility of our assembling a force sufficient to raise it. From hence it would follow of course, that whenever the army of the enemy should by these means either exceed the number supposed, or that the

time should be prolonged beyond the period calculated in the *data*, the whole of this effectual security would vanish under the very reasons given for its support, and we should have prepared a strong hold in our own country for the enemy, which, from the very circumstances under which he was supposed to have taken it, he would be enabled for ever to maintain.

After a long discussion of the subject, the house divided on the original motion, as moved by Mr. Pitt; Ayes, 169; Noes, 169. The numbers being thus equal, the speaker, as is usual upon such occasions, was called upon to give his casting vote, which he gave against the original motion.

An alteration in- March 20th.  
 troduced into the mu-  
 tiny bill, for the purpose of subject-  
 ing officers who held commissions by  
 brevet to military law, was strongly  
 opposed in both houses of parlia-  
 ment. It appears that the earliest  
 mutiny bills included every officer  
 “ mustered or in pay as an officer,  
 or on half-pay.” The inclusion of  
 the last description of officers occa-  
 sioned in those times some jealousy  
 and uneasiness without doors, as an  
 unnecessary extension of the mili-  
 tary law, and was the subject of  
 frequent debates in both houses of  
 parliament; and in the year 1748  
 that part of the clause was omitted,  
 and has been left out of the mutiny  
 bill ever since. In the present bill,  
 instead of the word “ mustered,”  
 the word “ commissioned” was in-  
 serted, by which alteration all those  
 officers who had commissions by  
 brevet, although out of the service,  
 were made subject to the regulations  
 of the act.

The general ground on which  
 this

this alteration was supported, was, that though such officers received no pay from the crown, yet as they might possibly be invested with command, it was necessary they should be made subject to be tried by courts martial, in case of misbehaviour while in command; and that there were also many other military officers who were not mustered, such as governors, lieutenant-governors, &c. who might eventually exercise command; and that it was highly reasonable that they should, on that account, become amenable to military law; and lastly, two particular instances, which had lately occurred, were alledged as proofs of the expediency of the measure proposed:—col. Stuart, a major-general by brevet in the East Indies, had in that quality taken upon him the command of the army in the settlement in which he was upon service, and had nevertheless not been deemed liable to be tried by a court-martial, had any part of his conduct required that he should be tried. The second instance was that of gen. Ross, in which, upon a reference to the judges, they were unanimously of opinion, that officers holding commissions by brevet were not liable to be tried by a court-martial.

In reply to these observations, it was urged, that the whole system of martial law, as it infring'd upon the natural and constitutional rights of the subject, was only defensible upon the strict ground of necessity, and ought therefore, in times of peace more especially, to be narrowed if possible, instead of being extended. That the general principle, as recognized both in the theory and practice of our constitution, was, that military law should

be confined to actual military service alone. That in ancient times, when every man bore arms, and was liable to be called forth, military law was exercised upon every man while he was in actual service, but no longer. Thus those princes who had little power in their dominions, in respect to civil government, enjoyed and exercised almost an unlimited authority when at the head of their subjects, collected and embodied as an army, which again always ceased with the occasion that made it necessary. That in our times, the militia were under military law when embodied as a militia, but were freed from it after they returned into the mass of the people, and the character of the soldier was sunk in that of the citizen. That the officers on half-pay, though at first included in the mutiny act, had been exempted from its operation by the deliberate voice of both houses of parliament: circumstances which clearly proved, that the prevalent idea in all ages had been to confine military law to actual military service.

It was further urged, that there was a peculiar hardship and injustice in subjecting men in civil life, and who derived no emolument from the rank which they held in the army, to be tried by courts-martial, not only for offences at this time known and defined in the articles of war to be military offences, but for offences as yet unknown, which his majesty had the power hereafter to create. That the act expressly ordered that the articles of war should be read twice in every month at the head of every regiment in the army; that this measure was doubtless thought necessary, for the purpose of making them

them familiarly known to all who were liable to be affected by them; and was therefore a clear proof that the mutiny act, under which the king derives his authority to make such articles of war as he pleased, was never designed to be extended to brevet officers, or officers on half-pay: and that at least, if the innovation proposed should be persisted in, those gentlemen should be apprized of their being about to be made subject to trial by court-martial, for a variety of offences, which at present, in their civil situation, were not offences.

In addition to these arguments, it was also remarked, that the preamble to the mutiny act confined the standing army to a limited number of men, to be paid by the public; and that the proposed alteration would falsify the preamble, by enabling the executive government to exercise military authority over an additional body of men not in the pay of the public. In fine, both houses were called upon not to suffer that jealousy to be laid asleep, with which parliament, ever since a standing army in peace was first suffered to exist, had always regarded it: and to take care lest, under pretence of providing against fanciful inconveniences, they did not connive at a serious attack upon the most important principles of the constitution.

In the house of lords, the bill was opposed in two subsequent debates, with great eloquence and ability, by the earl of Carlisle, lord Stormont, and lord Loughborough; the first of whom proposed, in order to obviate the difficulty of a brevet officer's succeeding to command without being amenable to military law, that a clause should

be added, enacting, that brevet officers should not take command but by virtue of a letter of service, or some special commission from his majesty. This proposal not being accepted, lord Stormont moved, that instead of the word "commissioned" these words should be inserted, "mustered, or called by proper authority into service;" this amendment, he conceived, would do away the objections entertained against the proposed innovation, and would surely comprehend all that the executive government could possibly desire.

The clause, as originally framed, was defended by the lord chancellor, chiefly on the ground that all the king's forces, however constituted, ought to be subject to the same laws; that the distinction between an officer by brevet out of service, and an officer in actual service, was an unfair distinction with respect to the latter. If gentlemen chose to have the advantage of military rank, they ought to hold it on the condition of being subject to military law; and if they disliked that condition, they might ease themselves of the grievance by resigning their commissions.

This argument introduced another topic of discussion. It was asked, whether an officer might not, in actual service, give up his commission whenever he pleased? It was answered by lord Loughborough, that such a resignation was subject to his majesty's acceptance; and in this opinion the lord chancellor concurred, but added, no minister, under the circumstances described, could advise his majesty not to accept such a resignation. On the division there appeared for the original clause 42, against it 20.

CHAP.

## C H A P. VI.

*Mr. Pitt's motion with respect to the reduction of the national debt. Report of a select committee relative to the annual income and expenditure of the state. Supplies and ways and means for the current year. Bill brought in by Mr. Pitt to form a sinking fund of one million annually, to be vested in commissioners, and to be applied to the reduction of the national debt; debates thereon; resolutions moved by Mr. Sheridan negatived; an amendment moved by Mr. Fox, and agreed to without a division; the Bill passes both houses of parliament, and receives the royal assent. Mr. Pitt's Bill for transferring the duties on wines from the customs to the excise; debates thereon; a new clause, moved by Mr. Beaufoy, negatived; the bill carried up to the house of lords; debates upon it there; passed. Mr. Pitt's Bill, empowering commissioners to enquire into the state of, and to sell, the crown lands; debates thereon; amendments moved by Mr. Jolliffe agreed to; the Bill carried up to the lords; debates thereon; carried on a division; protest entered against it. Bill brought in by Mr. Marsbam to extend the disqualifications in Mr. Cserue's Bill to persons holding places under the navy and ordnance offices; debates thereon; negatived on a division.*

**M**R. Pitt had early in this session taken notice of that part of his majesty's speech which related to the necessity of providing for the diminution of the national debt; he had at the same time given the house to understand, that such was the present flourishing condition of the revenue, that the annual national income would not only equal the annual national disbursements, but would leave a surplus of considerable magnitude; this surplus, he said, he meant to form into a permanent fund, to be constantly and invariably applied to the liquidation of the public debt. In pursuance of this information to the house, and in order to ascertain the amount of the surplus in question, Mr. Pitt, previous to his entering into the state of the finances, or ways and means for the present year, moved, "That the several accounts and other papers presented that session, relating to the public income and expendi-

ture, be referred to the consideration of a select committee, and that the said committee be directed to examine and report to the house, what might be expected to be the annual amount of the income and expenditure in future."

This motion was unanimously agreed to, and the select committee having framed their report, laid it before the house on the 21st of March: Mr. Pitt on the 29th, together with the supplies and ways and means for the present year, brought the consideration of the national debt, and his proposition for the diminution of it, formally before the house.

Before we enter upon this subject, it may not be amiss to give a short abstract of the report in question, as the whole jut and substance of the arguments and reasoning upon the measure are founded upon it. The committee prefaced their report with observing, that "Having proceeded to the confi-

deration

deration of the matters referred to them by the house, they had arranged several papers relating thereto under distinct heads, containing the different articles of the public income and expenditure.

But that before they entered on the first part of their report, they thought it necessary to premise, that they had confined their examination to the present state of the revenue, as it appeared either from the amount actually received in the periods contained in the papers referred to them, or from the best estimates which they could form of the produce of such articles as had not been brought to account in those periods, but compose nevertheless a part of the present income of the public. The large amount of taxes imposed since the commencement of the late war, in addition to the then subsisting revenue, the difficulties under which the different branches of our commerce laboured during the continuance of that war, and the great and increasing prevalence of smuggling, previous to the measures recently adopted for its suppression, ap-

peared to them to render any averages of the amount of the revenue in former periods in a great degree inapplicable to the present situation of the country; on the other hand, they did not think themselves competent to discuss the various contingencies which might in future operate to the increase or diminution of the public income: a revenue so complicated in its nature, and depending so much on the various branches of an extensive commerce, must always be liable to temporary fluctuations, even although no circumstances should arise to occasion any permanent alteration in its produce; that they had therefore judged it proper to submit to the wisdom of the house such an extensive consideration, and to state in their report the present amount of the public income, as resulting from the papers before them.

After making all the necessary deductions, the several articles of the annual public receipt and expenditure, from Michaelmas 1784 to Michaelmas 1785, and from January 1785 to January 1786, stood in the report as follows:

**RECEIPT**

From Mich. 1784 From 5th Jan. 1785 to Mich. 1785. to 5th Jan. 1786.

<p>§ 1. Total net payments into the exchequer, from Michaelmas 1784 to Michaelmas 1785 . £.12,321,520</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">Deduct therefrom</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">The respited duties paid by the East India Company — — — £.401,118</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">Excess beyond the future amount of the window duties — — — 447,307</p> <hr/> <p>§ 2. Total net payments into the exchequer, from 5th January 1785 to 5th January 1786 . £.12,499,916</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">Deduct therefrom</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">The respited duties paid by the East India Company — — — £.401,118</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">Excess beyond the future amount of the window duties — — — 50,101</p> <hr/> <p>3. Further produce of the window duty imposed by the 24th Geo. III. — — — 457,219</p> <p>4. To complete the former duty on male servants — — — — —</p> <p>5. Further produce of the duties on horses, waggons, and carts — — — — —</p> <p>6. Further produce of taxes imposed in 1784 — — — — —</p> <p>7. Further produce of taxes imposed in 1785, including the improvement of the medicine duty — — — — —</p> <p>8. Paid at the excise and alienation office, in part of civil list — — — — —</p> <p>9. Produce of the land and malt — — — — —</p>	<p>£.12,042,697</p> <p>253,574</p> <p>307,186</p> <p>42,444</p> <p>73,610</p> <p>22,000</p> <p>242,000</p> <p>14,000</p> <p>2,600,000</p> <hr/> <p>£.15,379,182</p>
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## E X P E N D I T U R E.

<p>10. Interest and charges of the public debts — — — — — £.9,275,769</p> <p>11. Exchequer bills — — — — — 258,000</p> <p>12. Civil list — — — — — 900,000</p> <p>13. Charges on aggregate fund — — — — — 64,600</p> <p>14. Navy — — — — — 1,800,000</p> <p>14. Ordnance — — — — — 348,000</p> <p>14. Army — — — — — 1,600,000</p> <p>15. Militia — — — — — 91,000</p> <p>16. Miscellaneous services — — — — — 74,274</p> <p>17. Appropriated duties — — — — — 66,538</p>	<p>15,397,471</p> <hr/> <p>901,001</p> <hr/> <p>£.14,478,181</p> <hr/> <p>919,290</p>
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Annual Surplus



Mr. Pitt opened the subject at large, and with considerable ability, classing and arranging the different articles under their several heads with great clearness and perspicuity. He began with observing, that the necessity we were under of adopting some means or other for the diminution of our national debt, was a point upon which all persons and parties were universally agreed; as to the quantum of the fund to be provided, it was as universally agreed that not less than a million annually ought to be appropriated for that purpose.

From the report before the house, to which he paid the highest compliments, might be seen, he said, what were the means of the country for effectuating this purpose. It exhibited at one view the whole national finance, including the income and the expenditure of the state.

The committee had taken two periods from which to ascertain the annual amount of the revenue; the one the year ending at Michaelmas 1785, and the other the year ending on the 5th January 1786. In the former of these periods the whole income was 15,379,182 l.; in the latter it was 15,397,471 l. The different articles from which this revenue arose, he observed, were next to be attended to; they were all branches of the revenue payable yearly, but several of them had not yet been received into the exchequer; at the same time he added, that such as had not yet been received, being levied by assessments, were on that account as capable of being ascertained by such assessments, as if they had been actually received. Thus the net money already received into the exchequer

for the year ending Michaelmas 1785 was 11,874,213 l.; and for the year ending in January 1786, 12,042,000 l. the other yearly sums, which he stated from the report, as calculated from assessments, and yet to be received, would, he said, when added together, amount, in the year ending at Michaelmas 1785, to 3,365,000 l. which, added to the receipts for that year, 11,874,000 l. would produce above 15,379,000 l. In the same manner the assessed yearly sums to be received for the year ending in January 1786 would together make 3,354,000 l. which, added to the money actually received in that year, would produce 15,397,000 l. Having thus before them the whole annual income of the state, it remained to consider what was the annual expenditure; it would appear from the report to amount to 14,477,003 l. This sum, he observed, was of a two-fold nature, consisting of such items as might be exactly ascertained, and such as were fluctuating. Under the first head, he included the interest of the national debt, 9,275,769 l.; exchequer bills 258,000 l.; the civil list 900,000 l.; the charges on the aggregate fund 64,600 l.; and appropriated duties 66,538 l.; amounting together to 10,564,907 l. Under the last head he classed the charges of the navy, army, ordnance, militia, and miscellaneous services, which from their nature were fluctuating and uncertain. But as the committee, in calculating the expences of the different services, had purposely gone upon the largest and most extensive establishments, it would be but reasonable to suppose that the real expences would fall short of those stated in the report.

These

These fluctuating expences of the navy, army, ordnance, militia, and miscellaneous services, the report had stated at 3,913,274 l. which, added to the sum of 10,564,907 l. under the first head of permanent expences, makes the whole of the expenditure 14,478,181 l.; which, deducted from 15,397,000 l. the amount of the income, left a surplus, of about 900,000 l. towards the discharge of the national debt. But in order to make up the remaining 100,000 l. it would be necessary to levy fresh taxes to that amount, to compleat what seemed to be universally received as the sum which ought to be applied to the purpose in question, viz. one million annually. This he meant to do by adding one penny per gallon to the duty on spirits, as it now stood, and which had been reduced 5 d. per gallon on the old duty by a late act of parliament. This tax he should calculate at 60 or 70,000 l. per ann. He should next propose an alteration in the mode of measuring deals and battens, with a view of correcting certain abuses, which at present tended to defraud the revenue. From this regulation, he said, 20 or 30,000 l. per annum would arise to the public. Lastly, he should propose a tax on hair powder and pomatums, which might bring in from 15 to 30,000 l. per annum. Thus, agreeable to the statement made in the report, there would be a clear surplus of at least a million annually, for a sinking fund, to be applied to the reduction of the national debt.

Mr. Pitt next proceeded to observe, that the amount of the expenditure, as stated in the report, with respect to the navy, army, and ordnance, although it was large and

ample, as calculated for times of peace, and as they were to stand in future, yet that it fell infinitely short of what was the actual expenditure for those establishments for the present year, or what would be so for two or three years to come. The effects of the late tedious and expensive war, he said, would be felt for some time longer, and the necessary claims it had left on the public purse were such as it was wise and politic to comply with; thus, for instance, the naval half-pay and pension lists were unavoidably much increased, and a number of ships, which were now on the stocks, were to be compleated, in order to save the expence that already had been incurred by them, and which otherwise, from the total decay of the vessels, would be lost. By such means the allowance for the navy, which according to the report was only 1,800,000 l. amounted in the present year to 2,400,000 l. In the same manner the exceedings of the army, arising from the same enormous increase of the half-pay list, and pension list, amounted to 260,000 l. over and above the sum allowed for that service in the report. The whole of these exceedings in the army and navy, on their present establishment, above what was stated in the report as the amount of their permanent expenditure, was above 750,000 l. This was a sum, which from its very nature would gradually diminish, and in time be reduced to nothing. Supposing it to last four years, it would then be equal to a sum of 3,000,000 l. For this sum a provision was necessary; but he added, such were the extraordinary resources of the country, although not immediately capable

pable of being classed under any certain head of revenue, that it would be unnecessary to lay any fresh burthens on the people for that purpose.

Mr. Pitt took this opportunity of entering at large into the actual and probable resources of the country. He first stated the surplus on the several funds, and the army savings, at 450,000*l.* the arrears still due from paymasters at 1,000,000*l.*; a lottery, if it should be thought proper to have one, at 140,000*l.*: a great deal, he said, was to be expected from the increase of the customs, which had been uniform ever since the means adopted for the suppression of smuggling. Other regulations relative to the customs, he said, were now in agitation; also such as respected the wine duty, and above all a plan for the consolidation of the customs. From all these regulations, there was but little doubt, but that the growing resources of the country, and the contingent receipts of the different sums he had mentioned, would be more than sufficient, without a loan, to discharge the exceedings which our establishments, during the next three or four years, would amount to, beyond their permanent level, as stated in the report. But if it should be otherwise, he nevertheless was of opinion, that money should rather be borrowed for the discharge of those extraordinary demands, than that the institution of the fund in question should be postponed, or infringed upon at any time after it was established. Mr. Pitt next proceeded to explain the mode he meant to adopt, in order to insure the due application of this fund to its destined object: he proposed, he said, to vest in a certain number

of commissioners the full power of disposing of it in the purchase of stock for the public in their own names. These commissioners should receive the annual million by quarterly payments of 250,000*l.* to be issued out of the exchequer before any other money, except the interest of the national debt itself; by these provisions, the fund would be secured, and no deficiencies in the national revenues could affect it, but such must be separately provided for by parliament.

The accumulated compound interest on a million yearly, together with the annuities that would fall into that fund, would, he said, in twenty-eight years, amount to such a sum as would leave a surplus of four millions annually, to be applied, if necessary, to the exigencies of the state. In appointing the commissioners he should, he said, endeavour to chuse persons of such weight and character as corresponded with the importance of the commission they were to execute. The speaker of the house of commons, the chancellor of the exchequer, the master of the rolls, the governor and deputy governor of the bank of England, and the accountant general of the high court of chancery, were persons who, from their several situations, he should think highly proper to be of the number.

The next point that Mr. Pitt considered was the *supplies* and *ways* and *means* for the present year, which he said were in such a state as would enable the house to put the plan for the reduction of the national debt into immediate execution.

Mr. Pitt stated the whole of the *supplies*, including a sum of 210,000*l.* granted

granted in aid of the civil list, at 12,477,086*l*. The sum of 210,000*l*. in aid of the civil list, was to discharge certain outstanding exchequer bills to the amount of 180,000*l*. for which the civil list stood mortgaged, and about 30,000*l*. additional debt, which it had incurred during the last year. The *ways* and *means* to satisfy these demands Mr. Pitt stated at 13,362,480*l*. which included 5,000,000*l*. by exchequer bills, to be issued for the purpose of paying off certain exchequer bills to the same amount, which already made part of the supplies for the current year. Agreeably to this calculation, there would, after deducting the amount of the *supplies* from the *ways* and *means*, remain a *surplus* of 885,394*l*. This sum, he said, would be more than sufficient to put his proposed plan into immediate execution. It would allow 250,000*l*. a quarter to be issued to the commissioners for the three succeeding quarters of the current year. The amount of this would be 750,000*l*. which would leave a balance for the beginning of the following year of 135,394*l*.

Mr. Pitt, before he sat down, entered into a short recapitulation of the different points he had discussed.—First, That the yearly income of the state exceeded the permanent level of its expenditure, by a sum of 900,000*l*. Next, that this sum would be increased to a million by means in no wise burthensome to the people.—Thirdly, That altho' the present establishment exceeded in certain instances the same establishments as stated in the report of the select committee, yet there were ample resources, and contingent and outstanding receipts, sufficient to overbalance such excesses, without

having recourse to any fresh taxes:—And lastly, that the ways and means for the present year would be sufficient to furnish the supplies, together with the sum of 250,000*l*. to be applied quarterly towards the establishment of the new fund; and, after all, would leave a considerable balance to be carried to the next year. Mr. Pitt concluded by moving, "That the sum of one million be annually granted to certain commissioners, to be by them applied to the purchase of stocks, towards discharging the public debt of this country; which money shall arise out of the surplusses, excesses, and overplus monies composing the fund, commonly called the sinking fund."

The policy of the principle upon which this motion was founded, viz. the policy of making the income of the state so far exceed its expenditure as to leave a considerable surplus towards the liquidation of the public debt, was on all sides universally acknowledged, and it was accordingly carried in the affirmative without a division.

At the same time several objections were stated by Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Hufsey, to what they termed the insufficiency, and in some instances the impolicy, of the mode which Mr. Pitt had adopted to accomplish so great and so desirable an end.

These objections were of a two-fold nature: 1st, Such as tended to show that the supposed excess of 900,000*l*. in the national income over its expenditure, arose from false and mistaken calculations and conclusions in the report of the select committee, and such as the real state of the finances of the country by no means warranted: 2d, Such

as went to the purposed mode of applying that excess or surplus, provided it existed. The substance of the different arguments made use of in support of the objections which come under the first of these heads were as it were concentrated in a series of resolutions moved by Mr. Sheridan on the 4th of May, and whilst the measure was in its passage through the house.

These resolutions, which were negatived without a division, were, 1st, "That the expected annual amount of the national income stated in the report of the committee, appeared in no respect to have been calculated upon the average receipts of a number of years, but was fixed at the amount of the produce of one year only, with the addition of the probable increase of the new taxes: 2d. That it appeared, that the account of the annual expenditure, as opposed to the amount of the income so calculated, was not a statement of the present existing expenditure, or of that which must exist for some years to come, but was formed from the probable reductions, which it was alledged would have taken place in the prospect of permanent peace towards the end of the year 1791: 3d, That the different branches of the revenue, in the period upon which the future was calculated, appeared to have been singularly productive, particularly in the customs: 4th, That it did not appear that any means had been taken, or information called for, in order to ascertain whether such an increase of revenue had arisen from causes which were likely to have a permanent operation, or otherwise; and that such an investigation was indispensably necessary: 5th, That the uncertainty of estimating by such a criterion the expected future

produce of the revenue, was still more evident upon a comparison of the quarter-day ending the fifth of April last with the same quarter in the preceding year upon which the future income was calculated; by which it appeared, that the amount of the latter quarter was inferior in the article of customs by the sum of 188,215l. 13s. 4d. to the former: 6th, That in the said report there were certain articles of receipt erroneously stated as proper to be added to the future annual income, and other articles of expence erroneously omitted to be added to the expenditure: 7th, That the sums voted and to be voted for the present year considerably exceeded 15,397,471l. 8th, That the means by which the deficiency was to be made good arose from aids and debts that belonged to the present year only: 9th, That there was no surplus income now existing applicable to the reduction of the national debt: 10th, That a surplus income in the ensuing quarters could arise only in the renewal of a loan for an extraordinary million, borrowed upon exchequer bills in the last year, and which it would be unnecessary to make but for the purpose of securing that surplus: 11th, That an extraordinary increase of exchequer bills was an inexpedient anticipation of that assistance which government might receive in the event of a peculiar emergency: 12th, That the saving to the public upon the interest of money borrowed in this way was rendered precarious by the necessity of the more speedy issuing of such bills, in order that the object for which the loan was made might be effectually answered: 13th, That, admitting that by the foregoing means the expected surplus would arise upon the

the three ensuing quarters, it appeared, that there would then be an interval of nearly four years, before the commencement of that permanent peace establishment, which was to furnish in the reduction of its services the expected surplus: 14th, That in this period it appeared from the vouchers annexed to the report and other papers, that a sum amounting to 4,000,000*l.* besides 2,000,000*l.* due to the bank, would be wanted above the stated annual income: Finally, that for this sum of 6,000,000*l.* there appeared to be no adequate provision or resource."

In support of such objections as were made to the mode of applying the supposed surplus, it was urged, that such part of it as rendered the sum appropriated *unalienable* under any circumstances whatever, was highly impolitic; that it tended to tie up and fetter the revenues of the country, when their application to some particular purpose might be of the highest importance. Also, that the obligation to pay the money was only of a general nature, and not an obligation to individuals. In the latter case the pledge was held sacred, and stood upon as sure a footing as the acknowledgment of the national debt itself; whereas a general obligation was liable to be annulled by parliament, upon the slightest pretence even of convenience: — Lastly, that the present large amount of unfunded exchequer bills; which were to be charged on the aids of next session, would become a great and serious evil, as they would oblige the commissioners, from the quantity that would be at market, to buy their stock dear, and sell it cheap, and consequently defeat the very plan in question.

In support of the first of these ob-

jections, Mr. Fox, on the day for reconsidering the report of the committee on this bill, moved a clause to empower the commissioners therein named to accept so much of any future loan as they should have cash belonging to the public in their hands to pay for. This, he said, would obviate the great objection he had to the present bill, on account of its making the sinking fund unalienable under any circumstances whatever; it would relieve that distress the country would otherwise be under, when, on account of a war, it might be necessary to raise a new loan: whenever that should be the case, his opinion was, that the minister should not only raise taxes sufficiently productive to pay the interest of the loan, but also sufficient to make good to the sinking fund whatsoever had been taken from it.

If therefore, for instance, at any future period a loan of six millions was proposed, and there was at that time one million in the hands of the commissioners, in such case they should take a million of the loan, and the bonus or douceur thereupon should be received by them for the public. Thus government would only have five millions to borrow instead of six, and, from such a mode of proceeding, he said, it was evident great benefit would arise to the public.

This clause was brought up by Mr. Fox, and received by Mr. Pitt with the strongest marks of approbation. Another clause, enabling the commissioners named in the bill to continue purchasing stock for the public when at or above par, unless otherwise directed by parliament, was moved by Mr. Pulteney, and carried: The object of this clause

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was

was to throw upon parliament the responsibility of giving fresh instructions to the commissioners, whenever the funds should be at or above par, or in case of its neglecting to do so, to render the consequences imputable to such neglect.

The bill, with these additional clauses, was read a third time on the 15th of May, and carried up to the lords, where it also passed without meeting with any material opposition, and afterwards received the royal assent.

On the 22d of May, Mr. Pitt presented a bill for transferring certain duties on wines from the *customs* to the *excise*. - This was one of the plans he had in view for increasing the revenue, and which he had before given the house notice of, when he proposed the sinking fund of a million annually.

The present amount of duties on wines, he said, was at this moment less, by 280,000l. per annum, than what had been the amount in the middle of the last century; and yet at the same time there was no doubt, but that the consumption of that article was considerably increased since that period.

This defalcation he attributed to two causes: first, the fraudulent importation of large quantities of foreign wine without paying the duties; and secondly, which he looked upon as the principal cause, the sale of a spurious liquor under the name of wine, made at home. These causes, he said, would be removed by the operation of the present bill; which, by imposing duties upon the spurious equal to those on the genuine commodity, would either suppress the former, as was most likely, and thereby increasing

the demand for foreign wines, not only increase the revenue, but extend in return the sale of the various articles of our home trade, or it would oblige the spurious commodity to pay the same duties as the genuine, and not suffer both the consumer and the revenue to be cheated at the same time. The bill would likewise insure the payment of all duties imposed on such foreign wines as should hereafter be imported.

The carrying this improvement into execution by means of the excise laws, Mr. Pitt was aware, would be regarded with an eye of jealousy by the house; but the bill specially provided against any general extension of the excise laws, and only permitted the officers of excise to enter the cellars and warehouses of such as dealt in wine, and not the dwelling-houses even of those.

The bill was objected to upon two grounds: first, on the difficulty of applying the excise laws to such a commodity as wine; and secondly, on the impolicy of ever extending those laws beyond their present limits.

Under the first head it was contended, that the practice of gauging, so applicable to brewers, was perfectly incompatible with respect to such an article as wine; that the continual increase and diminution of the traders stock would baffle the endeavours of the officers to keep a regular account of it, and yet the whole system of excise regulation was founded on that principle.

But the objections which arose from the very nature and operation of the excise laws themselves were much more warmly insisted upon. The mode of trial adopted by those laws, with respect to offences committed

mitted against them, were reprobated, as foreign and abhorrent to the law of the land. It was urged, that the commissioners of the excise were themselves the sole judges between the officer informing and the supposed offender; that the informer was concerned in the conviction, as he had by law one half of the commodity forfeited. Added to this, the proceedings were so summary, that only three days were allowed for the appearance of persons summoned to answer before the commissioners: that the particulars of the charge itself were not specified in the summons, which might be left with a servant or a child, or in the key-hole of the door. Under these circumstances it was stated to be very possible that the accused might be condemned without knowing that he was to be tried; and the execution of the sentence might be the first notice he had of the charge.

In support of these objections, and in order to obviate as much as possible the evils which were involved in the execution of the excise laws, Mr. Beaufoy proposed, as an amendment, "to give the subject, in all cases of an information exhibited in pursuance of the bill in question, an optional right of being tried by a jury of his peers."

This amendment was opposed by Mr. Pitt, and on a division negatived by a majority of 65—the numbers being for it 30, against it 95. The bill, without receiving any material alterations, was read a third time on the 20th of June, and carried.

In its passage through the house of lords it met with a considerable degree of opposition from lord

Loughborough, who, in addition to what had been urged against the general principle of the bill, attacked with a peculiar degree of severity a clause which had been introduced into the bill whilst in the committee. The purport of this clause was, to prohibit the jury, in case of any suit commenced against an officer of the excise for improper seizure, and the officer being able to shew a *probable cause* for such seizure, to grant the plaintiff a verdict, exclusive of the value of the things seized, of more than two-pence damages, or any costs of suit, or to inflict a fine that should exceed one shilling. This, his lordship said, rendered nugatory every appeal made to the laws of the land for redress. As to the term a *probable cause* false information was a probable cause, and that might continually be assigned; thus the rights and powers of juries were infringed, and they were made mere cyphers; the exciseman was placed beyond their jurisdiction, and might laugh both at them and the courts in Westminster-hall. In the course of his speech he particularly addressed himself to the earl of Camden, as a person who had ever defended the rights of juries, and without changing his former opinion on the subject, could not acquiesce in the clause in question. Lord Camden, in return, confessed that the clause was far from meeting with his approbation; but as any alteration would destroy the bill for the present session, he should rather give way to the clause in question than set aside the whole bill, which would be the case if any amendment took place.

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The bill afterwards passed without a division.

Mr. Pitt, on the 20th of June, in consequence of a previous message from his majesty to both houses of parliament, moved, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for appointing commissioners to enquire into the state and condition of the woods, forests, and land revenues, belonging to the crown." The bill was read a first and second time without having any particular notice taken of it, or at all challenging the attention of the house. Upon its being reported on the 29th of June, Mr. Jolliffe strongly objected to its further progress. The commissioners appointed by the bill were, he said, to continue in their office during the existence of the bill itself, which was for three years, without being removable by his majesty, or by address or petition of parliament. The appointment of the commissioners in Mr. Fox's India bill, for the term only of one year more, though they were removable by address of parliament, had yet excited the greatest alarm and clamour, because they were not removable by the crown. This appeared the more extraordinary, as they were not concerned in matters that had any particular relation to the crown; neither did the bill in question compel the commissioners to report their proceedings; or give any security to the public that they would do their duty. Thus an immense expence might be incurred, without producing any effect whatever. This omission, he added, was the more unpardonable, since the bill appointing the commissioners of the public accounts compelled

them to report their proceedings at the opening of every session.

But his strongest objection to the bill was, the unlimited power it gave to the commissioners to call for, and take into their custody, all titles, maps, plans, and documents, which related to lands holden of the crown. This, he said, was instituting a court of inquisition unknown in any other, much less in this country; it left every man concerned without any thing like certainty of title or estate; wherever a reservation was made for the delivery of copy deeds, it was invariably the custom to insert a clause that they should be made by persons appointed by the holder of the deeds, but at the expence of the person claiming them.

Mr. Jolliffe concluded by moving amendments for the protection of title deeds, and to oblige the commissioners to report their proceedings to the house; which were immediately received without a division, and the bill passed the commons. It was afterwards attacked with a considerable degree of severity in the house of lords by lord Lough-

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borough, who, upon the third reading, opposed it chiefly upon the following grounds:—First; Because the bill did not agree with his majesty's message, on which it professed to be founded: that message only authorized an enquiry to be made into the state and condition of the woods, forests, and land revenues belonging to the crown; but the bill proceeded to alienate and dispose of the land revenues of the crown, contrary to the usage of parliament, and inconsistent with the respect due to the crown.—

Secondly,

Secondly, Because the bill repealed the acts of the 22d and 23d of Charles the Second, and created a new power for the sale of those lands, without any exception of the rents in the former acts reserved in behalf of divers persons, and for fundry good and wholesome purposes in those acts mentioned.— Lastly, Because the powers granted to the commissioners were dangerous to the subject, and derogatory to the honour of the crown. It subjected all persons holding of the crown, or holding estates adjoining to crown lands, to an inquisition into their ancient boundaries and title deeds, at the mere motion of the commissioners, without any other legal or ordinary process. It tended to restrain the tenants of the crown from their accustomed rights and privileges; and the crown itself was deprived by it of the management of its own estate, which it transferred to the commissioners. The bill was nevertheless carried by a majority of 10, the house dividing; contents 14, proxies 14; non-contents 11, proxies 7.

A protest against this bill, containing the objections already mentioned, and some other additional ones, was afterwards signed by his lordship the earl of Carlisle, the duke of Portland, the earl of Sandwich, and the bishop of Bristol.

An attempt was made this session by the hon. Mr. Marsham to extend the disqualifications respecting the power of voting at elections, contained in the bill generally known by the name of Mr. Crewe's bill, to persons holding places in the navy and ordnance-office.— These places, he added, were all of a civil nature, and had not the most distant connection or interfe-

rence with the officers of the army or navy.

Mr. Crewe's bill, in setting aside the votes of all persons holding places in the customs, excise, post, and stamp-offices, had done the highest service to the constitution. The bill he proposed, Mr. Marsham said, was so similar in its principle and operation to Mr. Crewe's, that every argument which was or could be adduced in favour of that bill, was equally applicable to the one in question.

The minister opposed the bill, alleging that it stood upon very different grounds from the bill brought in by Mr. Crewe, for which he had himself voted. The reason, he said, for passing that act, was the necessity of reducing the influence of the crown—an influence which the house had previously declared had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished. If Mr. Crewe's bill had answered that purpose, then the object contended for was gained; if it had not, it was unwise to extend such principles as that bill contained, where no benefit arose from their operation.

At the same time Mr. Pitt allowed that Mr. Crewe's bill might be said to have gone a good way in destroying that influence which in matters of election ought effectually to be eradicated: but there were other grounds of objection which he had to the present bill, and which he felt to be insurmountable. The persons disqualified by Mr. Crewe's bill were of such a description, that the very burthens imposed upon the public were conducive to their private interests; and therefore they were peculiarly unfit to elect the members of that assembly, whose

whose business it was to impose those burthens. Again, the officers of the excise and customs pervaded the whole kingdom; whereas the present description of men were confined only to particular parts of the coast. There existed another difference between them, which was to be taken into consideration: the revenue-officers were completely under the influence of government, but the persons employed in the departments in question were subject to no controul whatever; they were at all times capable of procuring what was equal to their present salaries in foreign services, or with our merchantmen at home. If the present bill passed, the whole corps of our naval artificers might carry their skill and industry to a foreign market, and there did not exist a maritime country that would not grant them their own terms. Lastly, he added, that it did not appear, that the influence of the persons in question was ever felt in those parts of the kingdom where, if at all, it must be the more prevalent.

Mr. Fox made some observations on the minister's reasons for rejecting the proposed measure. He began with observing, that it was allowed that no degree of influence with respect to elections ought to remain in the crown; but if depriving the revenue officers of the right of voting tended to reduce that influence, the depriving those other servants of the crown must necessarily reduce it still more.

With respect to the distinction made between the different persons

concerned, namely, that one body extended over the whole kingdom, whilst the other was confined to a few places, it only proved, when taken in its fullest extent, that as the officers of the revenue were more numerous and more diffused than the servants of the navy and ordnance, the disqualifying of the latter, although an useful and necessary regulation, was not so in the same degree, and to the same extent, as the disqualification of the former. Next, it had been urged that the influence of the persons in question had not been felt; but would it, Mr. Fox said, be argued, that because the influence might be either dormant or unsuccessful, that it therefore did not exist? It had also been suggested, he said, that the naval artificers, if deprived of their votes, would hire themselves to foreign powers; but such a supposition, he added, was too ridiculous to be treated seriously. They were to go abroad, he supposed, to have voices in the appointment of members of parliament in France, or were to influence the elections of Spain, or were to look for a share in the aristocracy of Holland. He concluded by seriously calling the attention of the house to the consideration of the present influence of the crown, and to the consequent necessity of applying the remedy now proposed. After some further debate, Mr. Marsham's motion for the second reading of his bill was negatived by a majority of 76; the numbers being for the question 41, against it 117.

## C H A P. VII.

*Accusation of Mr. Hastings. Speech of Mr. Burke on opening that business in the house of commons; he gives the reasons for his undertaking it; reminds the house of their former proceedings; states three different modes of accusation, prosecution in the courts below, bill of pains and penalties, impeachment; objection to the two former modes; his plan of conducting the last; general observations on the whole; he moves for a variety of India papers and documents; debates sixteen; Mr. Dundas's defence of himself; Mr. Pitt's arguments on the same side; answer to objections by Mr. Burke; rights and privileges of an accuser; the production of papers relative to the treaties with the Mahrattas and the Mogul objected to, on the ground of disclosing dangerous secrets; answer to that objection; papers refused on a division; motion renewed by Mr. Fox, and rejected. Mr. Burke delivers in twenty-two articles of charge against Mr. Hastings; Mr. Hastings petitions to be heard in his own defence; conversation thereon; Mr. Hastings heard at the bar; his defence laid on the table; first charge respecting the Robilla war, moved by Mr. Burke; his introductory speech; list of speakers on both sides; charge rejected on a division; second charge, respecting Benares, moved by Mr. Fox; supported by Mr. Pitt; carried by a large majority; indecent reflections of Mr. Hastings's friends thereupon. Mr. Dundas's Bill for amending the India act of 1784; its arbitrary principles strongly opposed; defended by Mr. Dundas; passes both houses. King's speech.—Parliament prorogued.*

**W**E have before related, that on the first day of the session Mr. Burke was called upon by the agent of the late governor general of Bengal to produce the criminal charges against Mr. Hastings in such a shape as might enable parliament to enter into a full discussion of his conduct, and come to a final decision upon it.

On Friday the 17th of February, Mr. Burke brought this subject before the house of commons: after desiring the clerk to read the 44th and 45th resolutions of censure and recal of Mr. Hastings, moved by Mr. Dundas on the 29th of May 1782, he said that he entirely agreed in opinion with the friends of that gentleman, that the resolution which had been read should not be

suffered to remain a mere calumny on the page of their journals; at the same time he lamented that the solemn business of the day should have devolved upon him by the natural death of some, by the political death of others, and in some instances by a death to duty and to principle. It would doubtless, he said, have come forward with much more weight and effect in the hands of the right honourable gentleman who had induced the house to adopt those resolutions, or in those of another gentleman, who had taken an active part in the select committee, and then enjoyed a confidential post in the Indian department, the secretary of the board of controul; but as he could not perceive any intentions

tions of the kind in either of those members, and as he had been personally called upon, in a manner highly honourable to the party interested in the proceeding, but in a manner which rendered it impossible for him not to do his duty, he should endeavour to the best of his power to support the credit and dignity of the house, to enforce its intentions, and give vigour and effect to a sentence passed four years ago; and he trusted that he should receive that protection, that fair and honourable interpretation of his conduct, which the house owed to those who acted in its name, and under the sanction of its authority.

Having endeavoured upon this ground to remove the odium of appearing a forward prosecutor of public delinquency, Mr. Burke called back the recollection of the house to the several proceedings which had been had in parliament respecting the mal-administration of the company's affairs in India, from the period of Lord Clive's government down to the reports of the secret and select committees, the resolutions moved thereupon, and the approbation repeatedly given to these proceedings by his majesty from the throne.—It was upon the authority, the sanction, and the encouragement thus afforded him, that he rested his accusation of Mr. Hastings, as a delinquent of the first magnitude.

After going through an infinite variety of topics relative to this part of his subject; he proceeded to explain the process which he should recommend to the house to pursue. There were, he observed, three several modes of proceeding against state delinquents, which according to the exigencies of particular cases had

each at different times been adopted. The first was to direct his majesty's attorney general to prosecute; from this mode he acknowledged himself totally averse, not only because he had not discovered in the learned gentleman, whose respectable character and professional abilities had advanced him to that high official situation, that zeal for public justice in the present instance, which was a necessary qualification in a public prosecutor; but more especially, because he thought a trial in the court of King's Bench, amidst a cloud of causes of meum and tuum, of trespasss, assault, battery, conversion, and trover, &c. &c. not at all suited to the size and enormity of the offender, or to the complicated nature and extent of his offences. Another mode of proceeding occasionally adopted by the house was by *bill of pains and penalties*; this mode he also greatly disapproved of, in the first place, as attended with great hardship and injustice to the party prosecuted, by obliging him to anticipate his defence; and secondly, as putting the house in a situation which, where the nature of the case did not absolutely require it, ought carefully to be avoided, that of shifting its character backwards and forwards, and appearing in the same cause one day as accusers, and another as judges.—The only process that remained, was by the ancient and constitutional mode of *impeachment*; and even in adopting this process he should advise the house to proceed with all possible caution and prudence. It had been usual, he observed, in the first instance, to resolve that the party accused should be impeached, and then to appoint a committee to

examine

examine the evidence, and find the articles on which the impeachment was to be founded.—This mode of proceeding had, from the heat and passion with which the minds of men were sometimes apt to be inflamed, led the house, on more than one occasion, into the disgraceful dilemma of either abandoning the impeachment they had voted, or of preferring articles which they had not evidence to support.—In order to steer clear of this disgrace, he should move that such papers as were necessary for substantiating the guilt of Mr. Hastings, if guilt there was, should be laid before the house; and that these papers, together with the charges extracted from them, should be referred to a committee of the whole house, and evidence examined thereon: if the charges should then appear, what he believed they would be found to be, charges of the blackest and foulest nature, and supported by competent and sufficient evidence, the house would then proceed with confidence and dignity to the bar of the house of lords.

Having stated these matters with great precision, Mr. Burke went into a series of reflections on the nature of the office he had undertaken. Every accuser, he said, was himself under accusation at the very time he accused another; it behoved him to act upon sure grounds, and he had therefore chosen the line of conduct he had just explained, as being at the same time the most effectual for the purposes of public justice, and the least exposed to the danger of error: he urged the unavoidable necessity of making the enquiry personal; he asked what would be the sentiments of the miserable and oppressed natives of

India, if the result of the proceedings in that house should be to find that enormous speculation existed, but that there was no peculator; that there was gross corruption, but no person to corrupt, or to be corrupted; that a torrent of violence, oppression, and cruelty, had deluged that country, but that every soul in it was just, moderate, and humane? To trace speculation to the peculator, corruption to its source, and oppression to the oppressor, had been the object of the researches of the several committees that had been instituted at different times by the house; and the result was, they found that government in India could not be foul and the governor pure. After a speech of considerable length, in which these and many other topics of the same nature were argued with great force and perspicuity, Mr. Burke concluded, by moving, "That copies of all correspondence, since the month of January 1782, between Warren Hastings, Esquire, governor general of Bengal, and the court of directors, as well before as since the return of the said governor general, relative to presents and other money particularly received by the said governor general, be laid before this house."

The reflections thrown out by Mr. Burke, relative to the resolutions of the secret committee, and the conduct of Mr. Dundas, called up that gentleman to justify the part he had taken.—He acknowledged that he undoubtedly was the person who suggested the resolutions alluded to, and he had not the smallest scruple to admit that the same sentiments that he entertained respecting Mr. Hastings, at the time of proposing those resolutions,

lutions, he entertained at that moment; but would any one contend that those sentiments went so far as to suppose Mr. Hastings to be a fit object for a criminal prosecution? The resolutions went to the recal of Mr. Hastings, a matter which he at the time thought expedient, and had recommended it to the house as a matter of expediency only. He thought the conduct of Mr. Hastings, since the period to which those resolutions referred, not only not criminal but highly meritorious, and he had for that reason approved of the vote of thanks which the court of directors had conferred upon him.

The charge of inconsistency being again urged against Mr. Dundas with great severity, by Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt rose up in his defence, and retorted the charge with some acrimony on Mr. Fox, whose conduct, he said, in the coalition he had formed with a person whom he had been in the habit of loading with the most extravagant reproaches, had sufficiently explained to the public his ideas of consistency. He contended that the resolution of recal by no means pledged the house to prosecute; since, if that were the case, they would on all occasions be reduced to the necessity either of hesitating on such a step (however urgent the emergency might be) until a full examination of the conduct of the person could be had, or of rendering a prosecution unavoidable, although no adequate enquiry had been instituted to evince its propriety. The resolutions contained in themselves the whole of the object for which they were designed, namely, that in order to recover the lost confidence of the princes of India, it was advisable,

what?—to punish?—No! but to recal certain of the company's servants. Whether the conduct by which the confidence had been lost was imputable as a crime to those servants, was totally another consideration: he was indeed ready to join in opinion with the gentlemen opposite to him, that if any real guilt was to be investigated, and adequate punishment to be inflicted, his right honourable friend would be full as proper a person to take the lead, and full as likely to accomplish all the purposes of public justice, as those gentlemen into whose hands the prosecution would fall; but, as it had been said in the course of the debate that there were occasions when the formal rules of common justice might be overleaped, and a prosecution conducted with violence and resentment, rather than by the dull forms of ordinary proceedings, perhaps, considering the present business in that point of view, the gentlemen that had taken it up were the fittest people to be intrusted with it: with respect to the papers moved for, Mr. Pitt made no objection, but hoped the gentleman who moved for them would inform the house as early and as explicitly as possible of the nature and extent of the charges he intended to make.

The question being carried, Mr. Burke proceeded to move for a great variety of other papers, which he alleged were necessary for the prosecution of the cause he had undertaken. These motions produced much conversation, and towards the close of the day there appeared some hesitation in the ministers of the crown, whether it would be proper to produce whatever papers might

might be called for on the mere suggestion of the mover, without insisting upon his stating to the house the connection they had with the matters contained in the reports of the committees, beyond which they did not think he ought to go in the matter of his intended accusation. At this stage of the business the house adjourned at one o'clock, on account of the illness of the speaker; and the day following the conversation was renewed, upon a motion for papers relative to the affairs of Oude.

It was urged that it would be a precedent of a very dangerous nature to suffer papers, of the contents of which the house was in a great measure ignorant, to be laid upon the table, merely on the word of any individual member. Why did not the honourable gentleman bring forward a specific accusation? the house might then be enabled to judge whether the papers moved for were necessary to substantiate the charge or not; but till that was done, it was their duty to resist the production of them. In opposition to this unexpected obstacle, Mr. Burke contended, and endeavoured to prove from several instances, that the practice of the house by no means bound them down to the mode of proceeding to which it was attempted to subject him. In every criminal process the accuser, who, by becoming such, took upon himself the *onus probandi*, was entitled to have such documents and papers as he esteemed necessary to support the charge he undertook to bring forward, open and accessible. A refusal must be attended with a double injustice. If the accuser wanted collateral and explanatory

aid, he ought not to be denied the means of digesting, explaining, or simplifying those facts of which he was in prior possession. If, on the other hand, the grounds of accusation could be extenuated; if the severity of the charge could be abated, nay, perhaps annihilated, a denial of that opportunity to the accuser was an injustice to the accused. He should therefore consider the rejection of his motion as a stratagem to get rid of the whole enquiry; but he entertained too strong a sense of what he owed to public justice, and to humanity, to accept of the subterfuge that was offered him, and steal away from and desert their cause. He knew that he should have to encounter a connected force of the first weight and influence in the country; but he had not undertaken the accusation upon light grounds, and he had the firmest reliance upon the justice of his cause. He had been told, that the prosecution would be unpopular; that the people of England would reject him in such a pursuit.—O miserable public! he exclaimed; what! for having taken up the cause of their injured and oppressed fellow-subjects in India, for attempting to bring to justice the plunderers of mankind, the desolators of provinces, the oppressors of an innocent and meritorious people, in every rank, sex, and condition, the violators of public faith, the destroyers of the British character and reputation—was he to be unpopular? Those who had raised monuments of their benevolence, by providing asylums and receptacles for human misery, were justly ranked for such deeds amongst the benefactors to mankind; but even these acts of patriot-  
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trifism and charity were not to be compared to the noble work of supporting the most sacred rights and valuable interests of mankind, by bringing to public justice the man who had sacrificed them to his cruelty, his avarice, and his ambition.

After pursuing this train of reflections with great energy and eloquence, Mr. Burke remarked, that the *prevaricatio accusatorum* had been reckoned amongst one of the first symptoms of the decline of the Roman greatness. But at the time this observation was made, when Verres was accused by Cicero, every means of information was allowed him. One hundred and fifty days were granted him, to collect the materials of his accusation from so near a province as Sicily. All the public records were open to him, and persons sent out of Italy to every place where the proofs of his guilt could be collected. In like manner, when the Cicero of the present age felt that indignity against public crimes which did him so much honour, every possible assistance was afforded him; every paper which he wanted was produced; every avenue of information was opened; all parties concurred in encouraging him; the flower of the bar supported him; crown lawyers were engaged in making researches; and treasury clerks exerted themselves with all the enthusiasm of public virtue. In short the learned gentleman obtained more information than he might have ultimately wished to have brought in charge against the delinquent he prosecuted. Mr. Burke added, that it was sufficiently visible that his situation was in every respect the very reverse; that, for his own part, he only called for what the hand of

power had no excuse for refusing. The papers for which he had moved he avowed were necessary for his purpose; and it was incumbent on those who refused them to justify, by some better plea than that of ignorance of their contents, the refusal of them.

Major Scott followed Mr. Burke, and agreed in opinion with him, that the papers were necessary to be produced; and Mr. Pitt, after many professions of the most unbiassed impartiality, concurred with them; remarking, at the same time, that it would be but fair and candid in the right honourable mover, to give the house some specific information of the subject matter of his charges, and to state the grounds and reasons for the production of such papers as he might think it necessary to call for in support of them. In compliance with this request, Mr. Burke read to the house a short abstract of the several charges which he designed to bring forward; and pointed out the matters which the several papers, he afterwards moved for, were intended to explain and substantiate.

The rest of Mr. 3d March. Burke's motions met with little opposition, till, on the 3d of March, he moved for copies of letters, and other papers, relative to the treaty of peace with the Mahrattas. This motion was opposed by Mr. Dundas and Mr. Pitt, on two grounds; first, that the treaty in question was a wise and salutary treaty, and had saved the British empire in Asia; and, secondly, that the production of the papers moved for would discover transactions relative to that peace, which ought to be kept a secret from the country powers in India, inso-

much

much as it would disclose the means by which the several states that were confederate against England were made jealous of each other, and the intrigues by which they were induced to dissolve that confederacy. In answer to these objections, it was urged, by Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox, in the first place, that to argue from the merits of the peace, was to beg the question. Mr. Hastings was charged with having acted in that treaty unjustly, treacherously, and cruelly; that was the point in issue, and it could only be tried by the production of the papers. The accuser alleged he was in possession of the facts, and demanded the public documents only as furnishing the means of formal evidence of his charge. In the second place it was argued, that the reasons given for withholding the papers were, in fact, the strongest reasons for producing them: those reasons amounted to this, that the papers ought not to be produced, because they would discover in what manner the different powers in India had been sacrificed in that treaty to each other—the very point that was charged in the accusation. This argument, if carried to its full extent, would cover almost every species of political delinquency, since it made it only necessary for the delinquent to add complicated treachery to his other crimes, to render it dangerous to bring him to a public trial. But the argument was futile in another respect; the transactions alluded to were but too well known, and too generally condemned and repro- bated throughout India. If they were to be a secret, it would be a secret only to the house of commons, and of this sufficient proof might easily

be given. After a long debate, the house divided upon the motion, which was rejected by a majority of 87 to 44.

The conduct of administration in re- 17th March. fusing the papers moved for by Mr. Burke, and the reasons upon which that refusal was grounded, appeared to the members in opposition of so serious and alarming a nature, that the same motion was twice renewed, on the 6th and on the 17th of March by Mr. Fox, but restricted to the correspondence of a Major Brown, an agent of Mr. Hastings at the court of Delhi. Copies of many parts of this correspondence were in the hands of some private individuals in England, and they were used, in the course of the debate, both to prove the criminal conduct of Mr. Hastings, and the futility of the pretension of secrecy.

It was strongly urged, that if the grounds upon which ministers withheld those papers from the inspection of parliament were admitted by the house as sufficient, it would in fact vest them with a power of protecting every delinquent, and quashing at the very outset every public enquiry. Notwithstanding the odium which was attempted by these repeated discussions to be thrown on administration, they continued firm in their refusal; urging, in addition to their former arguments, that the agency of major Brown was by no means proved, and that the correspondence in question appeared to contain merely the wild and chimerical projects of an unauthorized individual. The motion was rejected on the last day by 140 to 73.

April 4th. On the fourth of April Mr. Burke, in his place, charged Warren Hastings, esq. the late governor general of Bengal, with sundry high crimes and misdemeanors, and delivered at the table the nine first articles of his charge, and the rest in the course of the following week, amounting in all to 22 in number. On the 26th Mr. Hastings requested by petition to the house to be permitted to be heard in his defence to the several articles, and that he might be allowed a copy of the same\*. Mr. Burke declared his wish that every reasonable degree of indulgence should be shewn to Mr. Hastings: he should therefore readily consent to his being heard in his defence, though he did not think it quite agreeable to the regularity of their proceeding, that he should be heard in the present stage of it. With respect to a copy of the charges, he believed there was no precedent of such an indulgence being granted. It was well known that it was his original intention to have gone through the whole of his evidence before he delivered in his articles, and to let the charge grow out of the evidence; but the house, in its wisdom, had thought proper to vote a different mode of proceeding, and to direct that the charges should be first made; and that he should then proceed to substantiate them by evidence. Hence he had been under the necessity of new arranging his plan, and of making his charges as comprehensive as possible, taking in and stating every thing with which private information could furnish him. In their present form they were to be considered merely as a general collection of accusatory facts, intermixed with a variety of collateral matter, both of fact and reasoning, necessary for their elucidation; and the committee to which they were to be referred would necessarily find occasion to alter them materially. For this reason also he thought it would be highly improper to give a copy of them, in the present stage of the business, to Mr. Hastings. These reasons, however, being overruled by the majority, and a copy ordered to be granted to Mr. Hastings, Mr. Burke moved, that the house should resolve itself into a committee to examine the witnesses that had been ordered to attend. This was also objected to by the other side of the house on the

\* To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain,  
in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of WARREN HASTINGS, late Governor General of Bengal,  
Sheweth,

THAT your petitioner observes by the votes of the 4th and 17th days of April instant, that Mr. Burke in his place charged Warren Hastings, late governor general of Bengal, with sundry high crimes and misdemeanors; and presented to the house several articles of charge of high crimes and misdemeanors against the said Warren Hastings.

Your petitioner therefore humbly prays that he may be heard in his defence to the several articles; and that he may be allowed a copy of the same.

And your petitioner, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

WARREN HASTINGS.

ground.

ground, that as they had agreed to hear the defence of Mr. Hastings, they ought to wait till that had been gone through, since he might possibly be able to offer such matter in exculpation of himself as would induce the house entirely to stop all further proceeding. This argument was strongly supported by the master of the rolls and the attorney general, and ably opposed by Mr. Hardinge, solicitor general to the queen, and Mr. Anstruther.

The decision of the house, by a majority of 140 to 80 against the proposition of Mr. Burke, was considered as a most favourable prognostic by the friends of Mr. Hastings; and they spoke with the utmost confidence of a speedy conclusion of the whole business in his favour.

On the 1st of May, Mr. Hastings being called to the bar, addressed the house in a short speech; in which he stated, that he considered his being allowed to be heard in that stage of the business as a very great indulgence, for which he begged leave to make his most grateful acknowledgments to the house; and as his wish was to deliver what he had to say in answer to the charges that had been presented against him by an honourable member, with a greater share of accuracy and correctness than he could pretend to in a speech from memory, he had committed his sentiments to writing, and hoped to be permitted to read them. This request being granted, Mr. Hastings proceeded to read his defence, in which he was assisted by Mr. Markham, a son of the archbishop of York, and the clerks of the house. Three days were spent

in going through the several parts of his defence; and it was afterwards, at the request of Mr. Hastings, ordered to be laid upon the table of the house, and printed for the use of the members.

As two articles only of the charge were decided upon in this session of parliament, we shall, for the sake of giving our readers a connected view of the whole subject together, defer entering at present into the subject matter of the charges exhibited, the proofs by which they were supported, or the allegations urged by Mr. Hastings in his defence, and content ourselves with a narrative of the proceedings of the house of commons.

In our next volume we shall endeavour to give as concise and comprehensive an abstract of the whole business, as its immense extent and complicated variety will admit. We shall therefore only observe, with respect to the defence of Mr. Hastings, that it does not appear to have produced an effect answerable to the sanguine expectation of his friends, or to the views of those who might wish to have taken a plausible opportunity of quashing the whole proceeding, by a short question upon the general merits of the person accused.

In the mean time, the house, in a committee, proceeded in the examination of witnesses in proof of the charges; and on the June 1st. first of June Mr. Burke brought forward the Rohilla charge, and moved the following resolution thereupon:—"That the committee, having considered the said article, and examined evidence on the same, are of opinion that there are grounds sufficient to charge Warren Hastings

tings with high crimes and misdemeanors upon the matter of the said article."

Mr. Burke introduced his motion with a solemn invocation of the justice of the house, which he said was particularly due, as well to the people of Great Britain, because the national credit and character were deeply involved, and implicated in the issue of the business about to be brought before them, as for the sake of their own honour and dignity. He described with great force the nature of the question to be decided; declaring emphatically, that it was an appeal from British power to British justice.—The charge, he said, must either condemn the accuser or the accused: there was no medium. The result must be, that Warren Hastings, esq. had been guilty of gross, enormous, and flagitious crimes; or, that he was a base, calumniatory, wicked, and malicious accuser. He enlarged upon the degree of guilt ascribable to that man who should dare presume to take up the time of the house by rashly coming forward, and urging groundless and ill-founded charges against a person who had been intrusted with high and exalted offices in the government of a part of our territories, much larger and more extensive than the whole island of Great Britain. There were, he observed, but three sources of false accusation, viz. ignorance, inadvertency, or passion; by none of these three had he been actuated: ignorance he could not plead, because he knew the subject as fully as the labour and study of six years could make him know it: inadvertency as little could he be charged with, because he had deliberately proceeded, and examined every step he took in the business with

the most minute and cautious attention: and, least of all, could it be said, with any colour of truth, that he had been actuated by passion. Anger indeed he had felt, but surely not a blameable anger; for who ever heard of an enquiring anger, a digesting anger, a collating anger, an examining anger, or a selecting anger? The anger he had felt was, an uniform, steady, public anger, but never a private anger; that anger which five years ago warmed his breast, he felt precisely the same and unimpaired at that moment. Not all the various occurrences of the last five years, neither five changes of administration, nor the retirement of the summer, nor the occupation of winter, neither his public nor his private avocations, nor the snow, which in that period had so plentifully showered on his head, had been able to cool that anger, which he acknowledged to feel as a public man, but which, as a private individual, he had never felt for one moment.

He observed, that the vote they were to give that day was not merely on the case of Mr. Hastings; they were to vote a set of maxims and principles, to be the guide of all future governors in India. The code of political principles which they should that day establish as the principles of British government in its distant provinces, would stand recorded as a proof of their wisdom and justice, or of their disposition to tyranny and oppression. He entered at large into those peculiar circumstances in the connection between this country and India, which rendered the retribution of justice, in cases of cruelty and oppression, extremely difficult, and contrasted them with the situation of the provinces

vinces conquered by the Romans. The Roman empire was an empire of continuity, each province being either immediately or nearly accessible by land; they had likewise one general tongue to speak with, so that each man was able to tell his tale in his own way. They had another advantage, which arose from the very circumstance of their being conquered, and it was that the principal persons who accomplished the conquest always acquired a property and influence in each new province by them subdued, and of course the vanquished found patrons and protectors in the persons of their conquerors. Each province was also considered as a body corporate, and consequently each province was enabled to send their grievance to Rome collectively, and to state them as speaking with one mouth. He next adverted to the situation of an accuser in Rome, and to the advantages that attended him in prosecuting his charges against a state delinquent, who was stripped of his power, and even of his rights as a citizen, pending the prosecution, the better to enable his accuser to make out and establish his accusation. He drew a distinction between this facility of coming at a Roman governor, charged with high crimes and misdemeanors, and the extreme difficulty of substantiating an accusation against a British governor. When it was considered that Mr. Hastings had been for fourteen years at the head of the government in India, and that no one complaint during that time had been transmitted to England against him, the house must be convinced of the enormous degree of power he had to contend with, to which alone could be ascribed the silence in question;

since it was not in human nature, situated as Mr. Hastings had been, to preserve so pure, even-handed, and unimpeachable a conduct, as to afford no room for a single accusation to be stated against him.

After this exordium, Mr. Burke stated at large the subject matter of the charge, and concluded a long and eloquent speech, with desiring the clerk to read the resolution of May 1782, to 'clear himself from the imputation of having rashly and singly meddled with the subject; and to shew that the house had, in very strong terms, already reprobated Mr. Hastings's conduct in the Rohilla war. The motion was supported by Mr. Wilbraham, Mr. Powis, Mr. Montague, Lord North, Mr. M. A. Taylor, Mr. Wyndham, and Mr. Hardinge; and opposed by Mr. Nicholls, Lord Mornington, Mr. H. Browne, and Lord Mulgrave. At half past three o'clock the debate was adjourned, and renewed the day following by Mr. Francis, Mr. Anstruther, and Mr. Fox, on the one side; and Mr. W. Grenville, Mr. J. Scott, Mr. Burton, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Dundas, on the other. At half past seven the committee divided, when there appeared for the motion 67, against it 119.

On the 13th of June, 13th June. Mr. Fox brought forward the charge respecting the Rajah of Benares. Nearly the same persons took a part in this debate as in the former, and it was carried by a majority of 119 to 79, "that there was matter of impeachment against Warren Hastings contained in the said charge." The chancellor of the exchequer concurred in this vote, but upon very narrow ground. He thought that the de-  
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mands made upon the Rajah went beyond the exigence of the case, and that Mr. Hastings had pushed the exercise of the arbitrary discretion entrusted to him beyond the necessity of the service. The conduct of the minister on this occasion drew upon him much indecent calumny from the friends of Mr. Hastings; they did not hesitate to accuse him out of doors, both publicly and privately, of treachery. They declared it was in the full confidence of his protection and support, that they had urged on Mr. Burke to bring forward his charges; and that the gentleman accused had been persuaded to come to their bar, with an hasty and premature defence: and they did not scruple to attribute this conduct in the minister to motives of the basest jealousy.

During the course of the proceedings of the house of commons on the impeachment of Mr. Hastings; another subject, relative to the administration of the company's affairs in India, underwent a warm discussion in both houses of parliament; this was a bill brought in by Mr. Dundas, for amending Mr. Pitt's act, passed in the year 1784, for regulating the government of the East India company. Previous to the first mention of the subject by Mr. Dundas, Mr. Francis had moved for leave to bring in a bill with the same title, but much more extensive in its objects. Upon this motion the previous question was put, and carried without a division. The principal object of Mr. Dundas's bill was to enlarge the powers of the governor general; first, by vesting in him the nomination to the vacant seats in the council: secondly, by uniting the offices of governor general and commander

in chief of the forces: and thirdly, by authorizing him to decide upon every measure, whether his council agreed with him or not. Leave being given to bring in the bill, Mr. Francis moved, "that it be an instruction to the gentlemen appointed to prepare and bring in a bill to explain and amend an act, passed in the 24th year of his majesty's reign, intituled, 'An act, &c.' that in preparing the same they do never lose sight of the effect, which any measure to be adopted for the good government of our possessions in India may have on our own constitution, and our dearest interests at home; and particularly, that in amending the said act they do take care that no part thereof shall be confirmed or re-enacted, by which the unalienable birthright of every British subject to a trial by jury, as declared in magna charta, shall be taken away or impaired." This motion was rejected without debate, by a majority of 85 to 16.

On the 22d of March the bill was committed, when the clauses conferring so extraordinary a degree of power on the governor general were opposed with a torrent of eloquence by Mr. Burke. He protested in the strongest terms against the principle of a bill which was, he said, to introduce an arbitrary and despotic government in India, on the false pretence of its tending greatly to the strength and security of the British possessions there, and giving energy, vigour, and dispatch to the measures and proceedings of the executive government. He reprobated the whole of this idea, contending that an arbitrary and despotic government was always sure to produce the reverse of energy, vigour, and dispatch; its

its constant features being weakness, debility, and delay. He referred to the Turkish government, and every arbitrary government that ever existed, in proof of his assertion.

In answer to these objections, Mr. Dundas contended, that before gentlemen took upon them to charge the empowering the governor general to act, in cases of emergency, without the concurrence of the council, as the introduction of arbitrary government, it behoved them to prove that arbitrary government depended more upon one person governing than two, a position which he believed it would not be easy to make out. He had ever considered the governing by known laws, the preservation of all the rights and franchises of subjects, and trial in all cases of property by the established judicature of the country, as the invariable and undoubted proofs of freedom. This was the real case of India; the person intrusted with the administration of the country was indeed invested with more power, but he had therefore the greater responsibility: though in cases of great emergency he was allowed to act without the concurrence of his council, yet he had still his council to advise with, and they were always about him, as checks and controuls upon his conduct; in fact, the governor could do no more under the present clause than he could have done with the concurrence of his council before: in proportion as he had more personal power, so had the bill provided more responsibility.

All the mischiefs and all the misfortunes which had for years taken place in India, he was satisfied, in

his own mind, after long and attentive inquiry into the affairs of that country, arose entirely from the party principles of the members of the different councils in existence there, and the factious scenes which those councils had almost uniformly presented.

In the house of lords the bill was opposed on the same grounds, with great ability, by lord Carlisle, lord Stormont, and especially by lord Loughborough. In both houses it was supported by large majorities, and finally passed into a law.

On Tuesday the 11th of July, his majesty came down to the house of lords, and closed the session with a speech from the throne. He expressed the particular satisfaction he had received from their attention to the public business, and from the measures which had been adopted for improving the resources of the country.

He thanked the house of commons for the supplies which they had granted for the current year, and for the provision which they had made for discharging the incumbrances on the civil list: from the plan adopted for the reduction of the national debt, he looked for the most salutary effects; it was an object which he considered as inseparably connected with the interests of the public. He said, that the assurances he had from abroad promised the continuance of general tranquillity: and he concluded by observing, that the happy effects of peace had already appeared in the extension of the national commerce, and that no measures should be wanting on his part, which could tend to confirm those advantages, and to give additional encouragement



ment to the manufactures and industry of his people. His majesty's pleasure was then signified, that the parliament should be prorogued until the 4th of September.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Russia.* Magnificence of the Court of Petersburg. Expeditions of discovery by land and sea, to the yet-unexplored parts of the empire. Small colony of Christians discovered in the wilds of Caucasus. New canal for opening an inland navigation between the Caspian Sea and the Baltic. Commercial treaty with the Emperor. Similar treaties in negotiation with France and other nations. Old commercial treaty with England suffered to expire without renewal. Some observations on that circumstance, and on the change which seems to have taken place in the Empress's political system. War with the Tartars. Inequality of the contending parties. Brave and obstinate resistance notwithstanding made. Prince of Hesse Rönfels killed. Tartar chief, with his sons and nephew, taken prisoners. Cuban Tartary desolated. The new prophet, Sbeich Mansour, defeated. Empress announces her intention of making a progress to Cherson and the Crimea. Extraordinary preparations for rendering the procession superbly magnificent. The intelligence of this intended progress and design, instead of terrifying the Tartars, occasions a stricter union and general confederacy among them; shew unusual judgment in seizing the gorges and defiles of the mountains, and interrupting the Russian communications. Victory gained by the Tartars in the autumn of 1786, on the side of Caucasus. Some of the apparent consequences of that event; and particularly its effect with respect to the intended progress. Georgians sorely pressed by the Lezgib Tartars. Court of Petersburg vents its indignation on the Porte, as the cause of all these untoward events. Some jealousies entertained by the Chinese. Death of Kien-long, the excellent Emperor of China. Singular bank established by the Empress at Petersburg. Russian troops sent into Courland, in order to support the freedom of election in case of the Duke's death. Turkey. Appeal from the Grand Signior to his subjects, and to all true Mussulmen, on the differences with Russia, the treatment he has received, and calling upon them to be in preparation for the expected consequences. Preparations for placing the empire in a formidable state of defence. Troubles in Egypt. Captain Pacha's expedition to that country; defeats Murat Bey in two battles, and takes Grand Cairo. Porte does not relax in its endeavours, notwithstanding the critical state of public affairs, to introduce the arts and sciences in that empire; orders a translation of the French Encyclopaedia. Emperor's conduct with respect to Russia and the Porte. Engaged still in a multiplicity of internal regulations. Abrogation of the old laws, and establishment of a new code. Ecclesiastical reforms. Suppression of religious houses. Number of the conventual clergy already reduced. German prelacy join the Emperor in resisting the interference of the court of Rome in their ecclesiastical and metropolitan government. Elector of Mentz and Archbishop of Salzbourg apply to the Emperor,

*peror, to prevent a nuncio's arrival at the court of Munich. Emperor publishes a declaration against the powers assumed by nuncios, and promises to support the Germanic Church in all its rights. Resolutions of the ecclesiastical princes against the encroachments of the see of Rome. Emperor's edict, laying restrictions on free masonry. Letters in favour of the Jews to the corporations of Vienna. Edict prohibiting gaming. Forbids all publications from making any mention of the Germanic league, &c. Regulation of the numerous prostitutes in Vienna. Attention to the troubles in Holland. New claim in preparation on the East-India trade of that country.*

THE same stile of outward magnificence, with the same munificent spirit in the disposal of bounties or rewards, which have so eminently distinguished the court of Peterburgh through the present reign, still continue to be its peculiar characteristics. Every thing that comes within these descriptions is done in the highest stile of grandeur, and seems not only suited to the present greatness, but to the rising hope and fortune of that empire. Indeed the empress proceeds upon so large a scale in these matters, that it seems rather to be graduated by an Asiatic than an European model. It is not often seen, at least in the western world, that a great military power, whose ambition and armaments spread apprehension or terror all round, and which seems almost constantly looking for war, should at the same time exceed all others in the splendid establishments of peace and luxury.

The views of the court are, however, directed in its expences to other objects of greater importance and utility than those of mere magnificence. Of these may be considered the great expedition undertaken in the year 1785, under the empress's direction, for the purpose of discovering, exploring, and examining the most remote provinces,

and the yet unknown parts of that immense empire. The difficulties and perils to which this expedition by land was supposed liable, through the trackless deserts which they were to explore, the inhospitality of the climates, and the barbarity of the nations they were to encounter, with the numberless obstacles of various sorts they were to surmount, rendered the prospect much more terrible than it had appeared to our circumnavigators in any of their late great voyages of discovery. The boldest and most enterprising persons of all nations were accordingly sought out for this undertaking, and high rewards and promises held out as an encouragement to their zeal and perseverance. The Baron de Walchen Stedz, who has a regiment of cavalry in the empress's service, was appointed commander in chief upon this expedition. His corps consisted of 810 chosen men, who were led on by 107 officers of different degrees of distinction, and accompanied by pioneers, artillery-men, handycraftsmen, draughtsmen, engineers, and an historiographer. We suppose naturalists and astronomers were included in some of these descriptions. It need scarcely be observed, that they were amply provided with all manner of necessaries, and that they were furnished with credentials suited

sued to every circumstance and situation. It was supposed that the expedition could not be completed under three years.

The only fruit of their discoveries which has yet reached our knowledge, was that of a small fugitive colony of strangers and Christians, who they found shut up from the world, in a most sequestered part of the wilds of Caucasus; and who, in the language of the country, are called Tischeches. These poor people are said to lead lives of the most exemplary piety, and to exhibit a primæval simplicity of manners.— They are totally ignorant of their origin, any farther than knowing that they are strangers, which they are likewise considered by the scattered neighbouring nations. From an affinity in their language, and some other circumstances, they are supposed to be descended from a colony of Bohemians, who flying from the religious persecutions in their own country, towards the close of the fifteenth century, found at length a refuge from oppression, in the distance from the rest of mankind which these remote deserts afforded.

Not satisfied with the discoveries which this expedition by land might produce, the empress formed another by sea about the same time, in order to extend and ascertain those which, within the present century, have been unsuccessfully attempted or imperfectly made by different Russian navigators. Lieut. Col. Bleumer was appointed to conduct this expedition, and commissioned to take along with him (besides able navigators) a number of persons skilled in various arts, to assist in making proper enquiries, and in turning to the greatest advantage such discoveries as they might make,

or were already made. They were to embark at the mouth of the river Anadir, and to prosecute with greater accuracy and stricter observation those discoveries which had been made by former navigators, of several inhabited islands lying about the 64th degree of latitude, in situations advantageous for trade. They were then to double the Cape of Tschurky, the supposed *ne plus ultra* of the Russian navigators, (although they affirm the contrary) and entering the Straits which separate Siberia from America, to pursue their voyage at least to the 74th degree of latitude; but if they find the seas practicable, to proceed as much farther as circumstances will permit.

It is a singular circumstance, at least in the modern history of the Old World, for a prince to be under the necessity of undertaking great expeditions by sea and land, in order to discover new countries within his own dominions. Such is the vastness of that unbounded empire!

But the great work, which, if completed, is to prove a lasting monument to the glory of Catherine, is the navigable canal in the province of Twér, which, by opening a communication between the river Twertz and the Mista, the former of which falls directly into the Wólga, and the latter, by the great lakes, opens the passage to the Neva, will not only establish an inland navigation through all the vast countries that lie between the shores of the Caspian and the Baltic, but will actually unite these distant seas—an union unexampled in the history of mankind.— This great work was so far advanced in the summer of 1785, as to occasion

a visit

a visit from the empress in person, attended by a considerable part of the court.

Towards the close of the same year, a treaty of commerce was concluded with the emperor, which afforded great advantages to his subjects, who, besides their being in general placed upon a footing with the most favoured nations, were granted several peculiar privileges. Among these was the clause which granted them an exemption from all duties in the port of Riga, and which placed them in all respects upon the footing of native inhabitants in that city. In general, however, the advantages were reciprocal; such as in lowering the duties upon Hungarian wines on one side, and those upon leather, hides, and other commodities, which might in a good measure be considered as staple, upon the other. Upon the whole, the treaty seemed evidently calculated to establish the easiest possible intercourse, with the most intimate and lasting connections, between the subjects of both empires; so that though the terms of the treaty limited its duration to twelve years, it appeared that the mutual friendship which it was to produce among the people was intended to be hereditary. Upon this principle, several cities and trading towns in both empires were placed upon the footing of open markets, where the foreign inhabitant, or even temporary resident, on either side, was to enjoy a sort of denizenhip, and to possess the same security and advantages in trade with the native. The contracting parties likewise particularly bound themselves to a strict adherence to the terms and principles of that regulation or compact

of which the empress had been institutress in the late war, and which has been so well known under the denomination of the Armed Neutrality; and which, though now of some standing, she still seems to regard with all the predilection which novelty gives to a favourite scheme.

A treaty of commerce with France was likewise at this time in negotiation, and has since been concluded. Similar negotiations were at the same time in train with several other nations. Yet, with this prevalent disposition to the forming of new connections in trade, the old treaty of commerce with England (which had so long been considered at the most favoured nation, and entitled to peculiar privileges in Russia) was now suffered to expire, nor has it yet been renewed. The English had many grounds, without reckoning political causes or motives, whereon to support their claims to peculiar favour and privileges in Russia. Among others, it is not to be forgotten, that the English were not only the first people who ever opened a commerce with Russia by sea, but that they were the first who discovered her at all possessing an accessible sea coast. To them, therefore, Archangel owed her rise from a poor fishing village to be the great emporium of northern trade; to that cause were the adjoining desert provinces indebted for the degree of culture, improvement, and civilization, which they received; and the whole empire, for thereby obtaining a ready vent for their own goods, and an easy supply of the numberless European commodities which they wanted.

But the empress seems to be fast departing from that line of policy which

which had been so long generally pursued by her predecessors as well as herself, in their conduct with respect to England and France. The friendship shewn, and the effectual service done by England, in that war against the Ottomans which covered her reign with glory, and from which Russia has derived such vast acquisitions of territory, and so great an extension of at least apparent power; was but ill returned by the latter in her subsequent conduct, at the time that Great Britain was oppressed and nearly overborne by the greatest combination of hostile power which has been formed against any single state in modern times. The scheme of the armed neutrality was formed upon principles as unfriendly to England, and, intentionally, if not actually, as inimical to her interests, as any thing short of absolute hostility could well be; nor did it afford much less encouragement to her numerous enemies, nor depression to herself (for friends she had none) than an actual declaration of war from Russia would have done.

Indeed the wisdom of the policy adopted by Great Britain in that Russian and Ottoman war was much questioned, and her conduct no less censured, at the time, by not a few, who were well acquainted with the general politics of Europe, as well as with the interests of its respective states. They contended, that she departed from the ancient principles, as well as the strait line of her policy, in encouraging or admitting Russia to take any hostile share in maritime affairs, without the limits assigned to her by nature in the Baltic; but that to lead her by the hand, as it were, from the bottom of the gulph of Finland to

the extremities of the Mediterranean, and there to aid or encourage her in acquiring possessions which might enable her to establish a formidable naval force in those central seas, which would afford her an opportunity of continual interference in the concerns of all the states of Europe, was represented as such a violation of all the obvious principles of policy, that it seemed to partake more of the rash predilection of an individual, than of those cold but comprehensive maxims which should regulate the conduct of states, and which should look as fully to future contingencies as to present effect.

The coincidence of views and designs between Russia and the house of Austria has drawn the bands of their union so close, that whatever excites jealousy or dissatisfaction in the one is sure to operate no less powerfully upon the other; a circumstance by no means tending to render the sudden and extraordinary friendship which has sprung up between them the more pleasing to other states. This was fully exemplified in the hasty and uncalled-for sentence, without being authorized as a judge or mediator to interfere, which Russia pronounced against Holland on the affair of the Schelde. The part taken by the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, in his accession to the Germanic league, was, without question, the cause of distaste with both these formidable powers towards England: it was reported, and probably not without foundation, that the court of Peterburgh was no less zealous or urgent than that of Vienna, first in its endeavours to prevent the accession to that league, and then in using every possible

possible means which could induce the king to a renunciation of it. The failure in both produced such effects as were to be expected from the character and respective situation of the parties.

It is not, however, to be forgotten, that the commerce with England is to the full as essential to Russia as to the former; that a very considerable annual balance, in money, is gained by her from England on that trade; that no merchants, with smaller capitals or less commercial spirit than the English, could or would adventure the large sums of money which they constantly and necessarily advance long before the period of a return, in order to invigorate the manufactures, to set the people to work in a wide and poor country, and to enable the small traders to bring the goods, whether staple or manufacture, from their respective and remote districts to market; and that without this essential pecuniary assistance; a consequent decrease of industry and product must inevitably take place, trade and manufacture would languish, and whatever there was would become a monopoly in the hands of a few opulent natives, whose avarice would encumber it with such obstructions as would bring it to nothing. The advantages being thus reciprocal; the evil of any interruption to the long established commerce between the two countries (if such it really would be to England, which is a question of much doubt) is likely to cure itself; and things, if not carried too far, will probably, in defiance of caprice or ill-humour, as in other cases of improper restrictions on trade, return to their natural channel. Com-

merce once lost is with great difficulty recovered; and it happens well to mankind in general, that there are but few products confined entirely to any one country. Our countrymen and old fellow-subjects the Americans would joyfully supply the place of Russia in many respects; and those articles in which they are yet deficient might be procured in the intermediate time.

An irregular, expensive, and destructive, though not brilliant war, has been carried on with increasing action and effect between the Russians and the Tartar nations inhabiting the regions of Caucasus and the Caspian, ever since the violent seizure by the former of the Crimea, and the neighbouring countries. The circumstances of these remote transactions can at present be, but very imperfectly known, and would not be very interesting if they were, any farther than as they tend to display the generous and desperate efforts which a people naturally brave and warlike will make, under the greatest possible disadvantages, in the contention for their rights and liberties. The condition of the contending parties was, indeed, very unequal: the one possessed numbers and courage, with such advantages as the ineffectiveness of their means could enable them to derive from difficult countries; covered with vast mountains, and abounding with inaccessible posts and dangerous defiles; but they wanted generals, military skill, experienced officers, and, besides artillery, all other effective weapons and machines for offence or defence; the sword and the arrow, once so decisive in the field, being now of small avail in war. They being likewise composed of a number

ber of small independent nations, no one leader was furnished with such coercive powers as could give due efficacy to the union. Neither is the manner of life, or habits of the Tartars, suited to the support of a continual war; nor would their poverty and deficiency of resources admit the possibility of their keeping the field for any considerable length of time; had their dispositions been otherwise.

On the other hand, their potent enemy, besides unlimited power and resource, and numbers at all times suited to the exigency, were themselves masters in the art of war, and adepts in all its great modern improvements. They possessed able generals, experienced officers of all nations, and a line composed of veteran troops, inured to war, and trained up in the severest discipline; they were covered with a tremendous artillery, abundantly furnished with every weapon and engine invented either for defence or destruction, supported by stores, magazines, and money, and could with little difficulty fortify in a short time whatever posts they thought proper, in such a manner as to render them impregnable to the enemy. The Russians were likewise joined by several bodies of dependent Tartars, and of Cossacks possessing similar qualities, who encountered the enemy in their own manner, being equally expert in the suddenness and quickness of their attacks and evolutions; equal in the endurance of hunger, cold, and fatigue; and equally adapted to the nature and difficulties of country and climate; but with the prodigious advantage of being led or under the direction of experienced officers, and of being infinitely better provided

with arms and necessaries than their enemy.

But what greater and more decisive superiority need be mentioned, than that which the Russians derived from their acting in concert under a sole command; from their being enabled at all times to keep collected in strong bodies ready for action; and from their possessing an advantage which the Roman legions wanted; that their artillery rendered every camp an impregnable fortress to the enemy? Under these circumstances they could lie quiet and secure while the enemy was exhausting his vigour in fruitlessly traversing the deserts, and wait coolly for that occasion of advantage which could not but soon offer: while the Tartars, destitute of stores and magazines, and having no other provision than the small bag of millet which each man carried, or one of the horses which he rode when that failed, however eminent their successes might be; or however inviting the occasions for keeping the field, were obliged of necessity, at a given time, to separate and retire to their respective hordes for subsistence. Then came on the inevitable season of danger and ruin; for, living in tents, or in villages not less open and defenceless, they were either surprized and cut to pieces by their active and merciless enemy, or if they had the fortune, by notice or accident, to escape the sword, the loss of their flocks and herds was scarcely less destructive in its consequences.

In such a state of inequality the object of surprize is, how a war could at all exist; or at most, how its existence could be much more than ephemeral. Yet under these disadvantages, which seemed capa-

ble of annihilating all the principles of courage, excepting merely the consciousness of its own dignity, the Tartars appear to have long supported it with unexampled constancy and resolution; and notwithstanding the dearth of intelligence that has prevailed upon the subject, enough has transpired to shew that the Russians have found it full of difficulty and trouble; that their victories have by no means been decisive; and that however destructive they proved to the enemy, they have not been bloodless to themselves.

Some circumstances of notoriety were necessary to the communication of such intelligence as the public have received relative to these transactions. The fall of a brave German prince, of the house of Hesse Rhinfels, in the autumn of 1784, gave occasion to the mention of an action, which probably would not otherwise have been heard of. Its nature was, however, very differently represented. While a victory nearly bloodless, excepting in the misfortune that befel the prince, was claimed on one side, the accounts from Constantinople and Paris described that event as the consequence of hard and desperate fighting. The same variation prevailed in general in the accounts which were received through the medium of either of those places, and those which were either published at or received from Petersburg: from which it may be no very unfair conclusion, that exact information was not the principal object in any of their statements.

A victory claimed by  
1785. Russia in the following  
year was pretty well authenticated  
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by the capture of a Tartar chan, two of his sons, and a nephew, who were all brought prisoners to Peterburgh. This action was, however, acknowledged, even from thence, to have been very severe; and it was owned, that in the beginning the shock fell so heavily upon the regiment of Afracan, that it was defeated, ruined, and its colonel killed.

In the latter part of the same year, great havock was made and execution done among the Cuban Tartars, by the Russians. It would seem that the whole nation had been either subdued, cut off, or totally ruined, by the destruction of their villages, and the loss of their flocks and herds at the approach of winter. Brigadier general Apraxin, and a colonel Nagel, distinguished themselves greatly about this time, either against the Cuban, or some other nations of Tartars; for we cannot pretend to ascertain dates, places, or circumstances. It appears, however, that colonel Nagel had the honour of being the first who defeated the new prophet, Sheich Mansour, and his adherents; who being disappointed in the success which he had taught them to expect from heaven, were doomed to a fore conviction, that their fanaticism was no proof whatever against the Russian bayonets. The prophet fought boldly on foot, at the head of seven or eight thousand of his followers, who were in the same situation (which evidently shews that they were not Tartars); and his own reliance on the divine aid appears to have been so weak, that as a substitute he employed his invention in the construction of some sort of rolling machines, which in their approach to the enemy they pushed

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on



on before them, as a cover from their fire. But the Russian foot rushing on furiously with their bayonets, and the cavalry falling in pell-mell upon the wings and rear, this rabble was soon routed, and pursued with unremitting slaughter. The impostor was wounded, but had the fortune to escape.

1786. The empress had publicly announced, in the beginning of the year of which we are to treat, her intention of making a magnificent progress to Cherson and the Crimea, in order to her being crowned sovereign of the new conquests. This design seems at first to have been conceived in the most splendid ideas of eastern magnificence and grandeur. It was given out that Catharine was to be crowned empress of Taurida, and to be declared protectress or autocratress of all the nations of Tartars. That, in order to render the solemnization of this great act the more august, awful, and more extensively striking, she was to be attended by the patriarch, by six archbishops, and by a great body of other clergy; which, with the court and its attendants, must have formed a prodigious number. Triumphant arches were to be erected, and enriched with sculpture, devices and inscriptions, on the approaches to Cherson, and in the town; the empress was to be drawn on the latter part of the way in a triumphal car, crowned with laurel; and the concourse of people was expected to be so great, that the multitudes which attended the pilgrimages to Mecca would no longer be regarded as a wonder. She was besides to be escorted by a formidable army, to be composed of no less than six regiments of cavalry, and 22 of in-

fantry. The magnificence of the procession, whether by land or by water, was to be suited to that of the grand concluding ceremonial. A fleet of galleys were built on the Nieper, and besides their ornaments and embellishments, were to be furnished with all the accommodations necessary for a court, or usually found in a great city. It seemed as if cost was a matter not to be thought of in these preparations; and it seems scarcely credible, though positively asserted, that the prodigious sum of seven millions of roubles, (amounting to about a million and a half sterling) had been originally dedicated to the purpose only of those presents which were to be distributed at the coronation. It may possibly be thought, that the return of Alexander from India, and the voyage on the Cydnus, were not entirely out of mind in the conception of this design.

We are probably to make the same allowance for vanity and exaggeration in some of these accounts, which is usually necessary in similar cases; but it is, however, certain, that every thing that could be conceived splendid or grand, was included in the original design, and the usual magnificence of the empress seems to give a sanction to the whole. It is likewise to be remembered, that there was a great political object in view in this splendour and expence. That it was undoubtedly expected that all the adjoining nations would have been either terrified by the power, or fascinated by the pomp, splendour, and wealth, which were now to be displayed, and that the Tartar chiefs, under these impressions, would not only have rendered the scene truly glorious, by coming from all

all parts to do homage to the new empress of the east, but that she would thereby have enlarged and secured her dominion without the trouble of war and conquest.

But these iron-minded Tartars do not appear ever to have had any true taste for magnificence; excepting, indeed, when they have occasionally conquered half the world, and that too much wealth, and too long ease, have led them by degrees to depart from their ancient institutions, and to adopt the follies and vices of the conquered. In the present instance, as soon as the intended grand progress, and its great object, were known, instead of producing the expected effect, in dazzling or terrifying the Tartars, it served, on the contrary, as a signal of general and immediate danger, to cement their union in the strongest manner, and to urge them to the greatest possible exertion, and to the most determined resistance. This soon became apparent; and the war daily became more serious. The different confederacies of Tartars were said, in a little time, to amount to a hundred thousand men; they were said to have shewn an unusual degree of judgment and skill in seizing the gorges of the mountains, and possessing themselves of the strong posts and leading passes in such a manner, that while they were in a great measure secure themselves from attack, they interrupted in a very dangerous degree the Russian communications, not only between different parts of the conquered countries, but between their armies and home. We are to observe, that as the particular scenes of these transactions are never specified in the loose accounts given of them,

no aid can be derived from geography in estimating their validity.

It however appears, that the desultory incursions of the Tartars had caused much trouble in the new countries, and kept the Russian troops on the frontiers in constant employment through the summer.— Whether the measure adopted by the former of cutting off the communications led to the succeeding event, or from whatever other cause it might have proceeded, we are totally uninformed, but in the succeeding autumn the most considerable action of the war took place between the Russians and Tartars: the accounts of it from Petersburg were very short; some mentioning that their troops had received a check, and others acknowledging a defeat on the side of Caucasus; but it was a bare as well as unwilling acknowledgment; not a single particular of the action, nor any specification of the number engaged, or loss sustained on either side, being given. It was, however, repeated in subsequent accounts; and what shewed the affair to be of no small consideration, was, that this loss was said to have greatly shaken the interest and power of that supreme favourite, prince Potemkin, who had long been considered as paramount in the affairs of that empire.

That prince was not himself in the action, but as he had the unlimited government of those regions, and the sole conduct of the war, he was liable of course to blame for misadventure, and was charged in this instance with suffering the army to be surprized. There are two ill consequences that attend a glaring and habitual misrepresentation of

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public affairs, or a concealment of public losses; the one is, that if a true statement ever becomes necessary it is not credited, and in case of concealment, that the loss is always supposed and considered as being much greater than it really is. This was exemplified in the present instance. The accounts from Constantinople, as well as those through the medium of France, represented this as a formal and decisive battle, in which, they said, that an army of 30,000 Russians had been totally defeated, and nearly cut to pieces. These are, however, as totally destitute of all circumstances and incidents, as those from Petersburg; and are undoubtedly as faulty in one respect, as the latter in the other.

This extraordinary and unexpected resistance of the Tartars occasioned, however, a great alteration in the scheme of the progress to Cherson. It seems to have been greatly narrowed in the design, to have been disencumbered of much of its intended superb magnificence; the great object of the coronation, and of the assumption of new titles, was entirely given up; the formidable military force that was expected did not attend; the procession did not take place until the following year; and the only end obtained, saving the conferences held with the king of Poland and the emperor, seemed to be nothing more than the empress's shewing herself to the new subjects, and appearing to take some sort of formal possession of Cherson and the Crimea.

During the war thus carried on in those unmeasured and almost unknown regions, which seemed scarce-

ly to know any particular owner, the Georgians were sorely pressed by their ancient neighbours and eternal enemies the Lesghis Tartars; a nation as brave as themselves, but who, being less civilized, were infinitely more ferocious. A sort of constant war, generally confined to depredation and desultory incursion, had probably at all times subsisted between them; but the great objects of religion, general liberty and security, being now at stake with the Tartars, and the Georgians allies to their mortal enemy, the Lesghis, who were principal members of the confederacy, attacked them with a fury and effect before unknown. The Georgians, overborne and distressed in this war, looked in vain for protection from Russia; which was too much embarrassed and too distant to afford any effectual aid; a circumstance which could not but be extremely vexatious to the latter, and the more so, if the Georgians at this time (which seems probable) submitted to descend from the state of allies to that of vassalage, in the hope of obtaining thereby the more speedy and effectual protection.

The court of Petersburg seemed to vent her indignation entirely upon the Porte, for all the vexation which this and other untoward circumstances excited. The Ottomans were charged with being the fomentors of the war, or (what was a more favourite term) rebellion of the Tartars; and were to be made responsible for their whole conduct. No great ceremony was used at Constantinople upon these occasions; threats of war, and denunciations of the heaviest vengeance, were familiar.

flar. Indeed, this haughty tone, with a high assumption of authority, only usual to vassals, is what the Ottoman pride has been constantly doomed to submit to, ever since its last unfortunate and inglorious war.

No measures were, however, left untried, which could tend to reconcile the Tartars to the change that was meditated in their condition, and induce them to a voluntary submission to the Russian government. Repeated proclamations were issued, assuring them of the most perfect security to their religion, and the most unlimited freedom in the exercise of its rites; at the same time, that they were to partake of all the temporal advantages which were enjoyed by the old subjects of the empire. The empress likewise issued an ordinance which seemed calculated to afford immediate conviction how much their condition would be bettered under her government, by announcing, that in their addresses to her they were not, according to the eastern form, to style themselves her slaves, but merely, in the European manner, to subscribe themselves her loyal subjects. But ancient prejudices are not easily subdued; and it does not appear that this condescension produced any great effects in allaying the obstinacy of the Tartars.

Some discontent or jealousy on the side of the Chinese occasioned their putting a temporary stop to the trade between Russia and that empire, which is their usual mode of expressing dissatisfaction or resentment. The cause of this measure was unknown at the court of Peterburgh; but as that commerce is considered as being of the great

est importance to the empire, an embassy was in contemplation to China, and the most speedy measures, which the greatness of the distance would admit, were adopted, in order to induce the court of Pequin to appoint commissioners to meet those of Russia upon the borders, and amicably to adjust the matters in difference. But while things were in this unsettled state, advice was received of the death of Kienlong, the emperor of China, a prince deservedly little less than adored by his subjects; and who, possessing all the excellencies to be wished for in a monarch and the father of his people, was no less distinguished by the elegant accomplishments of learning, philosophy, and poetry; in the latter of which he was considered so eminent, that translations of some of his productions have been transmitted into Europe.

A new and singular measure has been adopted by the empress of Russia, by which, reversing the usual order of things, instead of borrowing money from her subjects, she becomes the great money-lender of the empire. Upon this principle she has opened a bank, whose capital is to consist of 33 millions of roubles; and is empowered to emit bills, with the currency of money, to the amount of 100 millions more; (which, at the lowest estimate of the rouble, amounts to 20 millions sterling) but it is particularly restricted from ever exceeding this prodigious emission of paper; which, indeed, seems more correspondent to the extent than to the wealth of the empire. Of the capital fund, twenty-two millions is to be lent to the noblese for the term of twenty years, upon mortgages on their estates, at

an interest of five *per cent.* besides a payment of three *per cent.* which is to be applied annually towards the discharge of the original debt. The mortgages are not to include the whole estates; but such a number of villages, with the peasants appertaining to them, as shall appear to the directors a sufficient security; the peasants to be estimated at forty roubles; but we have no certain knowledge whether whole families or heads are thus rated. The mortgaged estates are not subject to confiscation; but heavy pecuniary mulcts arise upon any delay in paying either the five *per cent.* interest, or the three *per cent.* which is allotted to the discharge of the principal; and if these mulcts are not sufficient to remedy the contumacy or neglect, the directors are to take the administration of the estate into their own hands. Four periods are stated in the course of the term, at any of which the borrower may redeem his estate by paying off the remaining debt.

The remaining eleven millions of the capital are destined to the encouragement both of foreign commerce and of the internal trade of the empire, by being lent out to the merchants and retail dealers for the term of twenty-two years, at only four *per cent.* interest, with the same annual application of three *per cent.* towards the discharge of the principal. The bank is likewise to act as an insurance-office with respect to fire, but the houses must be built of stone; and all foreigners, as well as natives, are admitted to the privilege of depositing their money in it, and of having the empress's royal word pledged to them as a security. The ordinance for this establishment conveys an adm. . . . the no-

blesse, which will probably oblige many of them to become borrowers, however they may happen or not to approve of the conditions; for they are warned, that the empress having provided such a fund for their support, it is expected that they will be more punctual in fulfilling of their engagements than they have hitherto been; and that it is therefore ordered, that all who have given bonds, notes, or bills of exchange, and have failed in the payment, or who have contracted any debts whatever, shall be prosecuted, without any distinction of persons, with the utmost rigour. As this admonition can only relate to debts owing to the crown, and that these must have arisen generally through the inability of the poorer part of the nobility or landholders to discharge the taxes rising on their estates as they became due, it follows that they must borrow money at interest from it with one hand, and pay it back at the same instant with the other: and that the inability being thus continually increasing, while the taxes remain always the same, the estates will in time become so deeply involved, as to reduce the owners to absolute dependence and beggary; the more especially, as a provident foresight in the conduct of their affairs is perhaps less the characteristic of that order of men in Russia, than even in other countries.

A bank founded on some of these principles, corrected by certain modifications, might undoubtedly be very desirable, and productive of much benefit, in any country where the laws were superior to the will of the sovereign, and where the public were security for the money, and for fulfilling the prescribed cove-  
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nants. But in a despotic government, which ever carries the principles of instability in its very nature, where the short but magic words "*we will*," are paramount to all laws, can in a breath overthrow all covenants, and cancel all obligations, and where the unfortunate sufferers dare not even to hint dislike, much less to claim right, or to complain of wrong, it will be easily seen that such a measure is liable to be pregnant with danger and ruin to the people; and that it might be easily converted to an engine for drawing much of the landed property, and the greater part of the money of the country, within the vortex of the crown.

The reigning duke of Courland has long been out of favour at the court of Peterburgh, and being now represented or supposed to be in a precarious state of health, it has afforded an opportunity of marching a body of Russian troops into that duchy, under the colour of supporting the freedom of election in case of his demise; a pretence sufficient to excite the risibility of those who are not too seriously affected by their interest in the country to laugh at being reminded of its condition.

While the Grand Signior, in conformity with the circumstances of the empire, endeavoured in some sort to restrain the indignation excited by the continued threat and insult offered, and the never-ending claims and demands made by Russia, he, however, thought it necessary to prepare his subjects for that last resort, which he well knew must be the inevitable consequence of her views and conduct. He accordingly published a sort of appeal to the people at large, and which evidently intended to extend its

effect to all believers whatever of the Mahometan doctrines, in which the language and colouring were so strong, that he seemed not only to depart entirely from his usual caution and forbearance, but it appeared actually tantamount to a declaration of war. In this piece he represented his own invariable moderation, his inviolable adherence to faith and to treaty, the repeated wrongs and injuries which he had endured, the great concessions and sacrifices he had made, particularly in submitting to the usurpation of the Crimea and the adjoining provinces, through his anxious desire of preserving the public tranquillity, and securing his people from the numberless evils ever incident to war. That his design and endeavours were frustrated by the violence, injustice, and rapacity of their enemies, by their repeated violation of faith and of treaties; their ambition being so insatiate, that he no sooner submitted to their injustice in one instance, however great the concession, than they immediately required others still more exorbitant than the former. That they had scarcely established their usurpations on the borders of the Black Sea, than they endeavoured to extend them into Asia, to countries so remote that they could not pretend any connection with them; that having insidiously prevailed on some of his vassals to depart from their allegiance, but being bravely repelled by others, they had made it a ground of new quarrel with him, that he would not become the instrument of punishing his subjects or friends for their fidelity and courage. He therefore called upon all true Mussulmen seriously to reflect upon their condition, to arm their bodies

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and their minds to withstand the approaching danger, and to be ready with hearts and with hands to support the standard of their prophet when it should be exalted; that it would not be a war of ambition but of self-defence; that their religion and every thing dear were now at stake, for that nothing less than the extermination of every thing Ottoman, and of all true believers, could satisfy their inveterate enemies.

The most vigorous measures were at the same time adopted for suppressing the disorders of the empire, regulating its internal affairs, and reducing the malcontents or rebels in the distant provinces, that its whole collected force, without domestic obstruction or embarrassment, might be brought to act in the common defence, when the arduous question of existence as a great people, or of final ruin, came to be decided at the point of the sword, and all hope must be centered in their own exertions to emulate the courage and virtue of their ancestors.

The basha of Scutari, who had one of the bravest and fiercest nations of the empire, the ancient Epirots, under his government, had for some time been in a state of open rebellion, or, if he did not absolutely deny the sovereignty, totally rejected the authority of the Porte; waged continual and generally successful war with the bashas of the adjoining countries, and committed the greatest ravage and cruelties in their governments, as well as his own.

But, however important this object was, there was another of much greater consideration. Egypt, the great granary of the empire, and the unfailling resource of its armies

for provision, had long been in the most deplorable state. The country was torn to pieces and desolated by the endless contentions and wars between the rebel Bèys; in which the people, besides supporting their several armies, and supplying their respective extortions, were exposed to all the ravage and devastation which they could have experienced from the most cruel foreign enemy. Murat Bey, and his party, had of late gained so supreme an ascendancy, that he was become in a great measure the absolute despot of that kingdom; and was at least so without restriction in the Lower Egypt, which is so much the most fruitful and wealthy part of the country.

This man was cruel beyond measure, and, if possible, more rapacious than he was cruel; he possessed, in common with the Mamalucks in general, a fierce and unconquerable courage; inherited from nature all the qualities necessary to form a great commander and conqueror; and had acquired, in the petty wars in which he was nurtured, no small portion of military address and experience. He had of late extended his rapacity and oppression to the Europeans, extorted money from the merchants, and without regard to the laws and customs of nations, or to the interests of a country formed by nature for commerce, treated the consuls with such contumely, if not violence, that the Christian residents at Constantinople found themselves under a necessity of applying, on the part of their respective nations, to that government for redress and future protection. The Porte have, however, since, endeavoured to throw all the fault of these transactions upon the Russian consul at Alex-

Alexandria, who, they assert, had been the adviser and instigator of Murat Bey, in all the oppression and injury offered to the Christians of the western nations of Europe. Nor do they stop here, but insist, that all the troubles of Egypt had originated in the same quarter, and that the fore-mentioned consul had been the agent in first exciting the Beys to rebellion, and then kept up the flame, by the constant correspondence between his court and them, of which he was the medium.

The hope of obtaining redress at Constantinople seemed small indeed, when it was recollected that that government had neither influence or authority left in the country where the grievance subsisted. The complaint served, however, perhaps, to rivet the attention of the Porte more closely to the subject of Egypt; for it seems to have been almost immediately after that Hassan Bey, the Captain Pacha, or Grand Admiral, laid the great design of recovering that rich kingdom. His scheme, which was worthy of the founder, was not confined merely to the immediate reduction of that country; it extended to its future establishment; to the annihilation of the Mamuluck race, (if such it might be called) by the total extinction of the order of the Beys, and by adopting those means which would prevent the possibility of its revival; and when this essential business was performed, he intended to divide the country into five distinct governments, under the immediate authority of the Porte, and all the officers of its own appointment. Thus would he have provided immense resources, not only of provisions

but of money, for the support of the future war.

This business was conducted with such secrecy and address, that the smallest suspicion was not entertained of the design, until it was revealed in the execution. Two fleets were equipped as usual for the Archipelago and the Black Sea; the Captain Pacha commanded the former. A train of artillery, with all the stores and provisions necessary for an army, were already on board the ships, and had been embarked with such dexterity, as to be totally unknown at Constantinople. In the same manner he drew twenty thousand troops on board, without observation or notice, part at the Dardanelles, part at Meteline, and part at Scio.

The Grand Admiral then proceeded directly for the Nile, and landed his forces at Rosetta, whither an army hastily collected was sent by the usurper to attack him; but the enemy was totally routed, dispersed, and a great carnage made of them. The victor, pursuing his blow, advanced towards Grand Cairo, where Murat Bey, with his associate Ibrahim, at the head of a great army, composed of all the bravest Mamalucks, and the best troops of Egypt, were waiting to receive him. The enemy were so vastly superior in number, besides possessing some excellent cavalry, and so confident in their own courage, that they despised the Turks, whom they considered as a destined prey.

The battle took place in the approaches to that great city, on the side of the suburb of Boulah. The Captain Pacha, who never seemed so much in his own element as in a field



field of battle, led the way to victory. At seventy years of age that illustrious veteran threw himself into the front of the battle, and with all the ardour of youth rushed sabre in hand amidst the thickest ranks of the enemy. His officers and troops, fired by the example, fell on with such fury, that nothing could withstand their impetuosity. To whatever side the general directed his course, rout and dismay were immediately spread around. No victory could be more complete. A prodigious slaughter was made, the fugitives totally dispersed, and every thing belonging to the enemy's camp became a spoil. Grand Cairo became the immediate prize of victory; and the enemy had been so confident of success, that considerable treasures were obtained.

Murat and Ibrahim Bey had the fortune, through the excellency of their Arabian horses, to escape to the Upper Egypt, after a long and severe chase, in which they had more than once been in the utmost danger, and obliged to shift their course from one side to the other of the river. The surviving Arabians who adhered to them had probably a principal share in this good fortune. Their escape, however, prevented the Captain Pacha's triumph from being complete, his design of establishing a new government from being carried into execution; and the rebel Beys again recovered in such a degree, that they were enabled to support a long, bloody, and dangerous war.

The joy and even transport which these victories excited at Constantinople, after so long and gloomy an age of degradation and calamity, could not be easily described. Spoils and trophies were

such new things that the people could scarcely believe their eyes, and were nearly beside themselves when they did; even the Porte could not conceal its triumph, and seemed to recover some part of its antient countenance. The apprehension and dismay which had long been prevalent seemed to wear off, and an appearance of firmness and dignity to take place. Nor was the effect less upon its dangerous rivals, who were observed to fall off considerably from that haughty tone and authoritative language, which had been every day growing more familiar; and there seemed to be some instant recollection, that the manner of dictating to a vassal, and of conversing with an equal, was in some respects different. Indeed this alteration in language and manner was so observable, that it was popularly received as an evidence that all differences and jealousies had been done away, and that concord and harmony were now to take place.

In all the turmoils and dangers of their situation, the Porte did not relax in the design of encouraging arts, sciences and learning, among the people, and of opening a new day of knowledge to the Ottoman nation. Of this disposition a striking instance was given, in their going to the pains and expence of procuring proper persons to undertake the great and very difficult task, of translating the voluminous French Encyclopædiæ into the Turkish language. And though the mufti and clergy made a violent opposition to this measure, as a kind of sacrilege with respect to their prophet and religion, yet the court seemed so determined in its design, as to employ agents both in France and Italy,

Italy, who were to stand at no price in purchasing the old plates of that work, in order to illustrate the translation with copies of the original designs.

The emperor is so deeply engaged, or takes so great a concern in all the affairs of Russia and the Porte, that any view of their political situation in which he was not included would seem extremely defective. His conduct in the present year seemed, however, to be so entirely regulated by that of the former, as to afford few marks of distinction, and to leave but little room for particular observation. The loose unspecific claims about limits, and a new demarcation of them, intermixed with continually varying demands of the surrender of Belgrade, and of different parts or the whole of the kingdom of Servia, and of Turkish Croatia and Bosnia, kept the ground open for constant altercation and threat, and could not fail, when the occasion offered, to afford a colour for proceeding to any sudden extremity that seemed to promise advantage. It was observable, through this course of vexatious brangling, that the voice of the court of Vienna was alternately raised or lowered, in direct unison with that of the court of Peterburgh. It had been supposed by many, who did not consider the little effect which such circumstances produce upon ambition, that the extraordinary personal attentions which the Turkish commanders and governors paid to the emperor, on his military tour this year along the frontiers, had greatly softened, if not entirely changed his disposition with respect to the Ottomans. The Turks, indeed, wished, endeavoured, and would have done any thing

that was not in a great degree ruinous to themselves, to prevent his becoming a declared enemy; as it was that apprehension which tied up their hands with respect to Russia, or at least that rendered her so terrible to them. But the means of attaining that favourite point were not (unfortunately to them) within their reach. Formidable armies, equal resources, and a prosperous state of public affairs, were not to be gained by a wish.

The emperor's attention was likewise, as usual, engaged by a multiplicity of internal affairs. The completion, alteration, amendment, or retraction of his numberless projects, schemes of reform, institutions, regulations, and establishments, presented so vast and so complex a mass of matter, that its adjustment, and the endeavour to reconcile the heterogeneous and eternally clashing parts, seemed to go beyond the comprehension of any single mind. Yet the fertility of invention and genius that produced these, instead of being exhausted, seemed to become more prolific, and was continually increasing the magnitude of the mass, and of course adding to the number and greatness of the difficulties. The articles of ecclesiastical reform and commercial regulation, branched out into the numberless ramifications that they were, seemed either of them separately to require the labour of an age, along with all the experience to be acquired in that time, for their completion and final establishment.

A greater and more difficult task even than these was, however, in hand. This was no less than the abrogation of the old laws, and the establishment of an entire new code.

Legislation

Legislation is now become an object of emulation and ambition, as much as conquest or victory. Frederic and Catharine opened the way; and there could be little doubt of their examples establishing a fashion. This code was at first greatly cried up for its humanity, from its having nearly or entirely excluded death from its system of punishment; but it was soon found that the commutations were, in many instances, so exceedingly severe, that the most cruel death would have been, comparatively, an act of humanity and mercy. In smaller crimes too, the punishments are extremely severe, and in many cases degrading to human nature. But though a cold, austere, and cruel principle seems to pervade the whole system, its greatest evil perhaps is, that the modes of trial are so defective, and the inflictions so arbitrary, that no innocence of life or character seems to afford a sufficient security from the oppression of power, or the malice even of its inferior ministers.

Ecclesiastical affairs, notwithstanding this great labour, continued still to occupy no small share of the emperor's attention. After the numberless reforms already made, it was still discovered that more was to be done; and new edicts and regulations were nearly as frequent as ever. One of these was an order in future for abridging the divine service, and for the entire suppression of vocal performers in choirs; the medical professors having discovered that this measure would tend greatly to the health of the youth—who were usually employed as choristers, and the political projectors, that it will afford them much time for application to

useful science.—We believe this edict relates only to convents and the regular clergy, at least that it does not extend to cathedrals; although the wording of it renders the sense in that respect doubtful.

An edict was likewise issued, commanding all rectors and parish priests to make use of the vernacular tongue, instead of the Latin language, in the administration of the sacraments. The chanting of hymns in private houses was also thought an object of attention, and accordingly forbidden, as being introductory to innovations in religion, and likewise a check to industry. This order is probably levelled at some of the reformed congregations. Several proclamations were published, enforcing a former imperial decree for the abolishing of holidays; and to give them the more certain effect, pecuniary mulcts were to be levied upon those magistrates who neglected to exact a compliance with them.

The prevalent disposition for the reduction of the religious orders seemed this year to lose somewhat of its primary spirit; the suppression of six or seven chapters, with the convents of the capuchins, recollects, and dominicans, in Styria and Carinthia, and of the Franciscan friars at Vienna, being the only instances we know of; the monastery of the latter has been converted into a school for soldiers children. It appeared, by an authenticated list published this year, that 413 monasteries, and 211 nunneries, had been suppressed from the year 1782 to the present; and that the number of conventual clergy in the Austrian dominions, which, in the year 1779, amounted to

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to 64,890, was reduced something more than one-third.

But the court of Rome was destined to receive a greater shock to its power in Germany from another quarter, than all perhaps that it had yet sustained from the emperor. The German prelacy, taking advantage of his disposition, seemed determined not to lose the golden opportunity, which they so often before sought in vain, of calling in the great official powers lodged in his hands, to act in concurrence with their own, in emancipating themselves entirely from the Italian yoke in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs. The right assumed by the pope of interference in their metropolitan government had nearly at all times, as well long before, as at and since the period of the reformation, been considered, and even sometimes stoutly resisted by the German bishops, not only as an intolerable grievance, but as a gross invasion of their rights, and a badge of servitude which they very unwillingly wore.

The residence of nuncios, who were the pope's immediate instruments, and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction which they assumed, were considered as summing up in themselves the whole amount of the grievance, and as being the standing monuments of the wrong and oppression complained of. This was accordingly that part of the evil which it was in contemplation first to shake off. The emperor, notwithstanding all his reforms, still permitted the continuance of the nuncio at Vienna, which was probably in reverence to the memory and character of the late empress queen, whose attachment to the holy see was universally known; but he

was not permitted at all to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs, and was considered and treated merely as a political agent or resident from the pope. Another nuncio had been established at Cologne, in the time of the late elector, and his continuance had hitherto been permitted by the present, although he assumed an authority, which only served to revive and increase the dislike to that character, both with the reigning prince and with his ecclesiastical neighbours.

In this state of things, the bigotry of the secular court of Munich would go to counteract or overthrow the designs of the ecclesiastical princes, who were the only competent judges of their own rights and privileges, and of those things which related to or affected their government, whether temporal or ecclesiastical, by officiously inviting a nuncio to reside in that city, with a view to his assuming a supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Bavaria and the Palatinate, under the immediate sanction of the electoral power. Upon the first intelligence of this design, the elector of Mentz, and the archbishop of Saltzburg, took the alarm, and immediately applied to the emperor for his official interposition and protection in the preservation of their rights.

That prince accordingly published throughout the empire a document under the title of a memorial, upon the subject; in which, after reciting the application, and the motives to it, he acknowledges it to be his duty, as the supreme patron of the Germanic constitution in church and state, to grant the protection required; and that as he had never failed in any instance in giving the fullest proofs of his patriotic

then included, so, in due gradation, the Netherlands are now to be comprised in nine. By this means the people in each circle will not only be admitted into the enjoyment of such portion of splendour and happiness as may be supposed incident to a distinct government, but they will likewise (as it is fondly conceived) by degrees lose all vexatious recollection of their former governments and condition; for it cannot be forgotten, how great are the effects of terms, as distinguished from ideas, both in facilitating the government of mankind, and in rendering them intractable to it. The Austrian Lombardy is to undergo a similar arrangement, and to be tortured into eight divisions; which will undoubtedly serve to increase the local self-importance of the people, however deficient it may prove in extending their improvements, or in promoting their prosperity.

The spirit of innovation continues still to shew itself in Hungary in small matters as well as in great, of which a fresh instance was given in removing the courts of justice, and the seat of government, from Presburgh back to Buda, the ancient capital of that kingdom, from which they had been removed about two centuries ago, upon that city's falling into the hands of the Turks. It is, however, to be observed, that Buda seemed designed by nature for being the capital of that country; that its situation is much more central than that of Presburgh; and that the motive for a predilection for the latter could only proceed from its vicinity to Vienna, by which it was immediately under the eye of the court.

It was not to be expected that

the same keen eye, from which no other object of regulation could escape, would suffer the numerous body of prostitutes in Vienna to pass unnoticed. They are now compelled to take up their residence in four large buildings assigned for the purpose, and are totally disqualified from appearing in the streets in their professional character. A suppressed convent is said to be one of the buildings assigned to this order of nuns.—Such is the mixture of burlesque which accompanies this activity of regulation, both civil and religious!

But notwithstanding the multiplicity of domestic business in which the emperor seemed entirely immersed, in did not prevent his paying the most watchful attention to the affairs and distractions of Holland. It was not, however, understood, that he surveyed the condition of that republic by any means with a friendly eye. On the contrary, disputes were raised relative to the navigation of the Swin, and every petty occasion seized which could afford room for dispute. At the same time, a public request made by the states general to the government of the Austrian Netherlands, for liberty to export Dutch herrings to Ostend, was rejected by the emperor himself, in terms the most peremptory as well as laconic that could be devised.

In defiance of the so lately concluded treaty of peace, and apparently of friendship, a new and ferocious claim was likewise prepared, and ready to be enforced when the proper season arrived. This was a renewal of the claim upon the East India trade, which a Mr. Rancour was employed to justify in a treatise published for the purpose.

This writer was not content to rest by the treaty of Munster, and all the justice of the claim upon the former ones, but by the late treaty the natural and inalienable rights of the Austrian Netherlands to a share in that commerce, but he undertook to prove that those rights had been confirmed and established, not only of 1785, one of whose principal objects, on one side, had been entirely to do away that claim, and thereby finally close the dispute.

## C H A P. IX.

*Death of the king of Prussia. Some account of that great prince. Hospitals for distressed old age of all nations endowed by him in Berlin. Temper and disposition softened and rendered more kindly by age. Leaves his successor the best securities to a kingdom, in a full treasury, excellent armies, and subjects strongly attached to the government. Popular measures pursued by the present king. Restores the German language to its proper place, in the room of the French, which had been used at court, and in all public transactions, during the late reign. Patronizes the native literature, as well as language. Prohibits irreligious publications. Forbids duelling, and erects a court of honour. Persecution of the free-masons by the Elector Palatine, occasions M. de Born indignantly to return his diplomas, and to abandon the academy of sciences at Munich. Northern kingdoms. Death, and its consequent distresses, continued in both. Diet held at Stockholm, after an intermission of eight years. King of Sweden abolishes the torture. Danish East-India company resign their stock into the hands of the king. Junction between the Baltic and ocean, by a navigable canal drawn across the peninsula of Jutland. France. Commercial treaty with England. Attention to her marine and commerce. Stupendous works carrying on at Cherbourg, in order to render it a great naval arsenal. King visits that place. Religious prejudices happily wearing away. Foreigners of all religious persuasions and countries invited to settle in the kingdom, with the privileges of purchasing lands, and of enjoying the rights of citizens. Colony of quakers and baptists arrive from North America, to settle at Dunkirk. Great encouragement to foreign merchants, artists, and manufacturers to settle in France. Measures already adopted in favour of the native protestants, to be considered as a happy opening towards their restoration in a more perfect degree to the rights of citizens. Edict in favour of the peasantry. Edict in favour of the subject with respect to personal arrests, and the seizure or detainer of his property, under the local authority of cities and corporations in which he is not a resident. Singular instance of a Free Black of the Isle of France, being elected a corresponding member of the royal academy of sciences.*

**T**HERE was no event that marked the year of which we treat in such striking and indelible colours, as the death of the great Frederick, the illustrious king  
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of Prussia. If he was not the founder of an empire, he accomplished a more arduous task than even that, under its usually concurrent circumstances, has generally proved: for,  
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surrounded as he was by great and jealous potentates, possessed of immense standing armies, and at a time when discipline and the art of war were supposed to have been already carried to their ultimate point of perfection, he, merely by the powers of superior genius and ability, raised a scattered, ill-sorted, disjointed dominion, into the first rank of power, glory, and renown and the newly-founded kingdom of Prussia soon became, under his auspices, the terror or admiration of mankind.

But though he must always be considered as one of the greatest captains and masters of the art of war that ever lived, and as having carried military discipline and field evolution to a degree of perfection before unthought of, and which is now the great object of imitation with all martial nations; his mind was too comprehensive, and his genius too vast, to be confined to tactics, or the business of the field; and he shone forth at the same time with no less ambition of fame, in all the different characters of legislator, historian, poet, and philosopher.

In the course of his long and exceedingly hard fought wars, contending against a combination of power which has seldom been equalled, and with some of the first generals and greatest nations, he sustained with unflinching constancy, and an unconquerable fortitude, the most dismal reverses of fortune that perhaps have ever been experienced and recovered by any commander; he having been repeatedly and suddenly depressed from the highest pinnacle of success to the lowest extreme of distress and adversity; in-

so much, that even the continuance of his existence as a sovereign was more than once a question sufficiently dubious. Through a noble perseverance, and the strenuous exertions of his admirable genius, he still surmounted his difficulties and dangers: fortune again smiled, and seemed only to plunge him in adversity, that he might rise with brighter glory.

In estimates of real character we must necessarily take mankind such as they are, compounds of good and of evil, of great and of little; we should in vain look for resemblances to those imaginary heroes, who are represented as so bedizened with virtues, that nothing like nature or truth can be perceived about them; and the picture exhibits, as the poet happily observes, "those faultless monsters which the world ne'er saw." On the contrary, the shades in Frederick's character were as strongly marked as the bright parts, and we shall perhaps find that his great qualities had even more than their due proportion of alloy. There certainly have been great captains and conquerors, who afforded superior instances of a noble and generous nature to any that he had the fortune of exhibiting; who were happily better calculated to excite the affection as well as the admiration of mankind; and who were free from many of the defects of his character.—To say that his ambition was boundless, would be no more than saying that he held the vice common to great situations; but his ambition asserted too much with rapacity to captivate the imagination, as it otherwise might have done; and he looked more to his interest than his fame in the means

means which he sometimes used for the attainment of his objects. A strict oeconomy, indeed, was indispensably necessary to the peculiarity of his situation, and to the support of such prodigious armies, with means which would have been totally inadequate in any other hands; but he pushed this virtue too far towards the opposite extreme, so as to carry too much the appearance of a degrading parsimony; and it must be acknowledged, by those who pay the greatest respect to his eminent qualities, that he was more fond of gold than corresponds with the established ideas of a great man.

Frederick could brook no opposition to his will either in word or in action; was to the last degree implacable in his resentments; and inheriting from nature, as well as deriving from education and example, a disposition extremely harsh, despotic, and occasionally cruel, it could not be expected that it would have been lessened by the horrors and carnage of war, any more than by the continual personal enforcement in peace of that austere military discipline established by himself, which was as unequalled in its rigour and severity, as in all other respects; and by which, man being reduced to the state of a living machine, was considered and treated merely as such.

But the latter part of his life seemed calculated to make amends to mankind for all the ravage and desolation which his ambition had occasioned in the foregoing; to give a new colour to his character; and to cast a softening shade of benignity over all its parts. He became the father as well as the legislator of his subjects; and to them, the milk of human nature seemed overflowing in his composition. The

extraordinary expences to which he went in peopling and cultivating the sterile or desert wastes which extended over such vast tracts of his dominions; were only limited by the extent and number of the objects to which they were applicable. For though his attention was in a considerable degree directed to almost every branch of improvement, yet agriculture was his great and favourite object; and he accordingly adopted every measure that could render the husbandman easy and comfortable in his circumstances, and secure in the possession of his property. And if he deserves praise for having attained these ends in the latter and more serene parts of his career, it must surely be considered as the greater glory of his reign, and one peculiar to himself, that when most unfortunate in war, and when most oppressed by an unequalled combination of hostile power, yet, that in all the singular distresses to which he was at those seasons reduced, his provident foresight had provided such ample resources for every evil that could ensue, that he never burthened his subjects with the addition of a single tax, or the demand of a benevolence; so that his dominions, if it had not been for the cruel deprivations of his numerous enemies, would have borne the same appearance as in a season of profound peace.

And when, latterly, the dreadful inundations and other calamitous effects of unusual and untoward seasons, had spread ruin and desolation as well through his dominions, as all the regions of the north and center of Europe, the sums of money which he bestowed, not merely to relieve but to restore the numberless sufferers, and, as it were,

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completely to remedy the evils of nature, were so immense, as nearly to exceed credibility; and perhaps exceeded any former known instance of royal benevolence. It seemed indeed scarcely credible, that the same hand which had so long been charged with a contracted parsimony, should now, when the great occasion offered, exceed all others in munificence and bounty. It must likewise ever be received as a standing monument both of attention to the good of his subjects, and of the excellent principles of his administration, that notwithstanding the length and peculiar circumstances of his wars, the population of his dominions had been more than doubled in his reign, and that a far greater proportional increase took place in their foreign trade, and in the number and tonnage of their shipping.

As we never had before, and as our age will hardly again afford us an opportunity of describing another such man, we are the less apprehensive of having dwelt too long upon so favourite a subject.

This great prince departed the present life on the 17th of August, 1786, in the 75th year of his age; a surprising age, whether we consider it with respect to the greatness, number, and splendour of its actions, the dangers to which it had been exposed, or the unequalled exertions of body and mind, by which, through a long reign of more than six years, it had been continued.

His decline had for some time been so rapid, that the event was foreseen; yet, under the joint influence of an asthma, dropsy, and rheumatism, the former of which had some time rendered him incapable of repose in a bed, he dis-

played in the intervals his pristine vigour of mind, and all his usual serenity and cheerfulness in conversation; never uttering the least complaint, nor shewing the smallest degree either of regret or impatience at his condition; and on the 15th, only two days before his death, he sent for his cabinet secretaries at four o'clock in the morning, and transacted business for three hours with them; but in the evening of that day the somnolency returned, and he continued nearly in a state of insensibility until his death.

It was a curious if not singular circumstance, that as the king began himself personally to feel the infirmities and incommunities of age, it touched his sympathy so strongly for the distresses of the unprovided in that calamitous condition, that he immediately founded two hospitals in Berlin for the reception of helpless old age, in all cases whatever, without regard to nation, religion, or sex.

There were numerous other instances of his temper and disposition being greatly softened by age; a circumstance very unusual in mankind, and almost without example in conquerors; who so generally become more rigid, harsh, and oppressive, and too frequently degenerate into absolute cruelty at that season of life.

The attention of all Europe had been long drawn to the contemplation of this expected event, and of its probable or possible consequences. Many apprehended that it would prove the signal for immediate war, and perhaps lead to great political revolution. The character of his nephew and successor, the present king, was not yet much developed; and it was easily seen that a new Kingdom which

which had risen suddenly to such unexampled power and greatness as served to excite the jealousy or apprehension of all its neighbours, merely through the abilities of one man, would require abilities not much inferior to withstand the shocks, to which it might be liable upon the loss of its tutelary guardian and genius. The danger appeared the greater, as its nearest and most potent neighbour, besides other great political differences, and his finding Prussia almost constantly in his way in the prosecution of his ambitious views, was himself the greatest sufferer by her greatness; and was well known to be of a character not much disposed to forgive or forget so grievous a loss as that of Silesia.

The new government was, however, conducted with so much regularity and steadiness, and retained so much of its ancient appearance and character, that no opening was made, nor encouragement given, for any of the apprehended dangers or evils to take place. Indeed the late king had bequeathed the most effectual securities to his successor for the preservation of his dominions, which human wisdom could provide or devise, by leaving him a full treasury, the finest army, without exception, in the world, and a people enthusiastically attached to his government and memory. A striking instance of the latter was afforded in the disposal of his old wardrobe, which was so meanly provided, that the whole, including state clothes and linen, was sold to the Jews for 400 rix-dollars \*; but the eagerness of the people to possess

any thing that had once belonged to their old hero was so great, that the Jews made more than as many thousands of their purchase; and the smallest article of his wear was preserved as an invaluable relic.

As novelty possesses charms that captivate all mankind, so innovations, in a certain degree, are perhaps adopted with propriety at the accession of a new sovereign, especially after a long reign; and whatever the wisdom of the preceding administration may be, there ever will be particular instances in which they may be necessary, and accordingly adopted with advantage. Popularity was likewise the more necessary in the present instance, not only from the predilection of the people for the late reign, but that the present sovereign had hitherto no opportunity of disclosing his public disposition and character.

No event or act of the late reign was so universally unpopular throughout Germany, as his predilection for the French language, and the decided preference which he upon all occasions gave to the literature of that nation. The numerous German literati in particular could not but be grievously affected by it, and indeed every true patriot, from whatever part of that wide empire he derived his existence, must have felt it sensibly, as an insult offered, and a glaring contempt shewn to his language and country. This predilection the king derived from his early acquaintance and intercourse with French poets and philosophers of the modern stamp, to whom he was likewise indebted for other prejudices and prin-

\* The rix-dollar is about 3s. 6d. English.

ciples still more injurious and unfortunate; particularly that indifference (to call it by the softest name) with respect to religion, which stuck to him through life, and was the great blemish of his character.

It must, however, be remembered, that the German writers in the late king's earlier days, were of a very different cast and character from those who have since so far advanced literature and science, have done so much honour to their country by their genius and researches, and who by their successful introduction of the poetic muses have used the most effectual means for softening and wearing down the roughness of their native tongue. On the contrary, at and for a considerable time after his accession, labouriousness and fidelity were the chief praises that could be bestowed on the German writers; their works were proverbially verbose and heavy; they had not yet applied with any success to the *Belles Lettres*; and their poetry, particularly the dramatic, was barbarous. Early prejudices are with difficulty shaken off, and as life advances, the disposition to that endeavour generally lessens. Frederick had early made himself a party in the affair, by criticisms on, and himself writing against, the German studies and literature. Having thus declared himself, he was too proud and too tenacious of his opinion ever to relinquish it, and would neither observe or examine the wonderful change and improvement which was taking place in both. And so far was he from affording favour or encouragement to the writers who were thus reforming the language and taste of their country, that it is said, he

would not even read their productions if in the vernacular tongue.

Nothing then could be more popular, or more generally gratifying, than the new king's declaration in council, that "Germans we are, and Germans I mean we shall continue;" at the same time giving directions that their native language should resume its natural rank and station, from which it had been for near half a century degraded by the usurping French; the latter only having been during that time spoken at court, addressed in letters to the king, used in all public offices and transactions, and even in the academies. Of these, the royal academy of sciences was composed almost entirely of Frenchmen; but the king now ordered three Germans to be received in it, and public discourses to be occasionally delivered in the Teutonic. To shew his attention to the native literature, he settled a handsome pension for life upon Mr. Ramler, the celebrated German lyric poet; and received in the most favourable manner the congratulatory verses which were addressed to him by professor Gleim, and other men of learning, who all made it a point to write them in the native language. The late king had likewise placed the collection of the taxes and duties, particularly those on tobacco, almost exclusively in the hands of Frenchmen; but they were now generally, if not universally, replaced by Germans, and the foreigners humanely allowed pensions.

The new king strictly prohibited all publications tending to excite a contempt or indifference for religion: observing that he had marked with great concern the progress of impiety

impiety and prophaneness on the one hand, and of enthusiasm on the other, which were making such rapid advances among the people; and which he attributed in a great degree to the multiplicity of these publications. He declared that he would not have his subjects corrupted either by fanatics or atheists; nor madmen to enrich themselves and the bookfellers at the expence of religion. He likewise passed a severe law against duelling in all cases whatever; and erected a court or tribunal of honour to take cognizance of those disputes or differences which might lead to that resort.

Upon the whole, every thing that has yet appeared serves to indicate a happy and prosperous reign to that kingdom; and as the monarchy is now thoroughly formed and established, if it should not prove so splendid as the foregoing, it will be so much the better for the people.

So happy a tranquillity prevails in the other parts of Germany, that the persecution of the free-masons by the elector palatine became an object of notice. That prince, who seems in many respects to have departed strangely from that conduct and character which gained him so much applause during his residence at Manheim, adopted, towards the close of the preceding year, a determination to exterminate free-masonry entirely from his dominions; nor could even the protection of the muses save the academy of sciences at Munich from this spirit of barbarous persecution.

The celebrated M. de Born, of Vienna, one of the most distinguished literary characters in Ger-

many, was a resident member of that academy, and had a principal share in retrieving it from that state of degradation in which it had fallen, during that long night of ignorance and bigotry, which so peculiarly overspreads Bavaria. That gentleman was a known and avowed free-mason; and the president was obliged to write to him, desiring peremptorily that he should within eight days declare, whether he would renounce and withdraw himself from the pernicious mysteries of that fraternity. To this M. de Born returned an immediate answer, "That so far from relinquishing the principles, he should ever glory in the name of free-mason: a name that should mark every man that bears it with superior probity; for its principles enjoin a more vigilant discharge of the duties we owe to our Creator, a more strict fidelity to the sovereign, and a more enlarged and active benevolence to our fellow creatures, in squaring our conduct thereby. However, to free myself at once from your jurisdiction, I herewith return you all my diplomas, and desire you may strike out my name from the list of your academicians." Thus has the academy lost its principal ornament and honour, and Bavaria may again enjoy its usual darkness and proverbial stupidity.

The two northern kingdoms have not presented much matter of political observation in the course of the year of which we treat. The famine and other calamities which so much afflicted the people in both kingdoms, were rather increased than diminished in this year; and though every where grievous, were in the more remote or detached

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provinces of either dreadful to contemplate. Even in those parts of Denmark, which were the best situated for receiving foreign aid and supply, and in the very seat of government, which afforded the best means for procuring it, the wants of the people were, notwithstanding, so extreme, that it was estimated, that above a thousand artificers emigrated from the city of Copenhagen only in the course of the year. And the emigration from other parts of the kingdom was so great, that not less than seven or eight thousand of the most laborious and useful part of the people applied to the Russian minister, within only the first three months of the year, for those encouragements and means of transportation which were allotted to those who would proceed to people Cherson, and other of the new colonies and settlements in those quarters. If such was the condition in the heart of Denmark, how must it have been in the remote provinces, and still more in those of Sweden, which are farther from relief, and more shut in from the world?

The refusal of the customary supplies of grain from Livonia, which so dreadfully and irremediably increased the distresses of the people, could not but sink deeply into the mind of the court of Stockholm. A visible coolness and jealousy had for some time been growing, and seemed much increasing, between Sweden and the court of Peterburgh. Besides any other causes of coolness, the king kept in a better condition, and made great progress in improving his naval force, than was pleasing to his great neighbour. Indeed,

however she may be supposed to consider absolute power, when vested in her own hands, she was little satisfied with that revolution which placed so great a share of it in his; and however necessary it was to conform outwardly to an evil which was not apprehended until it was too late for a remedy, it was not to be supposed that so unthought of and eminent a display of dexterity and dangerous ambition, should at all lessen her watchfulness of his future conduct, or in any degree dispose her to regard him with the less jealous eye.

Whether it proceeded from an apprehension of any approaching foreign danger, from the distresses of the people, or from a complication of these with other causes, is uncertain, but a diet was this year held at Stockholm, being the first that had taken place since that which confirmed the late revolution in the government eight years before.—The greatest apparent cordiality prevailed between the king and the states at this meeting. In his speech to them some oblique hints were thrown out, in treating of the state of the army and navy, of the propriety and necessity of being in such a state of preparation and defence, as would afford security against any sinister events that might occur, which could only be understood as alluding to one of his neighbours, the greatest harmony having been already declared to subsist with Denmark.

The states were not, however, so compliant as might have been expected; and it was not a little pleasing to see, that the spirit of liberty which so much distinguished their antient constitution was not yet

yet entirely extinct, for as where that spirit is wanting no system of laws or constitution of polity, however excellent, will make a nation free, so while it subsists with any vigour, no form or power of government can at all times be able to withstand its successful exertion; especially if the former, according to the nature of absolute or ill-restrained sovereignty, should, under a weak or profligate prince, degenerate into tyranny. The states at this time seemed to recall and recover their constitutional importance, by refusing absolutely to comply with some of the not numerous proposals which the king made to them, and on which he had particularly fixed his mind. These were for the establishment of some funds, the nature of which we are not informed of, and consequently can give no opinion of the propriety of the refusal, but merely give the fact as an instance of the power or spirit which the states of Sweden still retain. The smallest dissatisfaction was not, however, visible on either side; and the king and the states parted, after a very short session, with as much apparent cordiality as they had shewn at their first meeting.

To the numerous instances of improvements in legislation, or the administration of justice in different parts of the western world, which we have already had the satisfaction of taking notice, and which will so happily distinguish the present from all former ages, the king of Sweden has added another, by totally abolishing within his dominions that inhuman relic of antient barbarity and cruelty, the punishment by torture; or, what was still worse, its horrible and fruitless application for

the discovery of truth, by compelling suspected delinquents, through an extremity of pain, which human nature is not capable of withstanding, to condemn themselves, by the acknowledgment of a guilt of which they have frequently been entirely innocent. The king, in his edict, assigns motives pretty much of this nature for its abolishment; and to supply the supposed necessity for putting the question, as it was called, he ordains, that the confession of guilt in a malefactor shall not at all be deemed necessary for his punishment, where the legal proofs of his guilt are sufficiently established.

The repeated failures, or distresses approaching closely to what is understood by mercantile *failure*, which the European companies trading to the East-Indies have of late years so particularly experienced, seem to bear a doubtful if not ominous aspect with respect to the future existence of that commerce, which has so long been the great object of avidity to trading communities, and of rivalry and contention among states; and which has likewise afforded the means of producing the most deplorable calamities among the remotest nations in the world, and with whom Europe seemed to have the least possible concern. The shocks which the English company had received, notwithstanding the greatness of its territorial possessions and revenues, are too well known to require observation. The Dutch East-India Company, which had for ages held unexampled wealth and power, and seemed rather a great independent sovereign, than a member of a small republic, has now of late been more than once reduced

to the very extremity of distress, and has only been held together by the great loans which the state has advanced to save it from absolute and impending ruin. France has already, in the short interval since the peace, twice or thrice altered her plan for conducting that commerce, and does not yet seem by any means fixed in her system. The Danish company, being entirely commercial, and conducting its affairs upon a narrower scale, seemed free from many of those dangers to which the more potent and adventurous companies were necessarily exposed. Yet neither the prudence of their conduct, nor the moderation of their pursuits, could preserve them from the common fatality; and they found their affairs this year in so untoward a state, that they were under a necessity of surrendering their charter, privileges, and stock, into the hands of the king, who they requested to accept of them on such terms as he should prescribe. The king has accordingly complied with their request, and agreed to purchase their respective shares of stock at a given price, and in a stipulated manner.

With respect to other matters, nothing of any consequence has taken place in the affairs of Denmark. The prince royal retains his popularity, and seems to deserve it; and the people (which is the best of all tests) appear to be satisfied with their government. The prince seems much disposed to consult their inclinations in his conduct; and lately rejected a proposal that was made to him for laying some new restraints on the press; observing, that as it was impossible to prevent men from thinking, so, in defiance of all restrictions and laws, they would ever

find some means of communicating their sentiments, and the more publicly that was done, the less pernicious or dangerous would be the effect. The prince had the satisfaction this year of seeing his sister, the princess royal, married at an early age to the prince of Sleswick Holstein.

The hereditary prejudices and animosities which have so long operated, with all the force of a natural antipathy, upon the people and even the sovereigns of the northern kingdoms, seems to be wearing fast away. Indeed, as a clearer view of their mutual and respective interests, as well as of their common danger, takes place, these prejudices, which had been formed upon a totally different scale of things, and under causes and impressions which no longer exist, must of necessity decline. The greatest harmony accordingly subsists, and if true policy prevails must continue and increase, between the northern crowns and kingdoms.

We omitted in its proper place to take notice of a great and royal work executed in Denmark, being no less than the forming of a short and direct junction between the Baltic and the German ocean. This was done by drawing a navigable canal from west to east across the peninsula of Jutland, the ancient Cimbric Chersonese. This canal was opened in the month of May 1785, and accompanied with an edict, by which a passage through it was granted to all nations (on the payment of certain specified tolls or duties) for six years; a limitation as to time for which we do not pretend to see the motive. Neither can we, as we have seen no scale of this canal, nor any account of its dimensions.

dimensions with respect to breadth or depth, form any accurate estimate of its probable utility; which, from its nature, should be great indeed.

The new treaty of navigation and commerce between France and England, which was concluded at Versailles on the 20th of September 1786, may be justly considered among the most important political events of the present year. It seemed almost singular, that this treaty was far from affording general satisfaction to the people on either side of the water; and that each nation appeared to think that it had granted too much to the other, or had even been overreached by it in some parts of the compact, and particularly in the rating and adjustment of the equivalents: a circumstance, however, which may be considered as affording no slight indication of its being founded on liberal and equitable principles, especially taking the numerous and deeply rooted prejudices which it had on both sides to encounter into the estimate.

In fact, the multiplicity of objects which it embraced, of interests which it might affect, its relation to the general system of navigation and trade established in Europe, its interference with the letter or spirit of treaties already existing between the parties and other powers, and the uncertainty of its future operation in all or many of these respects, presented altogether such a face of doubt and difficulty, that the most intelligent in mercantile affairs were either at a loss to form, or unwilling to hazard a decided opinion, while men in general were either bewildered in the magnitude

of the subject, or involved in the apprehension of the manner in which it might affect their own peculiar interests.

It is to be observed, that this was not a novel idea with either of the parties; and that the general principles of the present treaty were the same with those of a former one which had been rejected by the English parliament in the year 1713. The courts of London and Versailles had then absolutely agreed upon the conditions; it was a part of the system of the tory ministry who concluded the peace; and it only wanted the sanction of parliament for its final completion. But all the weight and influence of the court, with that of the strong party which then predominated, notwithstanding their utmost exertions to carry it through, were foiled in the attempt. It should, however, be remembered, that the violent prejudices which were then entertained by the strongest partisans of the revolution against France, against the peace, against the queen herself, and against her ministers, who they considered as the open betrayers of their country to her greatest enemy, and as harbouring designs directly subversive of the constitution, could not but operate greatly to the rejection of this treaty, independently of its real merits or faults:

Without attempting at this time to enter into any particular discussion of those which may be discovered in the present, we shall only observe in general, that an apparent fairness, a desire to bury ancient animosities, to cure national prejudices, and to remove the partialities incident to jarring interests,



seem to pervade the whole, and to have been the leading objects of the parties. Reciprocity is the grand principle of the treaty; and it seems to have been intended on both sides, that no concession should be made on either, which was not balanced by a supposed equivalent on the other. It is scarcely within the verge of possibility, that men should not differ in their estimates of these equivalents. A vast reduction was made on the duties laid on the wines, brandies, and vinegars of France, upon their importation into England; oil, and some other staple commodities, were to be admitted upon the same footing with those of the most favoured nations. Similar concessions were made by France, with respect to the hardware, and other great manufactures of England; reciprocity, and a free and easy intercourse between the parties, being the ground-work of all these arrangements.

What is more particularly interesting to humanity in general than mere commercial regulations, which always look to interest as their object, is, that France has upon this occasion freely sacrificed her ancient civil and religious prejudices, which seemed so closely interwoven in her nature and constitution as to appear almost inseparable. She allows the English residing in her dominions the most perfect liberty in religious matters; instead of being compellable to attend the public service or worship of the country, they are authorized in the full exercise of their own religious rites, only subject to the reasonable condition of their being performed privately, and within their own houses. The shameful, odious, and inhuman prac-

tice, of refusing the rites of sepulture to the bodies of supposed heretics, is likewise done away by this treaty. Several other wise and humane regulations, tending to the ease, advantage, and security of individuals, and to the promoting of the most free and friendly intercourse and connection between the nations, are also contained in it. Though these were apparently mutual and reciprocal, yet their benefits rested almost entirely with the English: the free laws and government of that people, with the equal and liberal course of their justice, not admitting of those restrictions to the persons or property of foreigners, to which they had been themselves subjected in France. Thus the property of British subjects who die in France is now secured to their heirs, without lett or molestation, directly contrary to former usage. Upon the breaking out of a war between the two nations, it was customary for the English in France to be obliged to quit the country at a very short notice, and frequently to the great detriment of their affairs; but now they are permitted to reside in it, and to pursue their respective avocations with the same freedom as at home, under the simple and equitable condition of conforming to its laws. It was likewise customary to commit them to the Bastille, upon even slight suspicions of their public conduct; but now, in that case, they are allowed twelve months to remove their persons and property out of the kingdom. It was hitherto the custom that they could not quit Paris without a licence from government; they are now to have the same liberty of free egress and regress through

through and from every part of the kingdom that they could enjoy in their own country. The examination of letters, and other difficulties attending a correspondence in France, were a great grievance not only to merchants, whose private and most secret affairs were thus exposed, but to literary men, and even to common friends. This evil is now removed, and the most perfect security afforded, particularly to merchants, who are admitted to carry on their correspondence in any language or idiom they shall think proper, without any molestation or search whatsoever.

We shall reserve any farther observations on this treaty to another season, when its discussion will appear in the proper place.

France through the course of this year paid the most marked attention to every department of her marine, and to the promotion of every part of her commerce both foreign and domestic. With a view to future wars, she likewise endeavoured to encrease the number of her naval arsenals and ports on the ocean (in which she is by nature so defective) for the reception of ships of the line, and the station of warlike fleets.

The port of Cherburgh, on the coast of Normandy, from its vicinity to England, and lying directly opposite to the coast of Hampshire, seemed directly calculated for this purpose; and undoubtedly, if its natural defects could be remedied by art, it would prove a most advantageous station to the French fleets in a war with England, and would not fail to become an exceedingly painful and dangerous thorn in the side of that power. The

scheme was accordingly adopted with great spirit, and carried on at an immense expence. For the road being about a league and a half in length from east to west, notwithstanding the cover in part of a low island, which considerably serves to break the violence of the waves, is still much exposed to the north and north-west winds; to remedy which it was proposed to cover the road entirely by a succession of moles on that side, leaving only two sufficient openings, one for the passage of ships of the largest size, and the other for trading vessels. One of these moles was to be carried though the island (which was mostly overflowed in spring tides) and the others were to have their foundations laid, and superstructure raised, in a deep and boisterous sea. The labour was vast, but the object was highly inviting; for if the fences could be completed, large fleets, composed of the most capital ships, might lie securely at anchor within them in all weather. Forts, with batteries of the heaviest cannon, were to be erected on the different moles in such situations as to be themselves impregnable, and to render the approach of an enemy utterly impracticable. A capacious basin, with docks, and all the other appendages to a great naval arsenal, were to be constructed in and adjoining to the harbour and town. The number of hands employed in this mighty design were suited to its magnitude and importance; and the removal and placing, by any number, of those immense masses of solid rock, which, in so turbulent a sea, could alone lay the foundations of such stupendous piles of building, would have appeared impossible to

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any, who had not before seen or heard of similar grand exertions of human labour and art.

This Herculean labour was deemed of such national importance; that the king, who had never before been at any considerable distance from Paris, took a journey on purpose to behold its progress. Even now, as it might be said in its infant state, he could not behold without surprize the stupendous parts of that future giant which were already in prospect. The supporters of the mole were to be in the form of cones, and were of so prodigious a bulk, that the timber caissons in which they were enclosed were sixty French fathoms in diameter at the bottom.

June 22d, 1786. One of these was successfully launched in the king's presence; an event which perhaps scarcely afforded greater joy to the architect, than satisfaction to the monarch, who did not endeavour to conceal his astonishment at this incredible exertion of human power.

While the king was at this place he was seized with a strong desire of seeing those ancient domains of the dukedom of Normandy, the islands of Jersey and Guernsey; and actually embarked in a frigate, with a view of visiting the former; but a sudden squall arising when he was about half way over, some of the nobility in his train dissuaded him from proceeding any farther.

Religious prejudices are happily fast away in France, and some extraordinary and unnecessary intervention, it may be that it will not require a very recession of years for their exhaustion. Instead of the issuing persecuting edicts a-

gainst its own subjects, as formerly; on that account, this year has been signalized by an arret, inviting strangers of all christian nations and religious persuasions whatever to settle in the country, enabling them to purchase lands, and to enjoy all the common rights of citizens.

It afforded a singular object of moral and political consideration, to behold fourteen vessels from North America arrive together in the harbour of Dunkirk, freighted with the families, goods, and property of a colony of quakers and baptists, (the most rigid, perhaps, in their religious principles of any among the reformed) who are come to settle at that place, in a Roman catholic country, and under the government of the French monarch; two circumstances the most directly opposite to their ancient sentiments, whether political or religious. These people amounted to about a hundred families, and are destined to the prosecution of the whale and other fisheries, in which they had long been superiorly eminent at home. M. de Calonne had the honour of forming the scheme, of inviting them, and of giving them every encouragement they could desire; particularly in every possible security for the preservation of their civil rights and religious freedom. The ruin which beset the American oil trade, and consequently fisheries, through their unhappy separation from England, afforded the occasion on one side, and laid the necessity on the other.

Another arret was issued about the same time as the former, for the encouragement of artists and manufacturers of all nations to settle in France, by allowing them the same privileges

privileges which they enjoyed in their native countries, with exemptions from all duties, for a limited time, on the importation of the raw materials used in their manufactures, as well as from the payment of taxes, and all personal duties to themselves and their workmen; on these conditions they were bound to continue for a given number of years in the kingdom, and for the greater security were not to form their settlements within seven leagues of the frontier; but at the expiration of the prescribed term they were to be at full liberty to depart, when, and in whatever manner was most convenient to them, and to remove their property as well as their persons wherever they should think proper; the king giving up the *droit d'aubaine* entirely in their favour.

It would have been a strange solicitude in policy to encourage and allure foreign protestants to settle in the kingdom, without restoring the numerous natives of that profession in some considerable degree to the rights of citizens. Indeed the king and the government seem to hold dispositions very favourable to the granting of every indulgence to the native protestants, which they could well with propriety expect. But there are great and numerous difficulties in the way to their full establishment in all those rights, which they would have possessed if they had adhered to the public religion of their country. The clergy in France are a very great and powerful body, and besides their usual influence upon the people, are so interwoven with the nobility, as not, in the present order of things, to be separable. Such an union must be treated with great tenderness and

caution by the crown, even in France.

The Gallican church, by ever keeping itself distinct, and nobly supporting its rights against the encroachments of the see of Rome, has thereby acquired a degree of weight, dignity and character, which no other of the same persuasion possesses. The parish priests likewise in France have long been celebrated for general humanity and benevolence, care of, and tenderness to, their flocks, irreproachable lives, and the general excellency of their character. All these concurrent circumstances serve to give such a firmness to the whole establishment, that it could not without great difficulty be shaken.

Indeed it never will be found easy to draw so strict and equal a line between the public religious establishment of any country, and that which is only tolerated, as can afford full satisfaction to both the parties. The one will ever regard whatever is granted either as an encroachment on, or as endangering its own rights, while the other is apt, on every new indulgence or favour, to grow the more impatient for greater, and even to long for the forbidden fruits of church emolument, in proportion as they become nearer in view.

Something was, however, done in favour of the native protestants in France, though probably not so much as was wished, or even intended. The legitimacy of their marriages is to be admitted, and the rights of inheritance consequently established, under the condition of the former being registered in an office appointed for the purpose at the Hotel de Ville. They are likewise to be admitted

admitted to institute places of public worship, but they must bear only the outward appearance of private houses; in these they will be entitled to the free exercise of their religious rites, subject to the single restriction of keeping the doors shut during the service. Their pastors are of course exonerated from all the penalties prescribed by former laws.

Thus has some considerable opening been made towards affording relief to so numerous a body of the people, who after all the losses they had sustained by wars, emigrations, and punishments, and the long and continued oppressions they have endured, still amount to a fifth or sixth of the whole inhabitants of the kingdom, the lowest estimates rating their numbers at four millions.

Some indulgences have been extended to the peasantry this year in France; that most valuable order of men, who are the foundation of strength, wealth and power in every community that possesses them, and who have been too long most shamefully and unwisely despised and oppressed, not only in France, but in most other countries. They are now relieved from that intolerable bondage and continued oppression to which they had so long been subjected, under the arbitrary domination of inferior mercenary officers, with respect to the heavy labour to which they were bound in the repair and construction of the roads; these petty ministers of the civil power, either grinding them by the most shameless extortion of money, which their poverty could so ill spare, or tyrannically compelling them to attend with their carts and draught

cattle to the duty of the roads, at the most distressing and critical season of their agriculture. A new system is adopted with respect to the roads; the farmers are to be discharged from the duty, and the work to be done by labourers hired at the public expence.

An edict was likewise passed this year which affords a security that was greatly wanting to the community in general, but more particularly to the trading and manufacturing part, with respect both to their persons and property. Many cities and corporations possessed the municipal authority of arresting the persons and detaining the property of strangers who came transiently within their jurisdiction, for real or pretended charges of debt laid against them by persons at any distance, and sometimes in the remotest provinces. The most doubtful documents were received as sufficient grounds for these actions; and the general necessary consequence was, that the defendant, if far from home, and no powerful connection within reach, was totally ruined, at the suit perhaps of an unknown and unheard of plaintiff, before he could find means to extricate his person or property. The enormity was so glaring, that its existence for any length of time would appear almost incredible, if similar instances of the long sufferance of evil, through the supineness of rulers, and the defect of spirit or power in the injured, had not been observable in all countries: it is now, however, abolished, and this crying grievance effectually redressed.

If it may not be considered as a revolution in the history of mankind, it may however be admitted as a singular

singular and unexampled instance of change in the sentiments of the western world, that the royal academy of sciences at Paris this year elected, as one of their foreign correspondents, a Mr. Liffel, a Free Black, of the isle of France, who had distinguished himself by a series of curious and extremely well calculated meteorological observations; thus breaking down in some degree the strong and long-established line of distinction between colours, and holding out encouragement to future Africans to cultivate the sciences and philosophy, by shewing them that the way is opened to academical honours, wherever they are merited, without any regard to the country or natural hue of the ingenious proficient.



# CHRONICLE.

## JANUARY.

1st. **A**CCOUNTS received from all quarters, of the effects of the weather, at the beginning of the new year, are dreadful; thunder, lightning, intense frost, and deep snow, characterise the commencement of the present year.

*Naples.* On the morning of the 12th of November last, at least one hundred shocks of an earthquake were felt in the environs of Vesuvius. This mountain, which has been for some time in convulsions, continues to vomit forth a prodigious quantity of inflammable matter, which terrifies the inhabitants, lest the lava should take a new course, and overflow the country.

11th. The Swallow packet, from Bengal, arrived in the Downs, on the 9th instant, on board of which lord Macartney came passenger. His lordship was several days in Calcutta, previous to the arrival of the dispatches of the court of directors containing his appointment of governor-general of Bengal. This packet brought over a copy of the sentence of the court-martial on major-general sir John Burgoyne, bart. which honourably acquits him of every part of the charge against him.

16. The sessions at the Old Bailey,  
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which began upon Wednesday the 11th, ended, when 7 convicts received sentence of death, 20 were sentenced to be transported, 14 to be imprisoned, and kept to hard labour in the house of correction, 6 to be whipped, 2 imprisoned in Newgate, and 16 discharged by proclamation.

At the above sessions, among others, came on the trial of John Hogan, a Mulatto, for the murder of the servant of Mr. Orrel of Charlotte-street. The following circumstances appeared—That the deceased had her head-dress torn off, and thrown on the ground, covered with blood, as were her handkerchief, gown, &c. Her skull was fractured; her left eye beaten almost out of its socket; her cheek-bones both broken; her chin cut; her neck and throat both cut; several wounds in her breast, particularly a large circular one; her left arm broke; and her right arm and wrist both cut. The instrument with which the wounds had been made was a razor; and notwithstanding it had been thrown into a fire, the spots of blood were not erased.

She was alive, but speechless, and died the same night at twelve o'clock. The prisoner having brought home some chairs, a short time before, to Mr. Orrell's, and a person

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person answering his description having been seen in the neighbourhood that day, suspicion fell on him, and he was twice taken up, and twice discharged for want of evidence.

The prisoner had been tried for a larceny, and Mr. Orrell reading his trial in the sessions-paper, it occurred to him to search at the pawnbroker's where he had pawned the property stolen, for which he was so tried, to see if any of his property, which was stolen at the time of the murder, had been lodged with that pawnbroker; there he found a cloak of his wife's, pawned the morning after the murder, by the woman with whom he cohabited.

On the prisoner's being taken to the body of the deceased, he appeared not in the least agitated; but, putting his hand on her breast, he said, "My dear Nancy, I do remember you well; I never did you any harm in my life!"—These expressions very forcibly added to the suspicions of his guilt, because her face was so exceedingly cut and mangled, that Mr. Orrell declared he could not possibly have known her. Two other circumstances, which tended to criminate him, were a spot of blood on a waistcoat which he wore, and some slight marks of blood on one of the sleeves of his coat; which coat had been washed, though the blood on the sleeve remained; and an effort seemed to have been made, but in vain, to rub out the spot of blood from the waistcoat.

The principal evidence against him was the woman with whom he cohabited; who deposed, that he brought her home a cloak, which she said he had bought, on condition

of paying for it at the rate of so much a week. The cloak was produced in court, and Mrs. Orrell swore to it as her property. The deponent further said, that after Hogan had been twice taken before a magistrate, he, at intervals, appeared to be very uneasy; that particularly he could not sleep in bed; that she said to him one night, "For God's sake what is the matter with you? surely you are not guilty of what you have been taken up for?" that his answer was, "Yes, I am:—I am guilty:—I did it."—She then was much troubled in mind, and apprehended fatal consequences to herself, particularly, as he said to her, "You must say nothing; you must be quiet, for if I be hanged, you will be hanged with me:" and on her asking him, why he had murdered the young woman, he answered, because he wanted to be great with her, and she resisted him.

The prisoner being called on for his defence, said, "I am innocent; and if any body takes away my life, I will never forgive them."

The recorder summed up the trial with great impartiality, and the jury instantly found him guilty; he was then sentenced to be executed on Monday morning, and his body to be dissected and anatomized. He was accordingly taken from Newgate in a cart on Monday, and executed on a gibbet opposite Mr. Orrell's house. A great concourse of people attended the execution, but never died a malefactor with less pity. Just before being turned off, he bowed four times to the populace, and, in an audible voice, confessed himself guilty of the murder, for which he had been justly condemned to die.

This

25th. This morning Mr. Price, who was committed on suspicion of forgery on the bank, and was to have been examined as this day at eleven, hanged himself in his room in Tothill-fields bridewell.— From a variety of circumstances, there remains no doubt that he is the person so frequently advertised for forgeries on the bank for several years past, and who has had the address to elude the strictest search, though long known and suspected. It was his custom, at times, to give entertainments to a select party, and, to evade the plate-tax, to borrow the splendid articles of the side-board at a pawn-broker's, depositing bank-notes as a security. The pawn-broker happening to offer one at the bank, was stopped, and, on relating how he came by it, with all the circumstances, proper people were sent to the shop, who, when he came to return the plate, immediately took him into custody.

31st. The last accounts from North America are full of the distresses occasioned by the heavy falls of rain in September and October last.

At Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, the waters rose to an alarming height.

At Dover the waters rose about 15 feet perpendicular above the usual flowing of the tide, and carried off several hundred thousand lumber. It destroyed some valuable stores, seven mills, and two bridges.

At Portsmouth, in Virginia, a most tremendous gale, added to the freshes, carried several vessels into the fields and woods, where some of them never can be got off. The damage is estimated at 30,000l.

The long contested cause between the vicar of Odiham, plaintiff, and

the chancellor of Sarum, and others, defendants, was lately settled by the judges of the Exchequer, in favour of the plaintiff, by his having a prescriptive right to all small tithes, though he could not produce an endowment. By this decision that right of the inferior clergy to the tithes of clover-feed, turnip-feed, and all small tithes whatever, is finally settled.

DIED. Lately, at Gartshore, in the parish of Kirkintillock, eight miles from Glasgow, Anne Horne, aged 49. She was 44 times tapped for a dropfy, and 286 Scots pints of water taken from her. For half a year before her death, a Scots pint was collected every day.

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FEBRUARY.

On the 27th of January, the brig *Bafel*, Capt. Raphael, arrived at Liverpool from Dominica. In her passage she picked up the crew of the *Charming Molly*, bound from Bermudas to Turk's-island, which vessel had foundered three days before, when the crew, ten in number, took to their boat, to the stern of which they tied a log of wood, to keep her head to the sea.—In this situation they remained almost without hope of relief. When Captain Raphael discovered them, they had about a pound of bread, and two gallons of water left; of the latter of which they gave to each other a wine-glass full, thickened with a mouthful of bread, once in 12 hours. The boat being only 12 feet in length, one half of the crew were obliged to lie down in her bottom alternately, while the other half sat along the sides, as in any other situation the boat must

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have been top-heavy. In this situation, expecting every moment to be their last, they were providentially preserved by the humanity of Capt. Raphael, who brought them home.

Out of a fleet of 13 sail of Swedish merchant-ships, laden with naval stores, consigned for l'Orient, in France, two only have reached their destined port, the other eleven having been wrecked in that heavy gale of wind in which the Halfewell perished. The coast of Essex has been covered with the spoils of this unfortunate fleet.

On account of the league, offensive and defensive, between France and Holland, the following medal has been struck.

A woman representing Holland, seated on a throne, the Batavian lion by her side, armed with seven arrows, a symbol of the Belgic Union, alluding to the peace concluded with the Emperor; Holland offering the olive to a nymph of the *Escaut*; Renown appears in the air, blowing a trumpet, with a streamer ornamented with the *fleur de lis*. In the centre is a garland, forming a civic crown, supported by two hands, with several other symbolical figures. On the exergue is,

*Duplici fœdere salva.*

The LEGEND.

8 Nov. pace cum Romano Imperatore.  
10. ejusd. fœdere cum Rege Gallicæ initiis.

the reverse is a Mercury, with  
utes, and the following in-

*animi monumentum illustrissimæ  
difficilissimi negotii præfectis di-  
vibusdam civibus mercatoribus  
Lamensibus.*

MDCCLXXXVI.

number of vessels that have

passed the sound the last year, amounts to 10,268, of which 2535 were English; 2136 Swedes; 1789 Danes; 1571 Dutch; 114 Russians; 176 Bremens; 161 Dantzickers; 1358 Prussians; 110 of Rosstock; 79 Lubeckers; 66 Imperialists; 61 Hamburghers; 28 Portuguese; 25 Courlanders; 20 French; 20 Americans; 15 Spanish; and 4 Venetians.

The number of vessels that entered the port of Dantzick in 1785, was 684, and 837 sailed out; 57 wintered there. Of those who sailed out, 76 were Dutch, 59 Prussian, 153 English, 153 Danish, 239 Swedish, and 162 Dantzickers.

Came on in the Court of King's Bench, before Lord Mansfield, and a very crowded court, the trial of 13 prisoners for debt in the King's Bench prison, who some months since were committed to the New Gaol, for attempting to blow up the walls of the said prison. The indictment was laid against them for a conspiracy and misdemeanour; and, after a very long trial, they were all found guilty. They have all, since, received sentence; the four principal ringleaders to be confined in Newgate three years; three of them to find security for the same term, after the expiration of their imprisonment; six to be confined in Surrey bridewell for two years; and three in the house of correction for the same term, and to find security for their good behaviour for two years.

About one in the morning a most barbarous and extraordinary murder was attempted on the body of Mr. Walter Horseman, milk-seller at Kentish Town. While asleep in his bed, with his little girl of four years old by his side, his skull

Skull was split asunder with an iron window-bar, and one of his eyes beat out: in this dismal state he continued to breathe eight days, though without the least hope of recovery.—A wretch of about 18, who from motives of humanity had been brought up in the family from a child, but who lately had been turned off for idleness and ill behaviour, is taken up on suspicion, and very strong circumstances seem to put it beyond all doubt that he was the culprit.—The wife of Mr. Horseman was on the next floor with a sick child; and his son, two men, and a boy, were on the same floor.

DIED. Lately, at the extraordinary age of 110 years, 8 months, and 14 days, in the full enjoyment of every faculty, except strength, and quickness of hearing, Cardinal de Salis, archbishop of Seville. He used to tell his friends, when asked what regimen he observed, "By being old when I was young, I find myself young now I am old. I led a sober, studious, but not a lazy or sedentary life. My diet was sparing, though delicate; my liquors the best wines of Xerez and La Mancha, of which I never exceeded a pint at any meal, except in cold weather, when I allowed myself a third more. I rode or walked every day, except in rainy weather, when I exercised for a couple of hours. So far I took care for the body; and as to the mind, I endeavoured to preserve it in due temper by a scrupulous obedience to the Divine commands, and keeping (as the Apostle directs) a conscience void of offence towards God and man. By these innocent means I have arrived at the age of a patriarch with less injury to my health and constitution than many experience at forty. I

am now, like the ripe eorn, ready for the sickle of death, and, by the mercy of my Redeemer, have strong hopes of being translated into his garner." "Glorious old age!" said the king of Spain; "would to heaven he had appointed a successor; for the people of Seville have been so long used to excellence, they will never be satisfied with the best prelate I can send them."—The cardinal was of a noble house in the province of Andalusia, and the last surviving son of don Antonio de Salis, historiographer to Philip IV. and author of the Conquest of Mexico.

At Tetbury, aged 102, Anne Davis. This woman had the perfect use of her faculties till the last minute. She had not been out of her room for upwards of thirty years, nor ever during that period, even in the most extreme cold weather, would suffer any fire in her chamber.

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### MARCH.

*Dublin, March 15.* We just now hear, that the famous Connaught chief, O'Connor, (who has been in arms, and set himself up as supreme magistrate, under pretence of being descended from the ancient kings of that province, which is however far from the truth) is deserted by the principal part of his followers, on the news that the dragoons were on their march for that part of the kingdom; so that we hope this threatening insurgency will be quelled without bloodshed.

At Plymouth, on the 9th instant, his royal highness prince William Henry was initiated into the ancient and honourable society of Free and Accepted Masons.

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Portsmouth,

*Portsmouth, March 24.* This morning the convicts on board the prison-ship rose upon their keepers, and were not subdued till eight were shot dead, and 36 wounded.

The San Pedro d'Alcantara, a Spanish galleon, from Lima to Cadiz, with eight millions of dollars on board, was stranded at Paniche, on the 17th of January: the wind blowing off the shore, 186 of the people were drowned. It is hoped that a great part of the money will be recovered, otherwise the loss will be felt all over Europe. By accounts from the Havanna, they have discovered, about 50 miles from Arapa, a northern city of Mexico, a vein of virgin gold, which proves to be 22½ carrats fine.

His Neapolitan majesty, about the middle of January, gave the diversion of hunting to the duke and duchess of Cumberland, to which the foreign ministers, and the principal nobility about the court, were invited. Armed with spears only, the noble sportsmen distinguished their dexterity in the slaughter of the game. After which a magnificent entertainment was provided under tents for their royal highnesses, at which their Neapolitan majesties presided.

A literary establishment has lately been opened at Paris, under the title of the Lyceum, where lectures are read by the following professors—History, M. de Marmontel—Literature, M. de la Harpe—Mathematics, M. Condorcet—Physics, M. Laplace—Chemistry and Natural Philosophy, M. Fourcroy—Anatomy and Physiology, M. Tue—and the French Languages, by proper masters. The Lyceum is to open every morning and evening, and each

professor is to read two hours in each week.

The gold medals given annually by his grace the duke of 31st. Grafton, chancellor of Cambridge, to those who, after having taken their A. B. degree, pass the best classical examination, were adjudged to Mr. Rd. Ramsden, and Mr. Ralph Leicester, both of Trinity college.

The pope has formally suspended cardinal Rohan, now in the Bastille, from all honours, rights, and privileges, pertaining to his dignity of cardinal, till he appears before his holiness, and clears himself of the crimes laid to his charge.

An action upon the case was tried this month before Mr. Justice Buller, at Guildhall, London, in which lord Loughborough was plaintiff, and John Walter, printer of the Universal Register, defendant, for a libel, in propagating an infamous and injurious report, highly injurious to the honour and character of the plaintiff. The facts being fully proved, the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 150l. damages.

DIED. Feb. 2d, in the evening, at his house in Parliament-street, in the fifty-first year of his age, John Jebb, M. D. F. R. S. formerly fellow of St. Peter's college, Cambridge, and afterwards rector of Homersfield, and vicar of Flixton, in Suffolk, which he resigned in 1775, because he could no longer conform to the worship of the Church of England, for the reasons which he published at the time.

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#### A P R I L.

Letters from Castlebar give an authentic account of one of the most shocking

stocking murders ever committed. A difference had for some time subsisted between G. R. Fitzgerald and Partick Randal M'Donald, Esqrs. Mr. M'Donald kept much on his guard, as he received many informations, that several parties of Fitzgerald's men were looking out for him, with an avowed determination to destroy him. In the evening of the 20th of Feb. last Mr. M'Donald went for the greater security to the house of Mr. Martin, in the neighbourhood of Castlebar, in company with Mr. Gallagher and another gentleman. They had been there but a very few minutes, when the house was surrounded by a large party of armed men, who instantly broke in, bound Mr. M'Donald, Mr. Gallagher, and the other gentleman; and immediately carried them off to the house of Rockfield, where Fitzgerald as it is said then was. After a short stay an armed party led out the unfortunate gentlemen into the park. In a few seconds a platoon was fired, and laid one of the devoted victims dead on the spot. Mr. M'Donald and Mr. Gallagher were ordered to go about 50 yards farther, when a second platoon was fired. Mr. M'Donald instantly fell dead, upwards of 50 slugs passing into his body. Mr. Gallagher received also several slugs, but, as Providence would have it, he was not mortally wounded. However, he thought it prudent, after staggering a few yards, to fall and appear motionless, in order to deceive the murderers. In this wounded state they brought him back to Fitzgerald's house, where they had returned but a few minutes, when the house was surrounded by the army from Castlebar, many of the volunteers, gentlemen,

and crowds of people from that town and neighbourhood. They speedily got into the house, delivered Mr. Gallagher in a most critical moment, seized several of the murderers, and after a very strict and long search found Fitzgerald locked up in a large chest, and hid under two blankets. He and several of his people were immediately conducted to Castlebar, and safely lodged in the gaol, which has been continually guarded both by the army and volunteers, to prevent any possibility of an escape.

*Castlebar, April 12.* Mr. Fitzgerald was brought upon a bed into court, when, upon affidavit stating his ill health, &c. the trial was postponed until Friday the 18th of this month.

At Godstone, in Surrey, a murder was lately committed, attended with circumstances of the most vindictive barbarity. An impostor, under pretence of being a cripple, had long been a charge upon the parish; but being detected by Mr. Burt, a surgeon of that town, the villain vowed revenge; and, on the 13th instant, seized the opportunity to put his diabolical purpose in execution. He had on that day, as usual, taken his stand upon the road to beg alms, supported by crutches; and, on Mr. Burt's passing from his own house to the poor-house, accompanied by his son, a lad about ten years of age, after exclaiming, "There goes that rascal Burt," he threw a bill at his legs, which fortunately missed them, and then pursuing, and presently overtaking him, by a blow from his crutch brought him to the ground; this was followed by a repetition of blows upon the head with his hand-bill, till he actually buried the bill in Mr. Burt's skull. Mr.

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Burt's

Burt's hand was severed from the arm in endeavouring to save his head, and a thumb was afterwards found at some distance, which had been chopt off, and had sprung from the hand by the force with which the blows had been directed. At this horrible moment, the little boy, seizing the murderer's crutch, struck him such a blow as to stagger him; but, fearing his father's fate, ran to call assistance; and in the mean while the villain made off; but was soon after found hid in a copse. On his being seized, he lamented that the overseers had escaped his vengeance. Had he done for them, he should have died contented. What he was not able to effect, his wife has threatened to perpetrate, if her husband is hurt.

At the assizes held at Kingston, 1<sup>st</sup>. before Mr. Justice Gould, was decided the great cause which held three days, brought by way of indictment, at the suit of the corporation of London, as conservators of the river Thames, against Mr. Watson, a shipwright and wharfinger at Rotherhithe, for obstructing the navigation of the said river, by erecting a floating-dock. The jury, after five hours deliberation, found the defendant guilty.

Came on the election of a governor and deputy governor of the bank of England for the year ensuing, when George Peters, Esq. was chosen governor, and Edward Darell, Esq. deputy governor.

And on Wednesday came on the election of 24 directors, when the following gentlemen were chosen:

Samuel Beachcroft, Esq. Daniel Booth, Esq. T. Boddington, Esq. Roger Boehm, Esq. Samuel Bosanquet, Esq. Lyde Browne, Esq. Richard Clay, Esq. William Cooke, Esq. Signel Coney, Esq. Thomas Dea,

Esq. William Ewer, Esq. Peter Gauffen, Esq. Daniel Giles, Esq. John Harrison, Esq. T. Scott Jackson, Esq. Richard Neave, Esq. Edward Payne, Esq. Christopher Puller, Esq. Thomas Raikes, Esq. Godf. Thornton, Esq. Samuel Thornton, Esq. Mark Weyland, Esq. Benjamin Winthrop, Esq. Benjamin Whitmore, jun. Esq.

Mr. Burke presented, in the most solemn manner, nine articles of impeachment against Warren Hastings, late Gov. Gen. of Bengal, which were ordered to be printed, and taken into consideration on the 26<sup>th</sup> instant.

The Court of Directors of the India Company made the following arrangement of their servants at Bengal and Madras in consequence of the new India bill having received the royal assent, viz. Earl Cornwallis is appointed governor-general and commander in chief; Gen. Sloper recalled, and to receive an annuity of 1500l. a year for life; the Bengal council to consist of Earl Cornwallis, Mess. Macpherson, Stables, and Stuart; and Mr. John Shore to succeed to the first vacancy in the supreme council; the system of uniting the chief, civil, and military authority to take place at each presidency; of course, Governor Sir Archibald Campbell is appointed governor and commander in chief at Madras; Gen. Dalling also recalled, with an annuity of 1000l. a year for life. The Madras council to consist of Sir Archibald Campbell, Mess. Daniel, Davidson, and Cassamajor.

Came on the ballot for six Directors of the East-India Company, at the close of which the numbers were, for Joseph Sparkes, Esq. 755; Richard Hall, Esq. 754; William Bendley, Esq. 746; John Hunter,

Hunter, Esq. 648; John Smith, Esq. 647; John Travers, Esq. 628; George Tatem, Esq. 444; John Lewis, Esq. 417: whereupon the first six were declared duly elected.

The Court of Directors granted an annuity of 1500*l.* per annum to Lord Macartney, as a consideration for the unexampled integrity and ability displayed by that nobleman during his administration at Fort St. George.

13th. The Norrissan prize for 1786 was assigned to the Rev. Mr. Pearson, A. M. Fellow of Sydney college, for his Essay on the Goodness of God, as manifested in the mission of Jesus Christ.

17th. At half past six in the evening, the west tower of Hereford cathedral, erected with the nave, in the reign of William Rufus, by Robert de Lozinga, the second bishop of that see, unfortunately fell down. This accident had been expected some days, from the gradual dropping of mortar and small stones from it, and from the settling of the walls and arches from their perpendicular for two or three years before, to which very little attention had been paid, or the assistance given by filling up arches of the nave been ineffectual. Fortunately no lives were lost, though numbers of people were walking in the church-yard. This front was one of our finest remains of Norman architecture.

**DIED.** At his seat in the New Forest, Hants, Charles Studwick, Esq. aged 101. He acquired a considerable fortune in being an agent for prisoners in the wars of Q. Anne and Geo. I.

At Scarborough, in her 106th year, Mrs. Hunter, who retained her faculties to the last: An hour before she expired, she desired her maiden name (Noel) might be put

upon her tomb-stone, being a descendant of that family, also third cousin to the present Duke of Rutland, and third cousin to the Earl of Gainborough.

M A Y.

On the 11th of last month [April] Blanchard performed his 27th aerial excursion. He took his departure from Doway in Flanders, and descended near l'Etoile, a village in Picardy, a voyage of 90 miles (as the papers say) in as many minutes.

The ancient and honourable society of Free and Accepted Ma-<sup>3d</sup> sons held their anniversary feast at their elegant hall in Great Queen-street, when his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland was unanimously re-elected grand master of the society; and the earl of Effingham acting grand master; Rowland Holt, esq. deputy grand master; Sir Nich. Nugent, bart. and N. Newnham, esq. alderman, grand wardens; James Hefeltine, esq. grand treasurer; Mr. Wm. White, grand secretary; Rev. A. H. Eccles, grand chaplain; and Mr. John Paiba, grand sword-bearer.

Lord Geo. Gordon was ex-communicated from the parish<sup>4th</sup> church of St. Mary le-bonne:

The celebrated cause between Miss Mellish and Miss Rankin<sup>11th</sup> was re-heard before lord Loughborough, in the court of common pleas, when, after a trial of eleven hours, the jury brought in a verdict for Miss Rankin.

The Rodney Indiaman brought the following account of the loss of the Montague Indiaman, written by Mr. James Elliot, who belonged to that unfortunate ship.

“ December



" December 6, 1785, As we lay at Diamond Point, about seventy miles below Calcutta, we had taken in 4100 bags of salt-petre, and were stowing them; the caulker's mate was going to heat pitch upon the upper deck to pay his work: he called down the fore hatch-way to the gunner's boy, to hand him up some fire, upon a small shovel of the armourer's, to make a fire in the forge, to heat his pitch; the boy handing the fire up the fore-hatchway (the fore-hatches being unlaid) let a piece of the fire fall down upon the salt-petre (one of the bags having burst); there was loose salt-petre in the square of the hatchway, which immediately caught fire. We attempted to smother it; but the flames increased so fast, that we could not stay above three minutes in the hold after the first took fire. Mr. Benger, the chief officer, came down into the hold, but was forced to go up again immediately. Our cutter and yawl were hauled on shore, and the long-boat was aground in Diamond Creek. I came out of the hold with the chief officer, and went into the stern-gallery to look for a boat. The third officer was then almost along-side the Dutton, with some men in the jolly-boat. Perceiving there was no assistance near, I left Mr. Benger in the stern-gallery, and got out of one of the quarter-ports into the mizen-chain, and jumped over-board; when I swam under the stern, Mr. Benger was hanging by a rope, which he quitted, and immediately the ship blew up. I never saw any more of Mr. Benger, Mr. Williams, the third officer, picked me up in the jolly-boat, with a great many more. I was not above twenty yards from the ship when she blew up. From the first of her

taking fire till her explosion, did not exceed five minutes. We lost Mr. Benger, the chief officer; Mr. M'Intosh, the fifth officer; Mr. Sampson, surgeon's mate; Mr. Wier, Mr. Vincent Williams, Mr. Collins; Mr Chamberland, mid-shipman; Mr. Sangster, gunner; and twenty-five foremast men."

Was held the anniversary 18th. meeting of the Sons of the Clergy, at which were present the lord mayor of London, the two archbishops, twelve bishops, several peers and gentlemen of distinction, (amongst them lord Monboddo and Sir J. Reynolds) with many dignified and other clergy. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Samuel Horsley, LL.D. archdeacon of St. Alban's, from Deut. xv. 12.

The collection at the Rehearsal on Tuesday was	-	-	-	201	9	0
At St Paul's on Thursday	-	-	-	209	8	7
At Merchant Taylor's Hall	-	-	-	568	11	7
Total				£.976	8	7

DIED. Lately, in Fionia, aged 114 years, Christian Souhen. In his youth he was in the service, and present at the battles of Gadebusche, Wismar, Stralsund, and at Tendern, where the celebrated Gen. Steenborch was taken prisoner.

## J U N E.

On the 31st of May the parliament of Paris published an arrêt relative to the famous affair of the necklace, of which the following is the substance, viz. the word *approvee*, and the signature " Marie

"Marie Antoinette de France," were fraudulently used in the bargain which took place relative to the diamonds, and those words are falsely attributed to the queen. The comte de la Motte is fully convicted of contempt of court, and condemned, when taken, to be whipped, and marked with the letters G A L, and to be sent to the galleys for life. Madame Jeanne Valois de la Motte to be whipped, and marked with the letter V upon the two shoulders, with a halter round the neck, and confined for life in the Salpêtrière. Villette is condemned to perpetual banishment from the kingdom. The cardinal de Rohan, and M. de Cagliostro, are discharged from all accusation; and Mademoiselle Oliva dismissed the court.

*Oxford.* The chancellor's prizes for the present year are severally adjudged to Mr. Abbot, A. B. of Corpus Christi College, for an English essay on the "use and abuse of satire:" and to Mr. Le Breton of Pembroke, for Latin verse on "painted glass."

Yesterday the grand musical festival commenced at Westminster Abbey with a miscellaneous selection of some of the best works of Handel. By ten o'clock the aisle and galleries were filled with a company the most numerous and elegant that ever were assembled on a similar occasion, which, with the presence of the Royal Family and their attendants, and an orchestra consisting of 640 musicians, formed a *coup d'œil*, the effect of which it is impossible to describe. The disposition of the church was most beautifully conceived in the manner of a grand saloon, with two rising galleries. The nave of the church contained the platform, and

the two aisles formed one gallery, which was continued in one range under the king's box to either side. The fronts were hung in festoons with rich crimson silk furniture. That part which forms the front was variegated with white satin. The disposition of the king's box was the same as last year.

A duel was fought near 8th. Kensington, between lord Macartney and major-general Stuart, of which the following is an authentic account:

"The place and time of meeting having been previously fixed, the parties arrived about half past four o'clock in the morning, and took their ground at the distance of twelve short paces, measured off by the seconds, who delivered to each one pistol, keeping possession of the remaining arms. General Stuart told lord Macartney, he doubted, as his lordship was short-sighted, he would not be able to see him; his lordship replied, "he did, perfectly well." When the seconds had retired a little on one side, and as the parties were about to level, general Stuart observed to lord Macartney, that his pistol was not cocked; his lordship thanked him, and cocked. When they had levelled, general Stuart said, he was ready; his lordship answered, he was likewise ready; and they both fired within a few instants of each other. The seconds, observing lord Macartney wounded, stepped up to him, and declared the matter must rest here: General Stuart said, "this is no satisfaction;" and asked if his lordship was not able to fire another pistol; his lordship replied, "he would try with pleasure," and urged colonel Fullarton to permit him to proceed. The seconds, however, declared it was impossible, and

and they would on no account allow it. General Stuart said, "Then I must defer it till another occasion!" on which his Lordship answered, "If that is the case, we had better proceed now. I am here in consequence of a message from General Stuart, who called upon me to give him satisfaction in my private capacity for offence taken at my public conduct; and, to evince that personal safety is no consideration with me, I have nothing personal: the general may proceed as he thinks fit." General Stuart said, "It was his lordship's personal conduct to him that he resented." The seconds then put an end to all further conversation between the parties, neither of whom had quitted their ground; General Stuart, in consequence of his situation, having been under the necessity from the first of putting his back to a tree.

The surgeons, Mr. Hunter and Mr. Home, and who were attending at a little distance, were brought up by colonel Fullarton. Colonel Gordon, in the mean time, assisted his lordship in taking off his coat, and requested him to sit down, apprehending he might be faint through loss of blood. Colonel Gordon then left the ground, in company with general Stuart; and an easy carriage was provided to convey his lordship home.

Signed, W. FULLARTON,  
A. GORDON."

19th. Came on to be tried before lord Loughborough, in the court of Common Pleas, the action brought by the right honourable Charles James Fox, against Thomas Corbett, esq. high bailiff of Westminster, for not returning him as a representative for Westminster, when duly elected by a le-

gal majority of votes; the damages were laid at 100,000*l.* and the jury, after a few minutes consultation, gave a verdict of 2000*l.* damages.

This sum, Mr. Fox has declared, shall be distributed among the charities of Westminster.

On the 21st of June the sentence on Madame de la Motte was carried into execution. At a quarter after six in the morning, one of the turnkeys of the prison went up to her sleeping apartment, and, without any apology for disturbing her at that early hour, told her, in a brutal manner, to "rise and follow him." The affrighted lady refused to obey; but when she was shewn a royal mandate, she, though reluctantly, followed the turnkey, and was by him conducted to the inner gate. She no sooner descended the last step of the stairs, than she was seized on by two satellites of the law, by them hand-cuffed, and inexorably embraced. When the countess appeared before the Greffier, and her sentence was read to her, it threw her into the most frantic rage; she uttered calumnious and unheard-of imprecations against the court, the parliament, and the cardinal; but this same great spirit deserted her when she felt the hangman putting the rope about her neck; she was at that instant seen in tears. The instruments for her further punishment, the brand, some other tools, and a red hot fire, called up all her former rage: she then cursed and swore in the most unwoman-like manner, and uttered alternate cries of grief and despair. It was with difficulty that the hot iron could be applied to her shoulder; the executioner must have been an adept, to have succeeded in that part of his profession. She rolled herself

on the ground, and kicked at him with such violence, that some strength was required to perform the ignominious operation. The very instant the execution was over, she was conducted to the Salpetriere; where she is destined to spend the remainder of her days. All Paris is incensed at the barbarous conduct of the magistrates who presided at the execution of Madame de la Motte; their inhumanity reflects the greatest dishonour on them. The unhappy comtesse was burnt in three places, through the inattention of these guardians of our laws!—She is now dangerously ill in the infirmary of the Salpetriere; a burning fever deprives her of her reason; and in the height of her delirium she utters the most out-of-the-way imprecations. The superior of the house treats her with all possible humanity.

A very interesting cause 30th. was determined in the cockpit by an appeal to the lords of the council from the court of admiralty. The question related to the prize, or capture, made by Commodore Johnstone last war. It was, Whether the capture was prize or booty; and then, consequently, whether the property then taken by the fleet and land forces under his command came within the prize act. As the destination of the armament was against the Cape of Good Hope, and as a considerable land force, under the command of General Meadows, was aboard, and shared in the action, their lordships determined that the case in question did not come within the prize act. The consequence is, that the whole property is claimed by the crown, and the captors must relinquish their hopes of prize-money, and depend

on the royal bounty for whatever compensation his majesty may think proper.

DIED. Lately, at Woolwich, aged 105, Isabella Dryden. She had been twice in America since she was 85 years of age, and retained her senses to the day of her death.

At Dunbar, aged 114, Magnus Reid. He was born at Polmaise, near Stirling, and was bred a husbandman near Dunblain, and continued in that profession till about thirty years ago, when he commenced travelling chapman, which he practised till within eight weeks of his death.

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J U L Y.

An action of trespass was 1st. lately tried in the court of King's Bench, by which the right of following hounds in pursuit of game, by qualified persons, was clearly ascertained.

Came on before the lords 5th. commissioners of appeals, two causes against Lord Rodney, General Vaughan, and the other captors of Eustatia.—Mr. Lindo and Mr. Ingram, appellants—the first to the amount of about 12,000l, the latter 1000l. Upon both these appeals the captors were cast in damages, and full costs. The lords who attended were Camden, Grantley, and Mulgrave.

Aylett's (the attorney con- 6th. victed for perjury) writ of error was solemnly argued before the House of Lords. There were nine assignments of error, all which their lordships were pleased to set aside by the unanimous opinion of the judges present. Earl Bathurst then moved,

moved, That the judgment be affirmed. Agreed.

*Berlin, June 8.* The king has passed sentence upon a counsellor of the regency, which makes a great stir here. Mr. Glave, counsellor at Konigsberg, being accused of corruption, his majesty charged the president of the chamber of that place to make the necessary judicial enquiries into the affair, and the delinquent was condemned to two years imprisonment in a fortress; the counsellor, not satisfied with the decision, made another appeal; the king, after a mature examination, not only confirmed the above sentence, but ordered that the delinquent should work at the barrow during the two years of his imprisonment.

*Vienna, June 12.* The emperor has suppressed the chapters of Wigthrengen and Trelergen, in Carinthia; and those of Lambrecht, Neuberger, Stanz, Croatman, and Pallau, in Styria. The convents of capuchins, recollets, and dominicans, are also abolished.

*Oxford, July 29.* At our assizes came on to be tried before Mr. baron Eyre, a cause of great importance to the public in general, on a question, Whether a farmer who occasionally dealt in horses was subject to the bankrupt laws, as a trader? It was an action of trover, brought on the assignees of John Davis, a farmer of Whitchurch, in this county, against Mr. John Sherwood, of Purley, in the county of Berks, to recover back 249 l. 18 s. which he had received under an execution levied on the bankrupt's effects; when the jury, after an hour's consultation, brought in a verdict for the plaintiffs, whereby they established the trading, and gave the

above sum in damages, together with full costs of suit.

*Gottingen, July 25.* The three youngest princes of Great Britain were entered of this university on the 6th of this month, each of them accompanied by a governor, a preceptor, and a gentleman; their royal highnesses are lodged in one house, and the expence of their table fixed at 600 crowns per week, including two grand institution dinners, to which the professors and some students are invited. Professor Mayer teaches the princes the German language; Mr. Heyne instructs them in Latin; the ecclesiastic counsellor Less teaches them religion; and the counsellor Feder instructs them in morality; these masters are rewarded by an extraordinary appointment of 1000 crowns per annum each.

The sessions at the Old Bailey, which began on the 26th. 19th, ended, when twelve convicts received sentence of death; among whom was Samuel Burt, for forgery. This man, when he was asked, what he had to say why judgment to die should not be passed, according to law? addressed the court as follows: "My lord, I am too sensible of the crime which I have committed, and for which I justly deserve to suffer; my life I have forfeited, and wish to resign it into the hands of Him who gave it me. To give my reasons for this, would only satisfy an idle curiosity; no one can feel a more sensible, heartfelt satisfaction in the hopes of shortly passing into eternity; wherein, I trust, I shall meet with great felicity. I have not the least desire to live; and, as the jury and the court on my trial thought proper to recommend me to mercy, if his majesty

jefty should, in consequence thereof, grant me a respite, I here vow, in the face of Heaven, that I will put an end to my own existence as soon as I can. It is death that I wish for, because nothing but death can extricate me from the troubles which my follies have involved me in."

DRED. Lately, at Paris, of an apoplexy, in his 114th year, Joseph Buller, a native of Savoy. He served several years under prince Eugene, and had worked near 60 years on the quays at Paris. The only illness he ever experienced was a distemper in his eyes, occasioned by a fall from a pile of wood when about 50 years of age. He had lived 57 years with one wife, and renewed his marriage at St. Etrenne du Mont. He followed his business to the age of 105, and would not then have left it off, had not the charitable contributions raised for him enabled him to subsist without it. A print of him was published some years ago, at the bottom of which it is said, that his father died aged 123 years 10 months.

At Ottery, in the county of Devon, aged 119, Mrs. Heath. This lady perfectly recollected the landing of king William at Torbay.

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AUGUST.

Dublin, August 1st. On the 21st of July the lord mayor, sheriff, and commons and citizens of Dublin, ordered, that the freedom of their city be granted to the right honourable John earl of Chatham, and that the same be presented to the said earl by the lord mayor and sheriffs; and the same was present-

ed accordingly, and thankfully received.

Cassel, August 8. The king of Great Britain, sovereign of the most noble order of the Garter, having been pleased to appoint the lord viscount Dalrymple, his majesty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin, and Sir Isaac Heard, knight, garter principal at arms, plenipotentiary, for investing his serene highness the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel with the habit and ensigns of the most noble order of the Garter; they met here the 5th instant.

Kelfo, August 11. About two this morning a shock of an earthquake was felt here; its motion was from west to east. The motion was succeeded by a noise as if the tiles had been tumbling from the roof.

Cochermouth, August 11. About five minutes before two this morning we had a smart shock of an earthquake, which continued three or four seconds, attended with a noise as if a well-packed hoghead had been thrown with violence on a boarded floor. The strings of a spinnet were heard to vibrate; others thought thieves had broken in.

Whitehaven, August 11. A few minutes before two this morning the shock of an earthquake was very sensibly felt in this town and neighbourhood; its continuance from three to five seconds. The barometer at twenty-nine degrees, the weather close and sultry. Its direction supposed from south to east, accompanied with a rumbling noise in the air. There was not sufficient light to make farther observations: the consternation it caused was inexpressible. A chimney was thrown down in Tangren-street; three people, in different parts of the town, were

were thrown off their feet, and one considerably hurt.

His majesty, the queen, 16th: and their royal highnesses the princess royal, princess Augusta, and princess Elizabeth, set out from Earl Harcourt's seat at Nuneham Court, after divine service on Sunday morning last, and arrived at the Eastern gate of the public schools at Oxford soon after one o'clock. They were conducted through the Divinity School to the Sheldonian Theatre, where their majesties, and the princesses being seated, the vice-chancellor presented an address from himself, and the masters and scholars of the university, which his majesty was pleased to receive very graciously, and to return a most gracious answer.

Their majesties from thence proceeded to visit the chapel at New College, the colleges of Wadham, Trinity, Lincoln, and Brazen Nose. They then went to the Council Chamber, where an address was presented from the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty, and most graciously received by his majesty, who was at the same time pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on Richard Tawney, esq. senior alderman of the city of Oxford. Their majesties, with the princesses, then visited Christ Church College, and returned to Nuneham the same evening, at about half an hour after six o'clock.

Their majesties and the princesses set out again from Nuneham between nine and ten o'clock on Monday morning, and arrived at Blenheim between eleven and twelve, having been met and attended thither by the inhabitants of Woodstock. Their majesties were received at Blenheim by the duke and

duchess of Marlborough, with every mark of attention and respect. After having viewed the house, and as much of the park as the time would admit of, they returned to Nuneham about eight o'clock.

On Tuesday morning, at Nuneham, his majesty was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on Charles Nourse, esq. of Oxford; and an address was there presented to the king from the gentlemen, clergy, and other inhabitants of the town of Witney, and its neighbourhood, which his majesty was pleased to receive very graciously.

Their majesties and the princesses left Nuneham a little after one o'clock, and arrived at Windsor a little before six o'clock on Tuesday evening.

DIED. Lately, at Smalley, Mary Bailey, aged 106.

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## SEPTEMBER.

*Oxford, Sept. 16.* On Tuesday evening arrived here the archduke and archduchess of Austria, under the titles of count and countess of Nellenbourg; prince Charles Albani, first cousin to the archduchess; and his consort; prince Rezzonico, senator of Rome; count Soderini, the Venetian resident, prince Lichtenstein; and count Rezvieski, the Imperial ambassador. These illustrious visitors, with their suite, were next morning conducted to several of the public buildings and colleges; and on Wednesday went to Blenheim, the magnificent seat of the duke of Marlborough. On Thursday they made the tour of Stowe, the seat of the marquis of Buckingham; and early yesterday morning set out for Nuneham, the seat of the earl

earl of Harcourt. Returning about one o'clock, their royal highnesses visited the rest of the colleges, observatory, &c.

In compliment to the arch-18th. duke of Austria, his majesty this day commenced the hunting sport on Windsor-forest. He was accompanied by his highness during the chase.

The royal obsequies of the late king of Prussia were performed on the 9th instant with the greatest pomp. The affluent display on this occasion was truly astonishing. The church was hung in all parts with paintings representing, 1st, the conquest of Silesia. 2dly, The war sustained by his late majesty against six sovereigns, from 1756 to 1763. 3dly, The embellishments of the towns, and the cultivation of waste lands throughout the Prussian dominions. 4thly, The taking possession of Western Prussia. 5thly, The late German confederacy.— 6thly, The protection granted during the late reign to the arts and sciences. Six trophies were also erected within the church, on which were inscribed the names of the twelve principal battles during the life of Frederic II. viz. Mollwitz, Czaflaw, Sorr, Hohenfriedberg, Kesselsdorff, Lowozits, Prague, Rosbach, Leuther, Zorndorff, Leignitz, and Torgau. The whole ceremony did not last above two hours, after which a dinner of 600 covers was served in different apartments. On rising from table, his majesty retired to Sans Souci, and in the evening to Charlottenburgh. The chamberlains, general Rohdich and Vander Reck; who had the direction of the funeral pomp, were each presented by the king with an elegant

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gold box, richly set with brilliants, in token of his satisfaction.

On Monday, October 2, the new monarch received the homage of his subjects at Berlin. This ceremony is observed in Prussia instead of a coronation, and is no less magnificent.

*Newcastle upon Tyne, Sept. 20.*

Lunardi's attempt to ascend yesterday from the Spital ground was productive of a very melancholy accident. The balloon was about one-third full, and a great many gentlemen were holding it by the netting, when Lunardi went to pour into the cistern the rest of the oil of vitriol destined for the purpose. This having caused a strong effervescence, generated inflammable air with such rapidity, that some of it escaped from two different parts of the lower end of the apparatus, and spread among the feet of several gentlemen who were holding the balloon, and who were so alarmed, that leaving it at liberty, they ran from the spot. The balloon now rose with great velocity, carrying up with it Mr. Ralph Heron, a gentleman of this town, about twenty-two years of age, son of Mr. Heron, under-sheriff of Northumberland.

This unhappy victim held a strong rope which was fastened to the crown of the balloon, twisted about his hand, and could not disengage himself when the other gentlemen fled; he was of course elevated about the height of St. Paul's cupola, when the balloon turned downward, the crown divided from it, and the unfortunate gentleman fell to the ground.

He did not expire immediately, having fallen upon very soft ground; he spoke for some time to his un-

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happy



happy parents, and to the surgeons who came to assist him; but his internal vessels being broken, he died about an hour and a half after the fall.

18th. The lady Catherine Boccabadati, wife of the marquis Senator Albergati Capacelli, aged 38 years, ended her life at Bologna in the most tragical manner. Having had a dispute at dinner, about an object of small importance, which she defended with some heat, and being contradicted by her husband, she left the room, taking with her a child of eight years old, with whom she went up stairs, and after tenderly embracing the child, she took out of a case a Venetian dagger, which she instantly ran into her body. The child immediately crying out, alarmed the family, and the marquis running up stairs, the enraged lady, with redoubled fury, on seeing him, plunged the dagger through her heart; by which second thrust she instantly fell dead at his feet.

On Wednesday, August the 3d, about four in the afternoon, as cardinal Turlone, high inquisitor of the Holy Office; was coming from the Vatican, he was set upon by an incensed multitude, who forced his eminence out of the carriage, and after cutting off his nose and ears, and mangling him in a most shocking manner, dragged the butchered carcase to Monte Tiborno, where they hung it on a gibbet 50 feet high they erected for that purpose. The reasons assigned for his execution are various; but the most powerful on the mind of the populace, was the cruelty of his disposition, which ex-

ceeded even that of Nero; for when, by the rigour with which he had exercised the office of inquisitor, he had filled the gaols throughout the pope's dominions with industrious artificers and others, on slight pretences, and a motion was made in the Vatican for an act of grace, instead of giving that motion his suffrage, he sent an express order to the several gaolers to keep their prisoners double-ironed, lest an escape should be attempted. He was originally a Black-friar; but for some time was a pleader at the bar, and raised to the purple, to the amazement of the people, by a concatenation of crafty and iniquitous intrigues.

This day Thomas Sainfbury, esq. alderman of Billingsgate Ward, was elected lord mayor of London for the year ensuing.

DIED. Lately, at Paris, M. Beaujon, the rich financier, the king's banker, &c. said to be worth two millions sterling.

At his house in Red-lions-square, Jonas Hanway, esq. celebrated for his numerous acts of humanity and benevolence.

## OCTOBER.

*West-Indies.* About the beginning of August, a most violent storm laid almost waste the southern coast of Hispaniola, and had driven out to sea all the shipping from the port of St. Eustatius, and destroyed most of the small craft in that harbour.

And by advices from Guadaloupe, a most terrible hurricane destroyed a great part of the plantations on that

the island, and three ships that lay in the harbour were totally lost. This hurricane happened on the 10th of September, and it is feared has done a great deal of damage on other islands.

On Saturday the 2d of September a most alarming hurricane threw the whole island of Barbadoes into the utmost consternation. About eleven at night, when the storm was at its height, a ball of fire, of a very terrifying and luminous appearance, was observed in the S. E. issuing from a dark cloud, and spreading its diverging rays to a vast circumference, and continuing with unabated splendor near 40 minutes. In the morning of the 3d, Cambridge bay exhibited the most shocking picture of desolation that could be conceived, not a vessel having rode out the storm. And in the country, had the hurricane continued a little longer, it is thought that universal desolation must have ensued. The buildings on many estates have suffered, and great damage has been done to the fruits of the earth, plantane-walks, corn, cotton, and canes. The negro-houses are mostly blown down, and many of their inhabitants killed. In short, nothing can be represented more deplorable.

*Paris, Oct. 3.* They write from Besiers, that some workmen employed in digging a well at Antignac, a village three miles from thence, got to the depth of about six toises the third of last month, when, observing water to rise, they redoubled their activity, and were presently astonished by a most violent subterraneous explosion. Having recovered from their surprize, they again approached the pit, at the bottom of which they perceived one of their comrades, to whom they

called, but received no answer. One of his brothers being apprehensive for his safety, descended in a bucket, in order to yield him assistance; but this man shewed no signs of life after he had reached the bottom. He was followed by a third, who experienced the same fate. A fourth had the courage to descend, his companions taking the precaution of fastening a rope to him; and following him with the eye, as he was gently lowered, they soon perceived his head to droop, and his whole frame to be violently agitated. Being immediately drawn up, he continued without motion for two hours.— Recourse was now had to experiments which ought to have been first adopted. They let down a cock in a bucket, and on being drawn up it was found on the point of expiring, with its feathers burnt. The same was done with a cat, which was almost dead when drawn up. By means of hooks and other implements the three persons were raised out of the pit, being quite lifeless, and all their skin appearing to be calcined. The letters farther say, that the subterraneous noise still continues, and that chemists are endeavouring to discover the cause of the explosion, and of the vaporous gas, which has proved so fatal in its effects. It is added, that vitrified matter has been taken from the pit, which, it is supposed, must have been in a state of fusion.

About the 15th inst. a person who had the appearance of a drover went into York castle, and told the turnkey he wanted to give a little money among the felons. On being asked how much? he put his hand in his pocket, and pulled out a handful of silver with some gold; and gave it the turnkey to be distributed

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among

among the most necessitous. Being asked who had sent it? he said it was his own gift. Being further pressed to tell his name, he took his leave as if in haste, and said he was going to Northampton. The same person has since visited several other prisons, and given money to poor objects that he has met on the road.

An inhuman murder was lately committed at Lampeter in Cardiganshire, on a poor woman who by industry and care had got together a little money, and lived in a little cot by herself, which was broke open in the night, her money carried off, and herself left a dreadful spectacle of savage cruelty, being stabbed in several parts of her body; her dead corpse half broiled on a heap of turfs, which it is supposed had been set on fire to burn her cot, and her in it, to prevent suspicion.

**DIED.** Lately, in Portugal, in the parish of St. Joannes de Godini, in the diocese of Oporto, aged 117, Veresimo Nogueira. He served as a soldier from the age of 17 till he was 37, and was at the battle of Almanza: after he had obtained his discharge, he married, had several children, and maintained his family by his own labour and some little independency which he possessed. He always enjoyed the best state of health, and it is not unlikely that he might have lived some years longer, had it not been for a fall, in which one of his legs was broken in three places, which occasioned his death. He had all his teeth, and all his hair, a few of which only were grown grey; and he enjoyed all his faculties to the last. This old man is a proof that an advanced age is not confined to the northern climates.

## NOVEMBER.

Came on before lord Mansfield and lord Loughborough, at 4th. Serjeant's Inn-hall, the second argument in error brought by governor Johnstone against captain Sutton, when Mr. Erskine was heard at full length for the defendant; and Mr. Scott, the governor's counsel, rising to answer, was told it was quite unnecessary, as nothing had been said which could induce their lordships to alter their opinion, that the judgment obtained by captain Sutton in the court of Exchequer should be reversed.—The case was simply this:—Captain Sutton obtained a verdict for 5,000*l.* against commodore Johnstone. A new trial was granted by the court of Exchequer: a second trial had—a second verdict for 6,000*l.*—A motion was then made, grounded on several points of law, to arrest judgment. The court confirmed the verdict. The commodore brings a writ of error on the same points his motion in arrest of judgment was founded on. This writ of error, by act of parliament, is the judgment of the lord Chancellor; but his lordship referred the argument to the two chief justices, who have reversed the judgment of the court of Exchequer.—At present therefore the matter stands thus: four judges have decided for captain Sutton, and two for commodore Johnstone. The question, it was well known, would eventually go into the house of lords: it remains, therefore, to be known, what the lord Chancellor and the other judges think on the subject. The facts of the case are totally unaltered and unalterable. The question is reduced to a point of law: but though their lordships' reasons are not yet public,

public, it is supposed to be, whether a common-law action will lie at the suit of an inferior officer against a commander in chief, though it be grounded on *express malice*? The cause will certainly go to the house of lords, being of no less importance to the parties, than to the navy of Great Britain.

10th. About two o'clock in the afternoon, the countess of Strathmore was taken from the house of Mr. Forster in Oxford-street, under pretence of a warrant to take her before lord Mansfield; but in fact to carry her off by a company of armed ruffians. She was forcibly thrust into her own carriage, her own coachman taken from the box, and a stranger put in his place, who drove off at a most furious rate, and did not stop till he arrived at Barnet, where the carriage was met by a company of armed men; that in passing through one of the turnpikes, the lady was seen to struggle much, apparently gagged, and in great distress: but no farther intelligence could then be obtained.

11th. Came on in the court of King's Bench a trial at bar, in the remarkable cause between the natural daughter of the late Ch. Mellish, esq. and his niece. The cause had already been tried; when a verdict was obtained by the daughter, which was set aside by a subsequent one in the Common Pleas. The deceased made two wills, one in 1774, which gave place to one in 1780. There was also a codicil in 1781; and the contest was, to which of the wills it applied. The will in 1780 being established by weight of evidences, the codicil of course must refer to that, and so it was determined.

22d. Yesterday, Edward Aylette,

the attorney, stood in the pillory in New Palace Yard, Westminster, for wilful and corrupt perjury.

This day, just before the sitting of the court of King's Bench, lady Strathmore was brought into Westminster-hall; and immediately on the arrival of the judges, Mr. Law, her counsel, moved, that she might be permitted to exhibit articles of the peace against Mr. Bowes, and several others; which being granted, he then moved for an attachment against Mr. Bowes, and several of his accomplices, which was likewise granted.

Mr. Bowes appeared in the court of King's Bench, when his counsel moved, that he should be discharged, on the ground that he had not been *legally* served with the habeas corpus; but the court rejected this motion, considering the service as good. A similar motion was likewise made, on the ground that Mr. Bowes was actually hastening to town to make a return to the habeas corpus, but was prevented by the attack upon his person, and other unavoidable circumstances; but the court considering this assertion as contradicted by the affidavits of other persons, rejected this motion also; and Mr. Bowes was finally committed to the King's Bench prison till the judges determine what security he shall be obliged to find to keep the peace.

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DECEMBER.

John Adams, esq. the American plenipotentiary, presented the rev. Dr. White, of Pennsylvania, and the rev. Dr. Provost, of New York, to the archbishop of Canterbury, to be consecrated bishops.

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- gerstone, bart. a daughter.
- Nov. 13. Lady of the archbishop of Canterbury, a daughter.  
Lady of lord Napier, a son.
17. Duchefs of Grafton, a daughter.
8. Lady of Richard Pepper Arden, esq. attorney-general, a son.
10. Viscountefs Hereford, a daughter.
11. Lady of lord Balgonie, son of the earl of Leven, a son.
21. Countefs of Abergavenny, a son.
- to Miss Palk, daughter of sir Robert Palk.
21. At Brussels, lord John Russell, to the honourable Georgiana Elizabeth Byng, second daughter of lord Torrington, minister plenipotentiary at that court.
28. Richard Long, jun. esq. to Miss Florentina Wray, sister to sir Bouchier Wray, bart.
- April 2. Lady Horatio Waldegrave, second daughter of the duchefs of Gloucester, to the hon. captain Conway, son of the earl of Hertford.
8. William Boscawen, esq. of Bushey, in Hertfordshire, second son of the late gen. Geo. Boscawen, and nephew to the late viscount Falmouth, to Miss Charlotte Ibbetson, daughter of the late Dr. Ibbetson, archdeacon of St. Alban's.

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MARRIAGES in the year 1786.

- Dec. 31. The hon. Mr. Pratt, 1785. (since lord viscount Bayham) to Miss Molefworth, daughter and heiress of the late W. Molefworth, esq.
- Feb. 4. Lieut. col. Paulus Irvin, 1786. to lady Elizabeth St. Laurence, daughter of the earl of Howth.
13. Henry Drummond, esq. to Miss Dundas, daughter of the right hon. Henry Dundas, Treasurer of the Navy.
21. Hon. Frederick Lumley, to Miss Boddington.  
Hon. Mr. Petre, son of lord Petre, to Miss Howard, niece of the earl of Surrey.
- Mar. 8. Earl of Haddington, to Miss Gascoigne.
14. Sir Bouchier Wray, bart. to Miss Fanny Wynch.
6. Walter Sneyd, esq. to the hon. Miss Bagot, daughter of lord Bagot.
27. Princess Louisa Augusta of Denmark, to the prince of Sleswick Holstein.  
Sir William Molefworth, bart. to Miss Ourry.
6. Lord Malden, son of the earl of Essex, to Mrs. Stephenfon, of Harleystreet.
17. Earl of Cork and Orrery, to the hon. Miss Monckton, daughter of the late lord Galway.

27. Sir

27. Sir Godfrey Webster, Bart. to Miss Vaffall.
- June 22. Sir H. P. St. John, Bart. to Miss Mildmay, of Sharnford.
29. Lord Fairford, to Miss Sandys, niece to Lord Sandys.
- July 1. Right hon. John Fitzgibbon, attorney-general of Ireland, to Miss Whalley, daughter of the late Chapel Whalley, esq.
17. Edward Thurlow, esq. nephew of the lord chancellor, to Miss Thompson, of Norwich.
- The earl of Shaftesbury, to Miss Webb, daughter of Sir John Webb, bart.
29. William Champion Crepigny, esq. to lady Sarah Windsor.
- Aug. 14. Sir Thomas Moncrieffe, bart. to lady Elizabeth Ramsay, daughter of the earl of Dalhousie.
29. Sir George Ramsay, bart. to the hon. Miss Eleanor Fraser, daughter of the late George lord Saltoun.
- Oct. 5. Sir Samuel Fludyer, bart. to Miss Weston, niece to the duke of Montagué. E. Brisco, esq. to lady Anne Gordon, daughter of the earl of Aberdeen.
6. The hon. captain de Courcy, brother of lord Kinsale, to Miss Blennerhasset, niece to major Poole.
9. Sir James Hall, bart. to lady Helen Douglas, daughter of the earl of Selkirk.
22. Robert Covile, esq. of Hemingstone Hall, in Suffolk, to Miss Asgill, daughter of Sir Charles Asgill, bart.
14. Hon. col. Henry Fox, brother to the right hon. Charles James Fox, to Miss Clayton, sister to lady Howard de Walden.
29. Lady Anne Maria Arundel, youngest daughter of lord Arundel of Wardour, count of the sacred Roman empire, to the hon. Charles Clifford, brother to lord Clifford, of Chudleigh.
- Dec. 1. Lord Henry Murray, brother to the duke of Athol, to Miss Kept, daughter of Richard Kent, esq. of Liverpool.
8. James Henry Leigh, esq. nephew to the duke of Chandos, to the hon. Miss Twissleton, daughter of lord Say and Sele.

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*Principal PROMOTIONS in the Year 1786, from the London Gazette, &c.*

- Jan. 7. George Baldwyn, esq. to be consul general in Egypt.
- 24. Sir John Parnell, bart. to be privy counsellor in Ireland.
- Feb. 4. John Sinclair, esq. of Ulbster, to be a baronet.
- 24. William, lord Craven, to be lord lieutenant of Berks.
- 28. Granville Leveson, earl Gower, to be marquis of the county of Stafford.
- March 3. Douglas, duke of Hamilton, to be knight of the Thistle.
- 25. John Elliot, rear-admiral, to be governor of Newfoundland.
- Hon. Ariana Margaret Egerton, to

to be one of her majesty's bed-chamber women.

April 11. Sir Guy Carleton, knight of the Bath, to be governor of Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick.

Francis, marquis of Carmarthen, to be high steward of Kingston upon Hull.

— 13. Randal William, earl of Antrim, to be privy counsellor of Ireland.

— 18. Earl of Leven, to be high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

May 13. Charles, lord Camden, to be earl Camden, and viscount Bayham.

Earl Beaulieu, to be capital and high steward of New Windsor.

— 30. Prince Edward to be colonel in the army, by brevet.

June 3. Prince Edward, prince Ernest Augustus, prince Augustus Frederick, prince Adolphus Frederick, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the duke of Beaufort, the marquis of Buckingham, and earl Cornwallis, to be knights of the Garter.

Major-general the hon. Thomas Bruce, to be resident major-general on the staff of Ireland.

— 10. The dignity of a baronet of Great Britain, to the following gentlemen, viz. To

James Macpherson, of Calcutta, esq.

James Colquhoun, of Lufs, esq.

Sir James Douglas, knight, admiral of the White.

Thomas Shirley, of Oat Hall, in Sussex, esq. governor of the Leeward Caribbee islands.

William Green, esq. chief engineer at Gibraltar.

Joshua Rowley, esq. rear-admiral of the Red.

Corbet Corbet (late Devenant) of Stoke upon Tern and Adderley, in the county of Salop, esq.

Lyonel Wright Vane Fletcher, of Hutton in the Forest, in Cumberland, esq.

Richard Hoare, of Barn Elms, in Surry, esq.

James Hunter Blair, lord provost of Edinburgh.

William Charles Farrell Skeffington, esq. of Skeffington Hall, in Leicestershire.

— 17. Richard lord Milford, to be lord- lieutenant of Pembrokehire.

— 15. The right hon. Charles Jenkinson, to be lord Hawkesbury.

August 8. John, duke of Athol, to be baron Murray of Stanley, in the county of Gloucester, and earl Strange.

James, earl of Abercorn, to be viscount Hamilton, of Leicestershire.

George Montague, duke of Montrose, to be baron Montague, of Boughton, in Northamptonshire, remainder to his grandson lord Henry James Montague, second son of the duke of Buccleugh.

William, duke of Queensberry, to be baron Douglas of Amesbury, in Wiltshire.

George, earl of Tyrone, in Ireland, to be baron Tyrone, of Haverfordwest, in Pembrokehire.

Richard, earl of Shannon, in Ireland, to be baron Carleton, of Yorkshire.

John Hussy, lord Delaval, of Ireland, to be lord Delaval, in Northumberland.

Sir Harbord Harbord, bart. to be lord Suffield, in Norfolk.

Sir Guy Carleton, knight of the Bath, to be lord Dorchester, in Oxfordshire.

Sept. 2. Hugh, duke of Northumberland,

thumberland; to be lord lieutenant of that county.

— 5. Right hon. John Foster, speaker of the house of commons in Ireland, to be a privy counsellor in Great Britain.

Right hon. John Beresford, first commissioner of the revenue in Ireland, to be a privy-counsellor in Great Britain.

Charles, lord Hawkesbury, to be chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.

His majesty having thought fit to revoke his order in council, bearing date the 5th day of March, 1784, appointing a committee of privy council for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations, and to declare the said committee dissolved, has been pleased to appoint a new committee of privy council for the business above mentioned, to consist of the following members, viz.

The lord archbishop of Canterbury.

The first lord commissioner of the Treasury.

The first lord commissioner of the Admiralty.

His majesty's principal secretaries of state.

The chancellor and under treasurer of the Exchequer, and

The speaker of the house of commons.

And also of such of the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council as shall hold any of the following offices, viz.

The chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.

paymaster or paymasters of his majesty's forces.

treasurer of his majesty's

master of his majesty's mint,

And his majesty was at the same time pleased to order, That

The speaker of the house of commons of Ireland, and such persons as shall hold office, in his majesty's kingdom of Ireland, and shall be members of his majesty's most honourable privy council in this kingdom, should be members of the said committee.

And also that lord Frederick Campbell,

Robert, lord bishop of London, Lord Grantley,

Sir Lloyd Kenyon, master of the rolls,

The right honourable Thomas Harley,

The honourable sir Joseph Yorke, K. B.

Sir John Goodricke, bart.

William Eden, esq.

James Grenville, esq. and

Thomas Orde, esq. should be members of the said committee :

And that the right honourable lord Hawkesbury, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and in his absence the right honourable William Grenville, be president of the said committee.

— 9. Earl of Clarendon, and lord Carteret, to be post-masters general.

Phineas Bond, esq. to be consul in the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, and commissary for commercial affairs in the United States of America.

— 16. The right hon. William Pitt James marquis of Graham, the hon. Edward James Elliot, sir John Aubrey, bart. and Richard earl of Mornington, to be commissioners of the treasury.

Grey Elliot, esq. to be an additional



tional clerk of the privy council, for the particular service of the committee of privy council, appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations.

— 23. Joseph Smith, Esq. to be comptroller of the mint.

Oct. 4. William Fawkener, Esq. to be envoy extraordinary, and minister plenipotentiary to Portugal, for negotiating commercial arrangements, in conjunction with the Hon. Robert Walpole.

— 17. John Palmer, Esq. to be surveyor and comptroller-general of the post-office.

— 28. Right Hon. Sir John Parnell, Bart. chancellor of the Exchequer in Ireland. to be a privy counsellor in Great Britain.

Nov. 1. Dr. Robert Halifax, to be physician in ordinary to the Prince of Wales.

— 15. John Wilson, Esq. to be one of the justices of the Common Pleas.

— 21. Sir Alexander Monro, knight, and Richard Frewin, Esq. to be commissioners of the customs.

— 29. Earl of Ailesbury to be knight of the Thistle.

Dec. 5. Sir Clifton Wintringham Bart. to be physician general to his majesty's forces.

— 16. Sir Richard Jebb, Bart. to be physician in ordinary to his majesty.

— 20. Lieut. General William Fawcett, and Robert viscount Galway, to be knights of the Bath.

Jan. 2. 1786. John Bartholomew Radclyffe, Earl of Newburgh.

3. Hon. Mrs. Montgomery, aunt to the present Duke of Argyle.

4. Lady Fleetwood, mother of Sir Thomas Fleetwood, Bart.

Sir Edward Every, Bart.

12. Anne, Lady Brudenell, wife of James Lord Brudenell.

John Luther, Esq. late member of parliament for Effex.

13. The Hon. Mrs. Anne Hervey, relict of the Hon. Thomas Hervey, second son of John, first Earl of Bristol.

The Right Hon. Thomas Barret Lennard, Lord Dacre.

16. Sir Hugh Owen, Bart. lord lieut. and member of parliament for Pembrokeshire.

30. Henry Rawlinson, Esq. late member of parliament for Liverpool.

Feb. 1. At Brussels, George Beauclerk, Duke of St. Alban's.

6. The lady of Admiral Sir Francis Drake, Bart.

8. The lady of Sir Thomas Gascoigne, Bart.

10. Lieut. Gen. Theodore Day.

18. Hon. James John Colvill, eldest son of Lord Colvill, of Culrofs.

March 2. John Jebb, M. D. and F. R. S.

5. Lady Penelope Cholmondeley, relict of the late Gen. Cholmondeley.

6. James Phipps, Esq. member of parliament for Peterborough.

7. Philip, Earl Stanhope.

9. Sir Christopher Whichcote, Bart.

15. Jane, viscountess Arbutnot.

17. Catherine, countess Ferrers.

19. Hon. Jane Walter, daughter, and at length heiress of George Lord Abergavenny, and relict of Abel Walter, Esq.

34. James,

#### DEATHS, 1786.

Dec. 17, 1785. In the south of France, the Hon. Miss Louisa Vernon, only daughter of Lord Vernon,

24. James, earl of Loudon.  
 27. Sackville, earl of Thanet.  
 April 3. Hon. and rev. Walter Shirley; brother to Robert, earl Ferrers.

7. George Rofs, esq. member of parliament for Kirkwall.

10. The hon. admiral John Byron.

12. Lady Henrietta Vernon, relict of Henry Vernon, esq.

May. Hon. George Fitzwilliam, brother of the present earl.

2. George lord Brook, eldest son of the earl of Warwick.

5. Major-gen. Augustine Prevost, colonel of the 60th regiment.

25. Lady Margaret Compton, daughter of George, 4th earl of Northampton.

26. Edward, lord Leigh; the title is extinct.

Peter III. king of Portugal.

27. Mrs. Anne Berkeley, relict of the celebrated bishop of Cloyne.

June 6. Hugh, duke of Northumberland.

14. Adam Drummond, esq. member of parliament for Shaftesbury.

Lady Ducie, relict of lord Ducie.

The earl of Northington; the title is extinct.

July 1. The hon. William Tuf-ton, brother to the earl of Thanet. He was drowned in the Thames.

4. Lady Elizabeth Villiers. She was daughter and sole heiress to John Villiers, viscount Purbeck, who succeeded to the titles of earl of Buckingham, viscount Villiers, baron of Whaddon, on the death of George Villiers, duke of Buckingham. His lordship died in 1723, leaving this daughter only, his heiress; by whose death the family of the Villiers, of the Buckingham line, is extinct.

10. The lady of George Edward Stanley, esq. fitter to sir Michael le Fleming, bart.

20. Sir George Nares, one of the judges of the Common Pleas. Thomas, lord Grantham.

26. John Buller, esq. a lord of the Treasury, and member of parliament for East Looe.

29. Hon. Miss Isabella Hawke, daughter of lord Hawke.

Aug. 12. Mary, Viscountess Kilmorey, third daughter of Washington, earl Ferrers.

17. Frederick III. king of Prussia.

29. Hon. Augustus William Fitzroy, third son of lord Southampton.

31. Charles Howard, duke of Norfolk.

Sept. 4. Sir Thomas Aubrey, bart. father of John Aubrey, esq. member of parliament for Bucks.

Mrs. Byng, mother of George Byng, esq. of Wrotham Park.

17. Jemima Elizabeth, marchioness of Graham, third daughter to the earl of Ashburnham.

Miss Cavendish, only daughter of lord George Henry Cavendish.

18. Hon. Charles Hamilton, uncle to the earl of Abercorn.

25. Lady Harriet Eliot, second daughter of the late earl of Chatham, and wife of the hon. Edward James Eliot.

Oct. 2. Admiral Augustus viscount Keppel.

20. The hon. Charles Phipps, brother to lord Mulgrave, and member of parliament for Minehead.

Humphrey Sturt, esq. late member of parliament for Dorsetshire.

31. The princess Amelia Sophia Eleonora, second daughter of his late majesty king George II.

Nov. 2. Sir Edward Swinburne, bart.

6. Sir

6. Sir Horace Mann, knt. bart. 46 years minister at Florence.
7. Sir John Elliot, bart. physician to the prince of Wales. Viscount's Grimston.
11. Major-gen. James Bramham, chief engineer of Great Britain.
15. Sir Richard Temple, bart. General John Parflow, colonel of the 30th regiment.
21. Sir Edward Wilmot, bart. physician to the king, in his 93d year.
23. Hannah Catharina Maria, dowager viscountess Falmouth.
28. Anne, dowager lady Ruthven.
- Dec. 9. Henry Roper, 11th lord Teynham.
5. Alexander, earl of Home.
11. Thomas, earl of Clarendon.
20. Isabella, duchess dowager of Manchester, wife of Edward, earl Beaulieu.
25. Charles, lord Gray.
28. Hon. capt. Murray, brother to the earl of Dunmore.
- Lately, Sir John Burgoyne, bart. in the East Indies.
- 
- SHERIFFS** appointed by his Majesty in Council, for 1786.
- Bedfordshire.* Matthew Rugely, of Potton.
- Berkshire.* Wm. Poyntz, of Midgham.
- Bucks.* Thomas Wilkinson, of Westthorpe.
- Cambridge and Huntingdon.* John Drage, of Soham.
- Cheshire.* Hon. Cornwall Legh, of High Legh.
- Cornwall.* Michael Nowell, of Falmouth.
- Cumberland.* William Wilson, of Brackenbar.
- Derbyshire.* Robert Dale, of Ashborne.
- Devonshire.* Alexander Hamilton, of Topsham.
- Dorsetshire.* Henry William Portman, of Bryauftone.
- Essex.* John Jolliffe Tuffnall, of Great Waltham.
- Gloucestershire.* Charles Cox, of Bath.
- Hants.* Thomas Clarke Jervoise, of Belmont.
- Herefordshire.* Sir Edward Boughton, of Vowchurch, bart.
- Hertfordshire.* Jeremiah Mills, of Piffiobury.
- Kent.* Thomas Hallet Hodges, of Hemsted.
- Leicestershire.* William Herrick, of Beaumanoir.
- Lincolnshire.* Daniel Douglas, of Fokingham.
- Monmouthshire.* Robert Salisbury, of Lanwern.
- Norfolk.* Francis Long, of Spixworth.
- Northamptonshire.* Isaac Pocock, of Biggin.
- Northumberland.* James Algood, of Nunwick.
- Nottinghamshire.* Anthony Hartshorne, of Hayton.
- Oxfordshire.* Joseph Grote, of Badgmore.
- Rutlandshire.* Thomas Baines, of Uppingham.
- Shropshire.* Sir Robert Leighton, of Loton, bart.
- Somersetshire.* James Stephen, of Camerton.
- Staffordshire.* Thomas Parker, of Park-hall.
- Suffolk.* James Sewell, of Strutton.
- Surry.* Theodore Henry Broadhead, of Carshalton.
- Suffex.* Francis Sergison, of Cuckfield.
- Warwickshire.* John Taylor, of Bordersley.

*Wiltshire.*

- Wiltshire.* Seymour Wroughton, of Eastcott.  
*Worcestershire.* George Perrott, of Perfhore.  
*Yorkshire.* Richard Langley, of Wikeham Abbey.

SOUTH WALES.

- Brecon.* Edward Watkin, of Llandilovane.  
*Cardiganshire.* Edward Pryse Lloyd, of Llanarth.  
*Carmarthenshire.* John Lewis, of Llwynyfortune.  
*Glamorganshire.* Thomas Drafte Tyrwhit, St. Donatt's Castle.  
*Pembrokeshire.* William Knox, of Slebetch.

- Radnorshire.* Bridgwater Meredith, of Cliraw,

NORTH WALES.

- Anglesea.* William Pritchard, of Freticawen.  
*Carnarvonshire.* John Griffith, of Tryfan.  
*Denbighshire.* Philip Yorke, of Erthig.  
*Flinshire.* John Edwards, of Kelferton.  
*Merionethshire.* Griffith Price, of Briach y ceunant.  
*Montgomeryshire.* Richard Roche, of Trefnauney.

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

*An Abstract of the Narrative of the Loss of the Halfewell East-Indiaman, Capt. R. Pierce, which was unfortunately wrecked at Seacombe, in the Isle of Purbeck, on the Coast of Dorsetshire, on the Morning of Friday the 6th of January, 1786. Compiled from the Communications, and under the Authorities of Mr. Henry Meriton and Mr. John Rogers, the two chief Officers who happily escaped the dreadful Catastrophe.*

“THE Halfewell East-Indiaman, of 758 tons burthen, commanded by Richard Pierce, esq. having been taken up by the directors of the East-India company, to make her third voyage to Coast-and-Bay, on the 16th day of November, 1785, fell down to Gravesend, where she completed her lading; and taking the ladies and other passengers on board at the Hope, she sailed through the Downs on Sunday the 1st of January, 1786, and the next morning being a-brest of Dunnose, it fell calm.

“The ship, one of the finest in the service, and supposed to be in the most perfect condition for her voyage; the commander of distinguished ability, and exemplary character; his officers, men of unquestioned knowledge in their profession, and of approved fidelity; the crew,

the best seamen that could be collected, and as numerous as the establishment admits; to whom were added a considerable body of soldiers, destined to recruit the forces of the company in Asia.

“The respectable passengers were: Miss Eliza Pierce, Miss Mary Arne Pierce, daughters of the commander; Miss Amy Paul, Miss Mary Paul, daughters of Mr. Paul of Somersetshire, and relations to captain Pierce; Miss Elizabeth Blackburne, daughter of captain Blackburne, of the same service; Miss Mary Haggard, sister to an officer on the Madras establishment; and Miss Anne Mansell a native of Madras, but of European parents, returning from receiving her education in England; John George Schutz, esq. returning to Asia, where he had long resided, to collect a part of his fortune which he had left there.

“Monday the 2d of January, at three in the afternoon, a breeze sprung up from the south, when they ran in shore to land the pilot, but very thick weather coming on in the evening, and the wind baffling, at nine in the evening they were obliged to anchor in eighteen fathom water, furling their top-sails, but could not furl their courses, the snow falling thick, and freezing as it fell.

“Tuesday

" Tuesday the 3d, at four in the morning, a strong gale came on from east-north-east, and the ship driving, they were obliged to cut their cables, and run off to sea. At noon, they spoke with a brig bound to Dublin, and having put their pilot on board her, bore down channel immediately. At eight in the evening, the wind freshening and coming to the southward, they reefed such sails as were judged necessary. At ten at night it blew a violent gale of wind at south, and they were obliged to carry a press of sail to keep the ship off shore, in doing which the hawse-plugs, which according to a new improvement were put inside, were washed in, and the hawse-bags washed away; in consequence of which they shipped a large quantity of water on the gun-deck.

" On founding the well, and finding the ship had sprung a leak, and had five feet water in her hold, they clued the main top-sail up, hauled up the main-sail, and immediately endeavoured to furl both, but could not effect it.—All the pumps were set to work on discovering the leak.

" Wednesday the 4th, at two in the morning, they endeavoured to wear the ship, but without success: and judging it necessary to cut away the mizen-mast, it was immediately done, and a second attempt made to wear the ship, which succeeded no better than the former; and the ship having now seven feet water in her hold, and gaining fast on the pumps, it was thought expedient, for the preservation of the ship, to cut away the main-mast, the ship appearing to be in immediate danger of foundering; in the fall of the mast, Jonathan Moreton, cockswain, and four men, either fell or were drawn by the wreck overboard and drown-

ed, and about eight in the morning the wreck was cleared, and the ship got before the wind, in which position she was kept about two hours, in which time the pumps cleared the ship of two feet of water in the hold: at this time the ship's head was brought to the eastward with the fore-sail only.

" At ten in the morning the wind abated considerably, and the ship labouring extremely, rolled the fore-top-mast over on the larboard side; in the fall the wreck went through the fore-sail, and tore it to pieces. At eleven in the forenoon, the wind came to the westward, and the weather clearing up, the berry-head was distinguishable bearing north and by east distant four or five leagues; they now immediately bent another fore-sail, erected a jury-main-mast, and set a top-gallant-sail for a main-sail, under which sail they bore up for Portsmouth, and employed the remainder of the day in getting up a jury-mizen-mast.

" Thursday the 5th, at two in the morning, the wind came to the southward, blew fresh, and the weather was very thick; at noon Portland was seen bearing north and by east, distant two or three leagues. At eight at night it blew a strong gale at south, and at this time the Portland lights were seen bearing north-west, distant four or five leagues, when they wore the ship, and got her head to the westward, but finding they lost ground on that tack, they wore her again, and kept stretching on to the eastward, in hopes to have weathered Peverel-point, in which case they intended to have anchored in Studland-bay. At eleven at night it cleared, and they saw St. Alban's-head a mile and half to the leeward of them, upon

which they took in sail immediately, and let go the small bower-anchor, which brought up the ship at a whole cable, and she rode for about an hour, but then drove; they now let go the sheet-anchor, and wore away a whole cable, and the ship rode for about two hours longer, when she drove again.

“ Whilst they were in this situation, the captain sent for Mr. Henry Meriton, the chief officer who survives; and asked his opinion as to the probability of saving their lives; to which he replied with equal calmness and candour, that he apprehended there was very little hope, as they were then driving fast on the shore, and might expect every moment to strike; the boats were then mentioned, but it was agreed that at that time they could be of no use, yet in case an opportunity should present itself of making them serviceable, it was proposed that the officers should be confidentially requested to reserve the long-boat for the ladies and themselves; and this precaution was immediately taken.

“ About two in the morning of Friday the 6th, the ship still driving, and approaching very fast to the shore, the same officer again went into the cuddy, where the captain then was; and another conversation took place, captain Pierce expressing extreme anxiety for the preservation of his beloved daughters, and earnestly asking the officer, if he could devise any means of saving them; and on his answering with great concern that he feared it would be impossible, but that their only chance would be to wait for the morning, the captain lifted up his hands in silent and distressful ejaculation.

“ At this dreadful moment the

ship struck with such violence as dashed the heads of those who were standing in the cuddy against the deck above them; and the fatal blow was accompanied by a shriek of horror, which burst at one instant from every quarter of the ship.

“ The seamen, many of whom had been remarkably inattentive and remiss in their duty during great part of the storm, and had actually skulked in their hammocks, and left the exertions of the pump, and the other labours attending their situation, to the officers of the ship, and the soldiers (who had been uncommonly active and assiduous during the whole tremendous conflict), roused by the destructive blow to a sense of their danger, now poured upon the deck, to which no endeavours of their officers could keep them whilst their assistance might have been useful, and in frantic exclamations demanded of heaven and their fellow-sufferers that succour, which their timely efforts might possibly have succeeded in procuring; but it was now too late, the ship continued to beat on the rocks, and soon bulged, and fell with her broadside towards the shore. When the ship struck, a number of the men climbed up the ensign-staff, under an apprehension of her going to pieces immediately.

“ Mr. Meriton, the officer whom we have already mentioned, at this crisis of horror, offered to these unhappy beings the best advice which could possibly be given to them; he recommended their coming all to that side of the ship which lay lowest on the rocks, and singly to take the opportunities which might then offer of escaping to the shore. And having thus provided to the utmost of his power for the safety of the

desponding

responding crew, he returned to the round-house, where by this time all the passengers, and most of the officers, were assembled, the latter employed in offering consolation to the unfortunate ladies, and with unparalleled magnanimity suffering their compassion for the fair and amiable companions of their misfortunes to get the better of the sense of their own danger, and the dread of almost inevitable annihilation. At this moment, what must be the feelings of a father—of such a father as captain Pierce!

“ In this charitable work of offering comfort to the fair sufferers, Mr. Meriton now joined, by assurances of his opinion, that the ship would hold together till the morning, when they would all be safe: and captain Pierce observing one of the young gentlemen loud in his expressions of terror, and hearing him frequently exclaim that the ship was going to pieces, he cheerfully bid him hold his peace; observing to him, that though the ship should go to pieces, he would not, but would be safe enough.

“ It will now be necessary to describe the situation of the place which proved fatal to so many valuable and respectable persons, as without such a description it will be difficult to convey a proper idea of the melancholy, the deplorable scene.

“ The ship struck on the rocks at or near Seacombe, on the island of Purbeck, between Peverel-point, and St. Alban’s-head, at a part of the shore where the cliff is of vast height, and rises almost perpendicular from its base.

“ But at this particular spot the cliff is excavated at the foot, and presents a cavern of ten or twelve

yards in depth, and of breadth equal to the length of a large ship, the sides of the cavern so nearly upright as to be extremely difficult of access, the roof formed of the stupendous cliff, and the bottom of it strewn with sharp and uneven rocks, which seem to have been rent from above by some convulsion of nature.

“ It was at the mouth of this cavern that the unfortunate wreck lay stretched almost from side to side of it, and offering her broadside to the horrid chasm.

“ But at the time the ship struck, it was too dark to discover the extent of their danger, and the extreme horror of their situation; even Mr. Meriton himself conceived a hope that she might keep together till day-light, and endeavoured to cheer his drooping friends, and in particular the unhappy ladies, with this comfortable expectation, as an answer to the captain’s enquiries, how they went on, or what he thought of their situation?

“ In addition to the company already in the round-house, they had admitted three black women and two soldiers wives, who, with the husband of one of them, had been permitted to come in, though the seamen who had tumultuously demanded entrance, to get the lights, had been opposed, and kept out by Mr. Rogers, the third mate, and Mr. Brimer, the fifth, so that the numbers there were now increased to near fifty; captain Pierce sitting on a chair, cot, or some other moveable, with a daughter on each side of him, each of whom he alternately pressed to his affectionate bosom; the rest of the melancholy assembly were seated on the deck, which was strewed with musical instruments,



struments, and the wreck of furniture, trunks, boxes, and packages.

“ And here also Mr. Meriton, having previously cut several wax-candles into pieces, and stuck them up in various parts of the round-house, and lighted up all the glass lanthorns he could find, took his seat, intending to wait the happy dawn, that might present to him the means of effecting his own escape, and afford him an opportunity of giving assistance to the partners of his danger; but observing that the poor ladies appeared parched and exhausted, he fetched a basket of oranges from some part of the round-house, and prevailed on some of them to refresh themselves by sucking a little of the juice. At this time they were all tolerably composed, except Miss Mansel, who was in hysteric fits on the floor deck of the round-house.

“ But on his return to the company, he perceived a considerable alteration in the appearance of the ship, the sides were visibly giving way, the deck seemed to be lifting, and he discovered other strong symptoms that she could not hold together much longer; he therefore attempted to go forward to look out, but immediately saw that the ship was separated in the middle, and that the fore part had changed its position, and lay rather farther out towards the sea; and in this emergency, when the next moment might be charged with his fate, he determined to seize the present, and to follow the example of the crew, and the soldiers, who were now quitting the ship in numbers, and making their way to a shore, of which they knew not yet the horrors.

“ Among other measures adopted to favour these attempts, the ensign-

staff had been unshipped, and attempted to be laid from the ship's side to some of the rocks, but without success, for it snapped to pieces before it reached them; however, by the light of a lanthorn, which a seaman, of the name of Burmaster, handed through the sky-light of the round-house to the deck, Mr. Meriton discovered a spar, which appeared to be laid from the ship's side to the rocks, and on this spar he determined to attempt his escape.

“ He accordingly laid himself down on it, and thrust himself forward, but he soon found that the spar had no communication with the rock; he reached the end of it, and then slipped off, receiving a very violent bruise in his fall; and before he could recover his legs, he was washed off by the surge, in which he supported himself by swimming, till the returning wave dashed him against the back part of the cavern, where he laid hold of a small projecting piece of the rock, but was so benumbed, that he was on the point of quitting it, when a seaman who had already gained a footing extended his hand, and assisted him till he could secure himself on a little shelf of the rock, from which he clambered still higher, till he was out of the reach of the surf.

“ Mr. Rogers, the third mate, remained with the captain, and the unfortunate ladies, and their companions, near twenty minutes after Mr. Meriton had quitted the ship. Soon after the latter left the round-house, the captain asked what was become of him? and Mr. Rogers replied, that he was gone on the deck to see what could be done.— After this a heavy sea breaking over the ship, the ladies exclaimed,

“ Oh

“ Oh poor Meriton; he is drowned, had he stayed with us, he would have been safe;” and they all, and particularly Miss Mary Pierce, expressed great concern at the apprehension of his loss.—On this occasion Mr. Rogers offered to go and call in Mr. Meriton; but this was opposed by the ladies, from an apprehension that he might share the same fate.

“ At this time the sea was breaking in at the fore part of the ship, and reached as far as the main-mast, and Captain Pierce gave Mr. Rogers a nod, and they took a lamp, and went together into the stern-gallery, and after viewing the rocks for some time, Captain Pierce asked Mr. Rogers if he thought there was any possibility of saving the girls; to which he replied, he feared there was not, for they could only discover the black face of the perpendicular rock, and not the cavern which afforded shelter to those who escaped; they then returned to the round-house, and Mr. Rogers hung up the lamp, and Captain Pierce, with his great coat on, sat down between his two daughters, and struggled to suppress the parental tear which then burst into his eye.

“ The sea continuing to break in very fast, Mr. M<sup>r</sup>Manus, a midshipman, and Mr. Schutz, a passenger, asked Mr. Rogers what they could do to escape; who replied, “ Follow me,” and they then all went into the stern-gallery, and from thence by the weather upper quarter gallery upon the poop, and whilst they were there a very heavy sea fell on board, and the round-house gave way, and he heard the ladies shriek at intervals, as if the water had reached them, the noise of the

sea at other times drowning their voices.

“ Mr. Brimer had followed Mr. Rogers to the poop, where they had remained together about five minutes, when on the coming on of the last-mentioned sea, they jointly seized a hen-coop, and the same wave which he apprehended proved fatal to some of those who remained below, happily carried him and his companion to the rock, on which they were dashed with such violence as to be miserably bruised and hurt.

“ On this rock were twenty-seven men, but it was low water, and as they were convinced that upon the flowing of the tide they must all be washed off, many of them attempted to get to the back or sides of the cavern, out of the reach of the returning sea; in this attempt scarce more than six, besides himself and Mr. Brimer, succeeded; of the remainder some shared the fate which they had apprehended, and the others perished in their efforts to get into the cavern.

“ Mr. Rogers and Mr. Brimer both however reached the cavern, and scrambled up the rock, on narrow shelves of which they fixed themselves: Mr. Rogers got so near to his friend Mr. Meriton as to exchange congratulations with him; but he was prevented from joining him by at least twenty men who were between them, neither of whom could move without immediate peril of his life.—At the time Mr. Rogers reached this station of possible safety his strength was so nearly exhausted, that had the struggle continued a few minutes longer he must have been inevitably lost.

[P] 3

“ They

“ They now found that a very considerable number of the crew, seamen, soldiers, and some petty officers, were in the same situation with themselves, though many who had reached the rocks below, had perished in attempting to ascend; what that situation was they were still to learn; at present they had escaped immediate death, but they were yet to encounter cold, nakedness, wind, rain, and the perpetual beating of the spray of the sea, for a difficult, precarious, and doubtful chance of escape.

“ They could yet discern some part of the ship, and solaced themselves, in their dreary stations, with the hope of its remaining entire till day-break, for, in the midst of their own misfortunes, the sufferings of the females affected them with the most acute anguish, and every sea that broke brought with it terror, for the fate of those amiable and helpless beings.

“ But, alas! their apprehensions were too soon realized. In a very few minutes after Mr. Rogers had gained the rock, an universal shriek, which still vibrates in their ears, and in which the voice of female distress was lamentably distinguishable, announced the dreadful catastrophe; in a few moments all was hushed, except the warring winds and beating waves: the wreck was buried in the remorseless deep, and not an atom of her was ever after discoverable.

“ Thus perished the Halfewell, and with her worth, honour, skill, beauty, amiability, and bright accomplishments.

“ Many of those who had gained the precarious stations which we have described, worn out with fa-

tigue, weakened by bruises, battered by the tempest, and benumbed with the cold, quitted their holdfasts, and tumbling headlong either on the rocks below, or in the surf, perished beneath the feet of their wretched associates, and by their dying groans, and gulping exclamations for pity, awakened terrific apprehensions in the survivors, of their own approaching fate.

“ At length, after the bitterest three hours which misery ever lengthened into ages, the day broke on them, but instead of bringing with it the relief with which they had flattered themselves, served to discover all the horrors of their situation; they now found that had the country been alarmed by the guns of distress which they had continued to fire for many hours before the ship struck, but which from the violence of the storm were unheard, they could neither be observed by the people from above, as they were completely ingulphed in the cavern, and over-hung by the cliff, nor did any part of the wreck remain to point out their probable place of refuge; below, no boat could live to search them out; and had it been possible to have acquainted those who would wish to assist them with their exact situation, no ropes could be conveyed into the cavity to facilitate their escape.

“ The only prospect which offered, was to creep along the side of the cavern, to its outward extremity, and on a ledge scarcely as broad as a man's hand to turn the corner, and endeavour to clamber up the almost perpendicular precipice, whose summit was near two hundred feet from the base.

“ And in this desperate effort did  
some

some succeed, whilst others, trembling with terror, and their strength exhausted by mental and bodily fatigue, lost their precarious footing, and perished in the attempt.

“The first men who gained the summit of the cliff, were the cook, and James Thompson, a quartermaster; by their own exertions they made their way to the land, and the moment they reached it, hastened to the nearest house, and made known the situation of their fellow-sufferers.

“The house at which they first arrived was *Eastington*, the present habitation of Mr. *Garland*, steward or agent to the proprietors of the Purbeck quarries, who immediately got together the workmen under his direction, and with the most zealous and animated humanity, exerted every effort for the preservation of the surviving crew of this unfortunate ship; ropes were procured with all possible dispatch, and every precaution taken that assistance should be speedily and effectually given; and we are happy in this opportunity of bearing testimony, under the authority of the principal surviving officers, to the kind, benevolent, and spirited behaviour of this gentleman, whose conduct on the melancholy occasion entitles him to universal respect and regard, as well as to the particular gratitude of those who were the immediate objects of his philanthropy.

“Mr. Meriton made the attempt, and almost reached the edge of the precipice; a soldier who preceded him, had his feet on a small projecting rock or stone, and on the same stone Mr. Meriton had fastened his hands to help his progress; at this critical moment the quarry-men arrived, and seeing a

man so nearly within their reach, they dropped a rope to him, of which he immediately laid hold, and in a vigorous effort to avail himself of this advantage, he loosened the stone on which he stood, which giving way, Mr. Meriton must have been precipitated to the bottom, but that a rope was providentially lowered to him at the instant, which he seized as he was in the act of falling, and was safely drawn to the summit.

“The fate of Mr. Brimer was peculiarly severe; this gentleman, who had only been married nine days before the ship sailed to a beautiful lady, the daughter of captain Norman, of the royal navy, in which service Mr. Brimer was a lieutenant, but was now on a voyage to visit an uncle at Madras, came on shore, as we have already observed, with Mr. Rogers, and like him got up the side of a cavern, where he remained till the morning, when he crawled out, and a rope being thrown to him, he was either so benumbed with the cold as to fasten it about him improperly, or so agitated, as to neglect making it fast at all; but from which ever cause it arose, the effect was fatal to him; at the moment of his supposed preservation he fell from his stand, and was unfortunately dashed to pieces, in the presence of those who could only lament the deplorable fate of an amiable and worthy man, and an able and skilful officer.

“As the day advanced, more assistance was obtained; and as the life-preserving efforts of the survivors would admit, they crawled to the extremities of the cavern, and presented themselves to their preservers above, who stood prepared with the means which the situation

would permit them to exercise, to help them to the summit.

"The method of affording this help was singular, and does honour to the humanity and intrepidity of the quarry-men. The distance from the top of the rock to the cavern was at least 100 feet, with a projection of the former of about eight feet; ten of these formed a declivity to the edge, and the remainder of it was perpendicular. On the very brink of the precipice stood two daring fellows, a rope being tied round them, and fastened above to a strong iron bar fixed in the ground, behind them in like manner two more, and two more. A strong rope also, properly secured, passed between them, by which they might hold and support themselves from falling; they then let down another rope, with a noose ready fixed, below the cavern; and the wind blowing hard, it was in some instances forced under the projecting rock sufficiently for the sufferers to reach it without crawling to the extremity; in either case, whoever laid hold of it, put the noose round his waist, and after escaping from one element, committed himself, full swing to another, in which he dangled till he was drawn up with great care and caution.

"It is but justice in this place to say, that the survivors received the friendly and humane assistance of Mr. Jones and Mr. Hawker, gentlemen resident near the spot.

"But in this attempt many shared the fate of the unfortunate Mr. Brimer; and unable, through cold, weakness, perturbation of mind, or the incommodiousness of the stations they occupied, to avail themselves of the succour which was offered them, were at last precipitated from

the stupendous cliff, and were either dashed to pieces on the rocks beneath, or falling into the surge, perished in the waves.

"Among these unhappy sufferers, the destiny of a drummer belonging to the military on board the *Halsewell*, was attended with circumstances of peculiar distress; being either washed off the rock by the sea, or falling into the surf from above, he was carried by the counter-seas or returning waves, beyond the breakers, within which his utmost efforts could never again bring him, but he was drawn further out to sea; and as he swam remarkably well, continued to struggle with the waves, in sight of his pitying companions, till his strength was exhausted, and he sunk to rise no more.

"It was not till late in the day that the survivors were all conveyed to safety; one indeed, William Trenton, a soldier, remained on his perilous stand till the morning of Saturday the 7th of January, exposed to the united horrors of the extremest personal danger, and the most acute disquietude of mind; nor is it easy to conceive how his strength and spirits could have supported him for such a number of hours, under distress so poignant and complicated.

"Though the remains of the wreck were no longer discoverable among the rocks, yet the surface of the sea was covered with the fragments as far almost as the eye could reach; and even so late as ten o'clock on the Friday morning, a sheep, part of the live stock of the unfortunate officers, was observed buffeting the angry waves.

"The surviving officers, seamen, and soldiers, being now assembled

at

at the house of their benevolent friend, Mr. Garland, they were mustered, and found to amount to seventy-four; out of rather more than two hundred and forty, which was about the number of the crew and passengers in the ship when she failed through the Downs; of the remainder, who unhappily lost their lives, upwards of seventy are supposed to have reached the rocks, but to have been washed off, or to perish in falling from the cliffs, and fifty or more to have sunk with the captain and the ladies in the round-house, when the after-part of the ship went to pieces.

"All those who reached the summit survived, except two or three, who are supposed to have expired in drawing up, and a black, who died in a few hours after he was brought to the house, though many of them were so miserably bruised that their lives were doubtful, and they are scarcely yet recovered."

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*On the 2d of August the following Article appeared in a London Gazette Extraordinary.*

St. James's, August 2.

"THIS morning, as his majesty was alighting from his carriage, at the gate of the palace, a woman who was waiting there, under pretence of presenting a petition, struck at his majesty with a knife, but providentially his majesty received no injury. The woman was immediately taken into custody, and upon examination, appears to be insane."

The circumstances attending this alarming event are thus related: As the king was alighting from his post-chariot, at the garden entrance of St. James's, the woman, who ap-

peared very decently dressed, in the act of presenting a paper to his majesty, which he was receiving with great condescension, struck a concealed knife at his breast, which his majesty happily avoided by drawing back. As she was making a second thrust, one of the yeomen caught her arm, and, at the same instant, one of the king's footmen wrenched the knife from her hand. The king, with great temper and fortitude exclaimed, "I am not hurt—take care of the poor woman—do not hurt her."

The same day she underwent an examination before the privy council, when it appeared that her name was Margaret Nicholson, daughter of George Nicholson, of Stockton-upon-Tees; and that she had lived in several creditable services. Being asked where she had lived since she left her last place? she answered frantically, "she had been all abroad since that matter of the crown broke out."—Being asked what matter? she went on rambling, that the crown was her's—she wanted nothing but her right—that she had great property—that if she had not her right, England would be drowned in blood for a thousand generations. Being further asked where she now lived, she answered rationally, "At Mr. Fisk's, stationer, the corner of Wigmore-street, Marybone." On being questioned as to her right, she would answer none but a judge, her rights were a mystery. Being asked, if she had ever petitioned? she said, she had, ten days ago. On looking back among the papers, such petition was found, full of princely nonsense about tyrants, usurpers, and pretenders to the throne, &c. &c.

Mr. Fisk being sent for and interrogated,

terrogated, said she had lodged with him about three years; that he had not observed any striking marks of insanity about her—she was certainly very odd at times—frequently talking to herself—that she lived by taking in plain work, &c. Others who knew her, said, she was very industrious, and they never suspected her of insanity.

Dr. Monro being sent for, said, it was impossible to discover with certainty immediately whether she was insane or not. It was proposed to commit her for three or four days to Tophillfields Bridewell. This was objected to, because it was said she was a state-prisoner. At length it was agreed to commit her to the custody of a messenger.

Her lodgings being examined, there were found three letters about her pretended right to the crown, one to lord Mansfield, one to lord Loughborough, and one to general Bramhan.

Aug. 12. Between the 2d instant and this day, Magararet Nicholson underwent some further examination, the result of which appeared in the following article:

*“Whitehall, Aug. 8, 1786.*

P R E S E N T,

The lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

This day Margaret Nicholson, in custody for an attempt on his majesty's person, was brought before the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and after a full examination of Dr. John and Dr. Thomas Monro, and several other witnesses, concerning the state of her mind, as well now as for some time past, and also after examining the said Margaret Nicholson in person, their lordships were clearly

and unanimously of opinion, that she was and is insane.

W. FAWKNER.”

In consequence of this determination, the unhappy woman was conveyed, on the 9th instant, to a cell prepared for her in Bethlehem Hospital.

*The following letters are said to have been written by the late king of Prussia, on the death of colonel Vantroscke, a very valuable officer in his service, to the widow of that officer.*

Letter I.

“THE death of colonel Vantroscke, your husband, commanding the regiment of Old Waldeck, has affected me in a very particular manner. By his death I am deprived of a brave and good officer; such was the reputation he enjoyed universally, and I know full well how to value the important services he has rendered me. The insignia of the order of Merit which he received from me, and which you return, with thanks to me for the favours I had conferred on him, will remain for you and your children everlasting tokens of the well-earned distinction which he received at my hands. But I shall not stop here; you may, on the contrary, rest assured, that I certainly will neither forget the widow of so deserving an officer, nor the children that he has left behind. Let me know, without any reserve, the real state of your domestic concerns at the moment of his death, the number and age of your children. Communicate this matter to me, as to one ever disposed to give you a proof of his benevolence.”

*Potsdam, Jan 21.*

In

In the king's own hand.

"P. S. I have honoured your husband, as the model of an excellent officer; but since, alas! he is no more, I shall be to his children a father: I mean to do for them and his widow all that a parent could have done; let me have only the true state of your means, and I engage to do the needful for the satisfaction of the family."

Letter II.

"I SHALL between this and next Trinity lay out 20,000 rix-dollars in the purchase of an estate for your three children, the whole direction and management of which shall remain in your hands. You must apply to the ecclesiastical department, to see whether there be two vacancies in a nunnery within the county of Cleves, or the province of Westphalia, for your two young ladies; when marriageable, I shall take them away, and settle them in the world.

(Signed) FREDERIC."

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*An Account of the Trial of George Robert Fitzgerald, Esquire, and his Associates, at Castlebar, in the County of Mayo, (Ireland) for the Murder of Patrick Randal M'Donnell, Esq.*

MR. Fitzgerald was brought to the bar at half after eight o'clock in the morning of Friday, June 9, and given in charge to the jury, but not arraigned, he having pleaded *Not Guilty*, in April last. He challenged fifteen of the jury peremptorily, and the right hon. the attorney general also challenged such of the jury as he was informed stood in any degree of relationship to the deceased; an ho-

nourable and uncommon proof of the desire to see justice administered; without the partiality of prejudice.

The jury being sworn, and the attorney general having opened the prosecution with great clearness, propriety, and ability, the following evidence was submitted to the court.

[The first witness called upon was Mr. Gallagher; who, being first duly sworn, was interrogated, and deposed as follows:]

Q. Mr. Gallagher, do you remember the 20th of February?—

A. I do, Sir, I have a very just right.

Q. Pray, Sir, did you know Mr. Patrick Randal M'Donnell?—A. I did, Sir.

Q. Is he living or dead?—A. He is dead, Sir.

Q. Will you please to relate to the court and the jury, from your own knowledge, how he came by his death, and keep your recital as distinct from Hipson as you can, as the present indictment only concerns Mr. M'Donnell.—A. I will, Sir. Mr. M'Donnell, the deceased, and Mr. Fitzgerald, the prisoner at the bar, lived near each other; they had frequent bickerings and disagreements; in consequence whereof Mr. Fitzgerald made many attempts to be revenged on Mr. M'Donnell, for some supposed offence. Mr. M'Donnell, about eighteen months ago, was fired at from a window in Mr. Fitzgerald's house, which shot took place, and wounded Mr. M'Donnell in the leg; for this assault a man was indicted the assizes following at Castlebar, and acquitted; in consequence of which, Mr. Fitzgerald levelled his resentment not only against



gainst Mr. M'Donnell, but also against Mr. Charles Hipson, who was murdered at the same time with Mr. M'Donnell, and against me; I suppose for our using our utmost endeavours to bring to justice the person who fired at Mr. M'Donnell, the deceased. On the 20th of February last, Mr. M'Donnell called upon me in the morning, in company with Mr. Hipson, and requested I would go with them to Mr. M'Donnell's house, as he, Mr. M'Donnell, wished to give some necessary directions to his servants, then at his house in the country; for Mr. M'Donnell declared to me he could not live in his house at Chancery-hall, in the county of Mayo, being in the neighbourhood of Mr. Fitzgerald, whom he represented as a blood-thirsty, unforgiving man; and accordingly took lodgings in the town of Castlebar to avoid him. We rode off together, and, as we afterwards heard, about ten o'clock, Mr. Fitzgerald getting information of our being there, sent out a party to apprehend us on a warrant, surreptitiously obtained from a Mr. O'Meally (whom I since understand has been degraded from his commission) for a supposed assault. On our receiving information that our enemy was in pursuit of us, we rode off from Mr. M'Donnell's, Chancery-hall, but finding ourselves pursued, we stopped at a house on the road; and I knowing the resentment was principally levelled at Mr. M'Donnell, persuaded him to conceal himself under some malt, which he did; and in a short time Mr. Fitzgerald's party came up to the house, and after firing several shot in at us, I went out, and demanded the reason that they behaved with such outrage and violence?

To which they replied (John Fulton and Craig) that they had warrants against Mr. M'Donnell, Mr. Hipson, and myself, but vehemently demanded Mr. M'Donnell. I informed them that he had rode off, and demanded to see their warrants; which they refused, but burst into the house, and after searching the house and out-houses, they found Mr. M'Donnell, and dragged him out; they then tied and brought us bound to Mr. Fitzgerald's, at Rockfield; when we arrived there, we alleged, that the crime we were accused of was at any rate bailable, and demanded to be brought before a magistrate, which was refused, and we were kept at Mr. Fitzgerald's house that night, they pretending it was too late then to bring us before a magistrate.—We remained there that night, and were treated with the greatest indignity and insult. In carrying us prisoners to Mr. Fitzgerald's, they suffered Mr. M'Donnell to ride, on account of the wound in his leg, but tied Mr. Hipson and me together. On the morning of the 21st of February, we were brought out from Mr. Fitzgerald's under a guard, which stood ready to receive us; and I heard Mr. Fitzgerald, the prisoner at the bar, tell Andrew Craig, who is commonly called Scotch Andrew, "to be sure to secure his prisoners; and if there was a rescue, to shoot them."—We were then led about two or three hundred yards from the house, when Andrew Craig called out, "A rescue! a rescue!" on which a shot was immediately fired from the rear, which killed one of Mr. Fitzgerald's guard, and wounded three or four more; the fire then soon became general, and Mr. M'Donnell received

received a wound in the arm, and Mr. Hipson and I received wounds, when we both fell, and I endeavoured to crawl into some fern that was near me, and to conceal myself. Mr. M'Donnell's horse took fright after the rider had been shot in the arm, and carried him a few yards on; when, just at a bridge, he was seized by a person fixed there for the purpose, as there were guards fixed at all the passes, and Andrew Craig fired at him, and shot him through the body, on which he fell, and if any life remained in him, it was beat out by the butt end of a pistol, and the butt end of muskets: they then fired at and killed Hipson, and coming up to where I was, they were going to shoot me, when one of them exclaimed, "We have no orders to kill him!" which saved my life. I was re-taken to Fitzgerald's house, where I was afterwards rescued by my friends.

Q. Do you see any persons now in court whom you can positively swear were present at this outrage?  
—A. I can positively swear that Mr. Fitzgerald was present at our setting out, and that I heard him give the directions I have mentioned to Andrew Craig; and that he had a blunderbuss slung under his arm.

*Cross examined.*

Q. Was Mr. Fitzgerald present when you were first apprehended under the warrant of Mr. O'Meally?  
—A. He was not that I saw; I did not see him till I was brought to his house.

Q. Did you see him fire at Mr. M'Donnell, Mr. Hipson, or you?  
—A. No; I only saw him give the directions to Andrew Craig that I have mentioned.

[Next evidence produced was Andrew Craig, commonly called Scotch Andrew—who being duly sworn and examined, deposed as follows:]

Q. Where did you live in the month of February last?—A. With Mr. Fitzgerald, the prisoner at the bar.

Q. Did you get any directions from him on that day to do any thing particular?—A. I did.

Q. Now, sir, relate to the court and the jury the particulars of those directions, as you know from your own knowledge.—A. On the 20th of February last we received information that Mr. M'Donnell, the deceased, in company with Mr. Hipson and Mr. Gallagher, were at Mr. M'Donnell's house; Mr. Fitzgerald then called to me, and, in the presence of John Fulton and—[Here he was interrupted by the counsel, who told him he was not to mention any person who was not then upon his trial.]—Mr. Fitzgerald desired me to go and apprehend them on a warrant he had obtained from Mr. Justice O'Mealley, and to bring them to Rockfield; I was employed by Mr. Fitzgerald, as he always employed me in all his enormities.—[Here he was interrupted, and desired to confine himself to the question now before the court, and not to enter into any extraneous matters].—We then brought Mr. M'Donnell, Mr. Hipson, and Mr. Gallagher (the gentleman that was examined here) prisoners to Rockfield. The next morning we settled about the plan of murdering them—[Here he was interrupted by the question, Who settled it? and he continued:]—Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Timothy Brecknock, Mr. John Fulton, and myself;

self; we determined upon the mock rescue, and that my calling out "A rescue!" should be the word of command for those in the rear to fire, which they accordingly did. We determined to place spies at the different passes to prevent an escape; and on Mr. M'Donnell's horse running away with him after the first fire, when he was shot in the arm, I came up with him on his being stopped, and fired at him.'

Q. Did you receive instructions from any in court, and whom, to perpetrate this horrid act?—A. I did, from Mr. Fitzgerald himself, both before we went off, and as we were going out. He said to me, "Secure the prisoners; and if there should be a rescue, or an attempt to rescue, shoot them."

Q. Was the scheme of the rescue planned or not, and by whom?—A. It was planned by Mr. Fitzgerald and those I have mentioned, and myself among the rest; but those were only privy to it; the rest were to attend as a guard, to see them lodged safe.

Q. I now ask you on your oath, was the rescue a real one, or a fictitious one, planned as you say?—A. It was a fictitious one, planned to commit the murder.

Q. Was that the purpose of it, on your oath?—A. On my oath it was for no other purpose, but for an excuse to murder Mr. M'Donnell; and it was pre-concerted before we went out; that a man should be placed in an advantageous spot, to fire at Mr. Fitzgerald's own men, to make them imagine the rescue was intended, except those that were privy to the scheme.

Q. Was Mr. M'Donnell murdered in consequence of the plan you have mentioned?—A. He was.

[Craig was then cross-examined; simply, to whether Mr. Fitzgerald fired at any of the people murdered? To which he answered, he believed he did not; for it was before determined, that he (Craig) should murder him, or see it done by others.]

Here closed the examination on the part of the crown; and on Mr. Fitzgerald being called upon, and told, then was the time for him to make his defence, he replied, he would leave every thing to his counsel employed for him.

His leading counsel then mentioned, that they would call a number of witnesses to prove an *alibi* on the part of Mr. Fitzgerald.

Several witnesses were then called on the part of Mr. Fitzgerald, and all tended to the same *alibi*, of his not being present *the time* the actual murders were committed; but proved nothing as to the directions and pre-concerted schemes laid for the destruction of Mr. M'Donnell.

#### THE CHARGE.

The present is one of the most momentous and important trials that ever came before a court; and through the whole of this melancholy business, every feeling mind must be happy to perceive that impartiality and temperance which has distinguished the conduct of those who were appointed to bring to justice the authors of a deed not less horrible than degrading to human nature: and however inclinable I may be to lean to the side of mercy in all criminal cases, yet in the present case, I must confess that such aggravated guilt never appeared before me. It is far from my intention or wish that any thing I could this day say

say to you should bias your opinion; you are gentlemen of consequence in this county, and I am firmly persuaded of the strictest impartiality, and your verdict of consequence must be the result of justice. You are in possession of established facts, from which you will doubtless draw fair inferences, untarnished with any unfavourable opinion which you may have previously received against the prisoner now upon his trial, and entirely uninfluenced by any impression which an affair that has been represented in the most shocking colours, both in private conversations and in the public prints, must have made on you.

'Tis not my province to prescribe the necessary verdict for you to bring in; you are as good judges of the facts which appear before you as I am, and by those must be directed; if any doubt as to any point of law occurs to your mind, I will, with pleasure, as will my brother, explain it, and give you every assistance; and from my knowledge of you, I again repeat, your determination will be the result of wisdom, impartiality, and justice. The spirit of the laws may sometimes be stretched to a mistaken tenderness, and there are instances where lenity may be repugnant to justice.

The jury retired, after a sitting of sixteen hours, and in fourteen minutes brought in their verdict, guilty.

On Saturday the 10th, John Fulton, William Fulton, Archibald Newing, or Ewing, John Rehency, and David Simpson, were also found guilty, upon two indictments, for the murder of Patrick Randal M'Donnell and Charles Hipson.

And, same day, James Foy, John Cox, James Mafterson, David Sal-

try, otherwise Simpson, Philip Cox, John Berney, Humphry George, Michael Bruen, William Robin, and Wallis Kelly, were severally acquitted of the said murder.

After which trials, the right hon. the Attorney General informed the court, that he was given to understand a motion was intended to be made in arrest of judgment. He desired that Mr. Fitzgerald might be brought up, and the motion gone into. Mr. Fitzgerald's leading counsel said, they saw no defect in the indictment; but Mr. Stanley declared that he had warm hopes he could shew ground to arrest judgment, if he were allowed time to consider the subject till Monday. The Attorney General called upon him to state his objections, which he, Mr. Stanley, declined.

The Attorney General informed Mr. Stanley, that it would probably assist him in the motion to arrest judgment, if he was informed what the indictment was, as he never had hitherto called to have it read, but had relied on the short abstract of it in the crown-book; accordingly, at the desire of the Attorney General, the indictment was read to him; and the court, with remarkable humanity, allowed Mr. Stanley till Monday to consider his motion.

#### MONDAY, June 12.

This day Timothy Brecknock was called upon to take his trial, and given in charge to the jury upon two indictments, for conspiring and procuring the death of Patrick Randal M'Donnell and Charles Hipson. The evidence having fully established the charges in the indictments, the jury found him guilty.

After Brecknock's conviction, the Chief Baron ordered the clerk of the

the crown to call up for sentence those persons who had been convicted of actually perpetrating the murder; which sentence he then passed upon John Fulton and his other associates, in the most affecting manner.

The Chief Baron then desired to know of Mr. Stanley, whether he meant to make his promised motion in arrest of judgment? but at the same time warmly recommended to him, unless there was a solid ground of objection to the indictment, not to make his motion, as it must necessarily be made in Mr. Fitzgerald's presence, and might possibly derange his feelings, which, he said, he was happy to hear were calm and composed. Mr. Stanley, on consideration, declined to make any motion in arrest of judgment.

Mr. Fitzgerald was then brought to the bar of the court, and the Chief Baron, after a preface which drew tears from almost all who heard him, on the enormity of the crime, passed sentence of death upon George Robert Fitzgerald and Timothy Brecknock, with orders for their execution on that day.

Mr. Fitzgerald behaved with composure, and desired a short time to make his peace with Heaven. To this the Chief Baron answered, that the nature of his crime was so dreadful, and it had been so fully proved against him, that public justice required he should be made an immediate example.

They were removed from the court to the gaol. At six o'clock in the evening George Robert Fitzgerald, Timothy Brecknock, and John Fulton, were conducted to the place of execution, on the hill near the Castle, at Castlebar, where they

were severally executed according to their sentence.

On Mr. Fitzgerald's coming out of the prison he seemed to be collected, but turning his eyes on the wonderful multitude which attended his execution, he lost all his fortitude, and giving a sort of a wild shriek, continued weeping during his way to the fatal spot; but Brecknock seemed at intervals devoted to prayer; his countenance bore strong traits of philosophy and innocence; he uttered some expressions which were thought incoherent by the multitude. Brecknock was first turned off, and met his fate with a fortitude and composure worthy a better cause. Fulton seemed penitent, and died with firmness.

After hanging the usual time, they were severally cut down, and their bodies cut or scarred.

The other four convicts, John Reheny, Archibald Newing, William Fulton, and David Simpson, were ordered for execution on a future day.

After the verdict of the jury against Mr. Fitzgerald, he requested to have some private conference with Mr. Browne, the high sheriff; the latter consented, on condition of having a friend present. What passed on the occasion did not transpire; but the sheriff and his friend accompanied him to the prison, where, having walked about his room in some perturbation, he threw himself on a bed, and continued lying on his face above three hours and a half without uttering a word. He wore a loose great coat, and had his head bound round with a handkerchief.

*Resolutions*

*Resolutions of the British Inhabitants at Calcutta, relative to Mr. Pitt's East India Bill.*

**A**T a meeting of the British inhabitants of Calcutta, held at the theatre on Monday the 25th of July, in pursuance of a public summons by the high sheriff, at the request of the grand jury, on the 15th of June last, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety and necessity of a petition on certain parts of an act of the 24th of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for the better regulation of the affairs of the East India Company, and of the British possessions in India, and for establishing a Court of Judicature for the more speedy and effectual trial of persons accused of offences committed in the East Indies," the following resolutions were proposed, and unanimously agreed to:

I. Resolved, That his majesty's subjects in the East Indies are entitled to the protection and support of the laws of England, in common with the other subjects of the realm.

II. Resolved, that so much of the act of the 24th of his present majesty, cap. xxv. intituled, "An act for the better regulation and management of the affairs of the East India Company, and of the British possessions in India, and for establishing a Court of Judicature for the more speedy and effectual trial of persons accused of offences committed in the East Indies," as compels the servants of the East India company, upon their return to Great Britain, to deliver in upon oath an inventory of their whole property, under penal-

ties of excessive severity, is grievous and oppressive to the servants of the said company, and repugnant to the constitution of our country.

III. Resolved, That the erection of a new tribunal by the said act, for the special purpose of trying offences, charged to have been committed in the East Indies; a tribunal unrestrained by the settled rules of law, and subject to no appeal, and the depriving them of their undoubted birthright, the trial by jury, are violations of the great charter of our liberties, and infringements of the most sacred principles of the British constitution.

IV. Resolved, That the said act, by exposing his majesty's subjects residing under this presidency, to be sent forcibly to England, and there to be tried for offences committed, or charged to be committed by them within these provinces, is highly dangerous to the security of their persons and fortunes.

V. Resolved, That it is injurious to the servants of the United Company to be subject, by the said act of parliament, to be dismissed from their employments in the East Indies, or to be recalled at the pleasure of the crown, which is, in other words, at the will of the minister.

VI. Resolved, That the provision of the said act of parliament, which enacts, That all writings, which shall have been transmitted from the East Indies to the court of directors, by their officers or servants resident in the East Indies, in the usual course of their correspondence with the said court of directors, may be admitted by the commissioners to be offered in evidence, and shall not be deemed inadmissible, or incompetent, is subversive of the established rules of evidence,

[ 2 ] and

and manifestly dangerous to his majesty's subjects returning from this country to Great Britain.

VII. Resolved, That it is therefore becoming, and highly expedient for his majesty's subjects in these provinces to endeavour by all legal and constitutional means to obtain a repeal of such clauses in the said act of parliament, as impose those and other hardships upon them. And that for the purpose of obtaining such repeal, petitions, humbly laying our grievances before his majesty and the two houses of parliament, are adviseable, necessary, and proper.

VIII. Resolved, That a committee of fifteen gentlemen, selected for the inhabitants of Calcutta, be appointed to prepare petitions to his majesty and the two houses of parliament, and to correspond with the inland stations subordinate to this government, and with the other presidencies in India: and that it be recommended to them to take all such measures as they shall judge necessary for transmitting the said petitions to Europe, and for promoting and obtaining an effectual redress to his majesty's subjects in India. And that the said committee be empowered to fill up vacancies, as they may happen in the course of time.

IX. Resolved, That as considerable expence must be unavoidably incurred by our endeavours to obtain redress of our grievances, a subscription shall be opened by the committee who shall be elected by this assembly; and that as soon as the petition shall be ready for signature, a book shall be produced for the said subscription, to the end that every man may have the opportunity of promoting, by a vo-

luntary sacrifice of a small share of his property, that security of the whole, which is the grand object of our petitions.

X. Resolved, That all subscriptions be received, whether in specie, or in paper, and that the amount subscribed shall be paid by each subscriber to such person or persons as the said committee, when elected, shall appoint to receive the same.

XI. Resolved, That this assembly do authorize the said committee to dispose of and expend the whole, or any part of the sums of money so paid, in such manner as shall appear to them best calculated for the general benefit of the cause for which they were subscribed.

XII. Resolved, That Mr. Charles Purling be a member of the committee, and that he be requested to propose fourteen other gentlemen to the meeting for their approval.

XIII. Resolved, That the following gentlemen are elected for the purposes mentioned in the foregoing resolutions, viz.

Colonel Patrick Duff,  
 Captain John Murray,  
 Captain Peter Murray,  
 Captain William Scott,  
 Captain Herbert Lloyd,  
 Charles Purling,  
 John Bristow,  
 Jeremiah Church,  
 William Cowper,  
 Henry Vanstuart,  
 John Evelyn,  
 Jonathan Duncan,  
 George Dallas,  
 Thomas Henry Davis,  
 and

Philip Yonge, Esqrs.

XIV. Resolved, That the assembly of the British inhabitants of Calcutta, having the most perfect confidence

confidence and trust in the uprightness, integrity, and abilities, of the committee chosen for the conduct and management of their interest, and for the protection and defence of their rights, as subjects of Great Britain, do, in order to give vigour and efficacy to their acts, and to free them from future trouble, embarrassment, and obstruction, delegate to them full authority; and do express a plenary reliance on them for the exercise of it, and do pledge to them the concurrence and support of the said assembly, in the fullest manner possible, to all measures they shall legally adopt, for obtaining a repeal of the oppressive parts of the aforesaid act of parliament.

XV. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the grand jury, for having convened a

legal and constitutional meeting of the British subjects in this settlement, for the purpose of petitioning his majesty, and the two houses of parliament, for redress of those heavy grievances imposed on them by the before-mentioned act of the legislature.

XVI. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Philip Yonge, esq. the high sheriff, for his patriotic conduct in calling the assembly at the request of the grand jury.

XVII. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Charles Purling, esq. for the great precision, candour, and regularity, with which he has conducted the business of the day.

XVIII. Resolved, That the above resolutions be printed and made public.



# A G E N E R A L B I L L

OF

All the CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 13, 1785, to DECEMBER 12, 1786.

Christened	{ Males 9183 }	Buried	{ Males 10253 }	Increased in the Burial
	{ Females 8936 }		{ Females 10201 }	this Year 1535.

Died under Two Years	6693	— Fifty and Sixty	1675	A Hundred and One	3
Between Two and Five	2039	— Sixty and Seventy	1305	A Hundred and Two	3
— Five and Ten	906	— Seventy and Eighty	982	A Hundred and Three	
— Ten and Twenty	855	— Eighty and Ninety	437	A Hundred and Four	
— Twenty and Thirty	1612	— Ninety and a Hundred	68	A Hundred and Five	
— Thirty and Forty	1868	A Hundred	1	A Hundred and Six	2
— Forty and Fifty	2007				

DISEASES.						CASUALTIES.	
<b>A</b>	Bortive and Stil-	Diabetes		Measles	791	<b>B</b>	BIT by a mad dog
	born	Dropfy	828	Miscarriage	6		Broken Limbs
	593	Evil	17	Mortification	172	Bruised	1
Abcesss	8	Fever, malignant Fe-		Palsy	80	Burnt	9
Aged	1330	ver, Scarlet Fever,		Pleurisy	13	Choaked	
Ague	6	Spotted Fever, and		Quinsy	4	Drowned	112
Apoplexy and Sud-		Purples	2981	Rash		Excessive Drinking	6
den	218	Fistula	4	Rheumatism	4	Executed	7
Asthma and Phthi-		Flux	12	Rickets		Found Dead	7
sic	335	French Pox	66	Rifing of the Lights	1	Erighted	
Bed-ridden	13	Gout	63	Scald Head	1	Killed by Falls and	
Bleeding	10	Gravel, Strangury, and		Scurvy	3	several other Acci-	
Bloody Flux		Stone	52	Small Pox	1210	dents	58
Bursten and Rup-		Grief	1	Sore Throat	19	Killed themselves	22
ture	3	Head-Ach	5	Sores and Ulcers	13	Murdered	5
Cancer	51	Healdmouldshot, Hor-		St. Anthony's Fire	4	Overlaid	
Canker	1	shohead, and Wa-		Stoppage in the Sto-		Poisoned	2
Chicken Pox	1	ter in the Head	16	mach	9	Scalded	1
Childbed	102	Jaundice	51	Surfeit	4	Shot	
Cholic, Gripes, twist-		Imposthume	5	Swelling	3	Smothered	
ing of the Guts	18	Inflammation	264	Teeth	457	Starved	3
Cold	8	Itch	1	Thrush	40	Stuffed	4
Consumption	4987	Leprosy	1	Tympany			
Convulsions	4981	Lethargy	1	Vomiting and Loofe-			
Cough and Hooping-		Livergrown	2	ness	3		
Cough	200	Lunatick	34	Worms	13		

Total 237

The

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Register, are taken from Accounts collected from the Custom-House Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into England and Scotland, with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for one Year ended 5th January, 1787.

E X P O R T E D.

1786. ENGLAND.	British Quarters.	Foreign Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
			£. s. d.
Wheat . . . . .	128,114	9,888	50,973 18 6½ Bo. 79. 19 4 Dr.
Wheat Flour . . . . .	64,855	1,303	
Rye . . . . .	5,467	1,269	
Barley . . . . .	14,973	1,423	
Malt . . . . .	79,656	1,324 194 434 140	
Oats . . . . .	12,215		
Oatmeal . . . . .	1,147		
Beans . . . . .	9,903		
Peafe . . . . .	5,354		
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat . . . . .	507	- - - - -	2,830 1 10 Bo.
Wheat Flour . . . . .	798		
Barley . . . . .	9,383		
Barley hulled . . . . .	54		
Bear . . . . .	10,137		
Bear Meal . . . . .	98		
Malt . . . . .	6,108		
Oats . . . . .	2,300		
Oatmeal . . . . .	2,113		
Peafe and Beans . . . . .	478		

I M P O R T E D.

1786. ENGLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received.
		£. s. d.
Wheat . . . . .	47,961	5,556 2 9
Wheat Flour . . . . .	3,502	
Rye . . . . .	311	
Barley . . . . .	50,143	
Oats . . . . .	405,334	
Oatmeal . . . . .	6,763	
Beans . . . . .	33,912	
Peafe . . . . .	1,617	

[ 2 ] 3

SCOT-

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1786. SCOTLAND.		Quarters.	Duties received.
Rye	- - -	1	£. s. d. 714 8 0
Barley	- - -	12,231	
Oats	- - -	43,056	
Oatmeal	- - -	23,320	
Pease and Beans	- - -	180	

The following is an account of the average prices of corn in England and Wales, by the standard Winchester bushel, for the year 1786.

Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
4 10½	3 4½	3 0½	2 3	4 1½

N. B. The prices of the finest and coarsest sorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per bushel, 6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

PRICES

PRICES OF STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1786.

N. B. The biggest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore in the Course of any Month, are put down opposite to that Month.

	Bank 3 pr Ct. Stock Reduc.	3 pr Ct. Confol.	4 pr Ct. Confol.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	New Nav. Bills.	Excheg. Bills.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	{ 140 1/2 139 1/2	71 1/2 69 1/2	89 1/2 87 1/2	156 —	53	68 1/2	—	2 1/2 2 1/2	14 15	20 1/2 11 1/2	13 1/2 13 1/2	14 19
Feb.	{ 139 1/2 139 1/2	71 69 1/2	89 1/2 88 1/2	159 1/2 155	55 46	—	—	2 1/2 2 1/2	19 15	20 1/2 20 1/2	13 1/2 13 1/2	15 14
Mar.	{ 140 1/2 139 1/2	70 1/2 69 1/2	90 88 1/2	159 159	58 50	69 1/2	—	2 1/2 2 1/2	10 1 1/2	20 1/2 16 1/2	13 1/2 13 1/2	14 17
Apr.	{ 138 —	70 69 1/2	88 89 1/2	159 156 1/2	50 —	—	—	2 1/2 2 1/2	5 —	21 15	13 1/2 13 1/2	—
May	{ 142 1/2 144	71 1/2 72 1/2	90 1/2 90 1/2	161 1/2 161	70 1/2 —	70 1/2	68 1/2	2 1/2 2 1/2	10 —	21 1/2 15	13 1/2 13 1/2	—
June	{ 143 1/2 149 1/2	73 1/2 74 1/2	92 1/2 92 1/2	162 1/2 160 1/2	62 —	71	72	2 2	27 —	22 1/2 11 1/2	— —	14 14
July	{ 148 1/2 149 1/2	75 1/2 74 1/2	95 1/2 95 1/2	157 1/2 159 1/2	80 —	74 1/2	—	—	33 —	16 1/2 —	14 1/2 14 1/2	14 10
Aug.	{ 156 158 1/2	78 78 1/2	99 1/2 97 1/2	169 1/2 167	112 —	78	78 1/2	2	50 48	— 23 1/2	14 1/2 14 1/2	14 12
Sept.	{ 158 1/2 155 1/2	78 1/2 76 1/2	97 1/2 98 1/2	168 1/2 —	175 —	78	77 1/2	1 1/2 1 1/2	60 55	22 1/2 —	14 1/2 —	15 5
Oct.	{ 150 1/2 148 1/2	76 1/2 75 1/2	95 1/2 94 1/2	165 1/2 164	90 —	—	79 1/2	1 1/2	53 —	22 1/2 11	13 1/2 —	14 4
Nov.	{ 175 1/2 146	74 1/2 73 1/2	92 1/2 92 1/2	166 1/2 166 1/2	90 89	73 1/2	—	2 1/2 2 1/2	48 16	22 1/2 15	13 1/2 13 1/2	14 4
Dec.	{ 146 1/2 151 1/2	74 1/2 74 1/2	93 1/2 93 1/2	166 168 1/2	70 88	72 1/2 73 1/2	73 1/2 74 1/2	2 1/2 —	15 17	22 22 1/2	13 1/2 13 1/2	15 15

# SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1786.

## N A V Y.

FEBRUARY 13, 1786.

FOR 18,000 men, including 3,620 marines, at 4l. per man per month	—	—	£.	s.	d.
			936,000	0	0

MARCH 2.

For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to the sea and marine officers	—	—	692,326	18	8
For building, rebuilding, and repairing ships of war, &c.	—	—	800,000	0	0

Total of Navy	—	—	2,428,326	18	8
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## O R D N A N C E.

MARCH 7.

For the charges of the office of ordnance for land service in 1786	—	—	287,096	17	1
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JUNE 7.

For completing the works at Portsmouth and Plymouth	—	59,781	0	0	
For land at Faversham	—	3,632	11	5	
D <sup>o</sup> near Portsmouth	—	12,869	11	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
D <sup>o</sup> near Plymouth	—	17,388	12	1	
		93,671	15	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	

Total of Ordnance	—	—	380,768	12	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
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## A R M Y.

FEB. 10.

For 17,638 effective men for guards and garrisons	—	—	647,005	0	8
D <sup>o</sup> , 9,546 men in the plantations and Gibraltar	—	—	234,160	5	11
D <sup>o</sup> , 2,490 men, Irish regiments	—	—	6,358	3	0
D <sup>o</sup> , 453 men in the East Indies	—	—	8,230	8	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		30,127	895,753	18	2 $\frac{1}{2}$

For the general and staff-officers for 1786	—	—	6,409	8	0
For full pay to reduced or supernumerary officers	—	—	24,378	7	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
For the paymaster-general, secretary at war, commif- fary-general of the musters, judge advocate-general, comptrollers	—	—			

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comptrollers of the army accounts, the deputies, clerks, &c. and for the amount of the exchequer fees to be paid by the paymaster-general, and on account of poundage to the infantry

For pensions to the widows of officers	—	—	59,320	13	5
			11,409	7	6

## MARCH 29.

For the army extraordinaries, from Dec. 25, 1784, to Dec. 25, 1785	—	—	573,087	8	2½
For the reduced officers of land forces and marines	—	—	172,666	10	5
For the reduced horse-guards	—	—	333	9	7
For the Chelsea pensioners	—	—	175,016	7	9
For the officers of the British American forces	—	—	53,502	17	2
For officers late in the service of the States General	—	—	3,535	0	6

## APRIL 11.

For the difference between the British and Irish establishment of several battalions, 1784 and 1785	—	—	2,377	0	8½
D <sup>o</sup> of companies, 1786	—	—	364	5	11
<b>Total of the Army</b>	—	—	<b>1,978,154</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>0½</b>

## EXCHEQUER BILLS.

### FEBRUARY 7.

To discharge exchequer bills, viz. Bank	—	—	1,500,000	0	0
Bank loan	—	—	2,000,000	0	0

### JUNE 13.

Circulated	—	—	1,000,000	0	0
D <sup>o</sup> , 1785	—	—	1,000,000	0	0

<b>Total Exchequer Bills</b>	—	—	<b>5,500,000</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
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## CIVIL LIST.

### APRIL 6.

Exchequer bills	—	—	180,000	0	0
Arrears to 5th January, 1786	—	—	30,000	0	0

<b>Total Civil List</b>	—	—	<b>210,000</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
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## NATIONAL DEBT.

### MARCH 30.

Towards the reduction of the national debt	—	—	1,000,000	0	0
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## MISCEL-

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MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

APRIL 3.

To make good the damages sustained by the inhabitants of Faverham, &c. by the blowing up of his majesty's powder-mills there, in 1781 — — 1,377 6 0

APRIL 11.

For the civil establishment of Nova-Scotia — 3,851 17 6  
 For the civil establishment of St. John's island — 1,900 0 0  
 For the civil establishment of the Bahama islands — 2,669 0 0  
 For the civil establishment of the island of Cape Breton — — — 2,100 0 0  
 For the civil establishment of New Brunswick — 4,300 0 0  
 To the representatives of the late John Ellis, esq. agent for West Florida, for arrears — — 1,816 15 7½  
 For the salary of the chief justice of the Bermuda islands — — — 580 0 0

MAY 13.

For Somerset House — — — 25,000 0 0  
 For the forts and settlements in Africa — — 13,000 0 0  
 For the prosecution of offenders against the coin laws — — — 1,681 18 4  
 For the extraordinary expences of the mint — — 14,939 5 0½  
 For a compensation to Joseph Lodin du Mauvoir, for the loss of his ship, seized by the Lord Dartmouth armed ship in 1776 — — — 4,106 10 0

MAY 22.

For purchasing lands in the island of St. Vincent — — — 6,500 0 0  
 For completing the purchase of the soil in the Bahama islands — — — 6,356 0 0  
 For the relief of the American sufferers — — 62,059 5 0  
 To Mr. Cotton, for fees paid at the exchequer on 150,000l. granted last sessions to the American loyalists — — — 3,750 14 0  
 To Mr. Cotton, for the expences of Thomas Dundas and Jeremy Pemberton, esqrs. commissioners of American claims, at Nova Scotia, &c. — — — 2,426 9 0  
 To Mr. Cotton, for the bills drawn on the Treasury by the governors of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton, and for expences of convicts on board the prison-ships at Portsmouth and Plymouth, &c. — — — 16,061 16 3  
 For the convicts on the Thames — — — 21,560 5 7  
 To the secretary of the commissioners of public accounts — — — 1,000 0 0

JUNE 7.

To Louis Borell and Abraham Henry Borell, for

disclosing

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disclosing their method of dying the colour called Turkey red upon cotton — — — 2,500 0 0

### JUNE 12.

For a new building at the Admiralty — — — 6,000 0 0  
 For the Scotch roads and bridges — — — 5,784 0 0

### JUNE 19.

For a compensation to the commissioners of public accounts — — — 9,000 0 0  
 To the commissioners appointed to enquire into the losses of the American loyalists — — — 10,000 0 0  
 For the relief of the American loyalists — — — 178,750 0 0  
 For the American civil officers, sufferers for their loyalty — — — 55,000 0 0  
 To the secretary of the commissioners of the American loyalists — — — 3,888 4 0  
 For money issued pursuant to addresses — — — 12,259 9 2  
 For the expence of confining convicts — — — 31,299 10 0

**Total Miscellaneous Services** 511,509 5 5½

## DEFICIENCIES.

### MARCH 20.

To the sinking fund for the monies paid out of it to make good the deficiencies of the duties granted for repealing the duties on tea, to July 5, 1785 — — — 365,719 2 4½  
 To make good the deficiency of the fund for the payment of annuities granted towards the supply in 1758 — — — 16,588 4 6½  
 To ditto for 1778 — — — 180,357 3 6½  
 To ditto for 1779 — — — 15,991 5 2½  
 To ditto for 1780 — — — 141,864 11 8  
 To ditto for 1783 — — — 361,963 3 4  
 To ditto for 1784 — — — 202,588 7 7½

### MAY 15.

To make good the deficiencies of the grants in 1785 127,131 3 2½

**Total Deficiencies** 1,412,203 1 6½

**Total of Supplies** 13,420,962 12 10½

*WAYS and MEANS for raising the above Supplies granted to his Majesty for the year 1786.*

### FEBRUARY 10.

Land-tax for 1786 — — — 2,000,000 0 0  
 Malt duty — — — 750,000 0 0

MARCH



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MARCH 21.				
To be applied out of the sinking fund	—	582,488	15	9½
MARCH 30.				
To be applied out of the sinking fund	—	1,000,000	0	0
MAY 2.				
Surplus of ditto, 5th April 1786	—	628,982	0	1
MAY 15.				
Exchequer bills	—	2,500,000	0	0
MAY 18.				
Surplus of the deduction of 6d. in the pound on all salaries, &c.	—	82,386	0	0
Ditto of the wine duties	—	16,491	5	0
Ditto of the glass duties	—	20,281	15	0
Ditto of the duties on vellum, &c.	—	12,735	15	0
Ditto of the two-sevenths excise	—	40,414	9	5½
JUNE 1.				
A lottery, 50,000 tickets, at 13l. 15s. 6d. a ticket.	—	688,750	0	0
Prizes	—	500,000	0	0
Surplus of monies granted for the army, &c. in 1784	—	290,810	4	6½
Imprest, and other monies in the exchequer	—	100,508	13	1½
Army savings and stoppages in 1785	—	65,575	4	1½
JUNE 20.				
To be applied out of the sinking fund	—	2,500,000	0	0
Exchequer bills	—	3,000,000	0	0
Surplus of monies voted for Chelsea pensioners in 1785	—	21,568	13	2½
<i>Total of Ways and Means</i>		13,909,992	15	4½
<i>Total of Supplies</i>		13,420,962	12	10½
<i>Excess of Ways and Means</i>		480,030	2	6

An authentic and correct List of the NATIONAL DEBT, to the 5th of January, 1786.

	Capitals.			Interest.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Bank Stock	11,642,406	0	0	698,544	0	0
Five per Cent. Navy Annuities	17,869,993	9	10	893,499	13	5
Four per Cent. Consols	32,750,100	0	0	1,310,000	0	0
				Three		

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	Capitals.			Interest.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Three per Cent. Consols —	107,401,696	5	1	3,222,050	17	9
Three per Cent. Reduced —	37,340,073	4	0	1,120,202	4	3
Three per Cent. 1726 —	1,000,000	0	0	30,000	0	0
Long Ann. 680,375l. per Ann. calculated at 21 years purchase, only —	20,411,250	0	0	680,375	0	0
Short Ann. 1777—25,000l. per Ann.—Short Ann. 1778 and 1779, 412,500l. calculated at 14 years purchase —	6,125,000	0	0	437,500	0	0
South Sea Stock —	3,662,784	8	6	128,197	9	4
Three per Cent. Old Annuities	11,937,470	2	7	357,224	2	0
Three per Cent. New —	8,494,830	2	10	254,844	18	1
Three per Cent. 1751 —	1,919,600	0	0	57,588	0	0
India Stock —	3,200,000	0	0	256,000	0	0
Three per Cent. Annuities	3,000,000	0	0	90,000	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>266,725,097</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>9,536,026</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7</b>

STATE

## STATE PAPERS.

*His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the opening of the Third Session of the Sixteenth Parliament of Great Britain, 24th January 1786.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

**S**INCE I last met you in parliament, the disputes which appeared to threaten an interruption of the tranquillity of Europe have been brought to an amicable conclusion; and I continue to receive from foreign powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards this country.

At home, my subjects experience the growing blessings of peace in the extension of trade, the improvement of the revenue, and the increase of the public credit of the nation.

For the farther advancement of those important objects, I rely on the continuance of that zeal and industry which you manifested in the last session of parliament.

The resolutions which you laid before me, as the basis of an adjustment of the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, have been by my directions communicated to the parliament of that kingdom; but no effectual step has hitherto been taken thereupon which can enable you to make

any farther progress in that salutary work.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the estimates for the present year to be laid before you: it is my earnest wish to enforce œconomy in every department; and you will, I am persuaded, be equally ready to make such provision as may be necessary for the public service, and particularly for maintaining our naval strength on the most secure and respectable footing. Above all, let me recommend to you the establishment of a fixed plan for the reduction of the national debt. The flourishing state of the revenue will, I trust, enable you to effect this important measure, with little addition to the public burdens.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The vigour and resources of the country, so fully manifested in its present situation, will encourage you in continuing to give your utmost attention to every subject of national concern; particularly to the consideration of such measures as may be necessary, in order to give farther security to the revenue, and to promote and extend, as far as possible, the trade and general industry of my subjects.

*Y<sup>rs</sup>*

*The humble Address of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, to the King, for the foregoing Speech, January 25, 1786.*

WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our humble thanks for your majesty's most gracious speech from the throne.

We assure your majesty, that impressed with the fullest conviction of the blessings which result from a state of general peace, it affords us great satisfaction to be informed, that the disputes which appeared to threaten an interruption to the tranquillity of Europe have been brought to an amicable conclusion; and that your majesty continues to receive from foreign powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards this country.

We assure your majesty, that earnestly interested in whatever may contribute to the strength and splendour of the nation, and the wealth of your majesty's subjects, we cannot but be deeply sensible of the advantages which must be derived from the extension of trade, the improvement of the revenue, and the increase of the public credit.

We assure your majesty, that the promotion of the common interest and prosperity of all your majesty's subjects, was the object of those resolutions which we humbly laid before your majesty in the last session of parliament, as the foundation of a permanent and equitable adjustment of the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland; but no effectual step having been taken in consequence of them by

the parliament of Ireland, the progress of that measure, however salutary, cannot properly become the subject of our present consideration.

We humbly intreat your majesty to be persuaded, that the vigour and resources of the country, which, with heart-felt satisfaction, we observe are so fully manifested in its present situation, cannot fail to excite a still more active attention to the important objects of national concern which your majesty is pleased to recommend to our consideration; and particularly to such measures as may be necessary to give farther security to the revenue, and to promote and extend, as far as possible, the general industry of our country.

*His Majesty's most gracious Answer.*

My Lords,

I thank you for this very dutiful and loyal address.

I receive with great satisfaction your assurances, that you will give the strictest attention to the important objects of national concern, which I have recommended to your consideration.

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*The humble Address of the House of Commons to the King, for the foregoing Speech, January 26, 1786.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the Commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our humble thanks, for your most gracious speech from the throne.

We learn, with great satisfaction, that the disputes which appeared to threaten

threaten an interruption to the tranquillity of Europe have been brought to an amicable conclusion; and that your majesty continues to receive from foreign powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards this country.

We are deeply sensible of the blessings which we experience from the enjoyment of peace, in the extension of trade, the improvement of the revenue, and the increase of the public credit of the nation: and your majesty may rely on the utmost exertion of our zeal and industry for the farther advancement of these important objects.

In order to promote, as far as in us lay, the common interests of all your majesty's subjects, we humbly laid before your majesty, in the last session of parliament, several resolutions, as the basis of an adjustment of the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland; but, as no effectual step has been hitherto taken thereupon by the parliament of that kingdom, we do not find ourselves at present enabled to make any farther progress in that salutary work.

We cannot refrain from offering the warmest expressions of our gratitude for your majesty's gracious assurances of your earnest wish to enforce œconomy in every department; we shall be equally ready, at all times, to make such provision as may be necessary for every branch of the public service, particularly for maintaining the naval strength of these kingdoms on the most secure and respectable footing. Fully impressed with the necessity of establishing a fixed plan for the reduction of the national debt, we shall lose no time in entering on that important consideration; and it will afford us the

most solid satisfaction to find, that this most desirable object may be attained with little addition to the public burdens.

The vigour and resources so happily manifested in our present situation must give encouragement and confidence to all your majesty's subjects, and cannot fail to animate our exertions in endeavouring, by a continued attention to the security of the revenue, and the extension of trade, to confirm and improve the increasing prosperity of the empire.

*His Majesty's most gracious Answer.*

Gentlemen,

I thank you for this very loyal address. I receive with great satisfaction the assurances of your disposition to enter with zeal and industry into the consideration of those important and salutary objects which I have recommended to your attention.

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*The Speech of his Grace Charles Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, at the opening of the Sessions there, on Thursday, January 19, 1786.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is with great satisfaction, that, in obedience to his majesty's commands, I meet you again in parliament. You will, I am persuaded, give your utmost attention to the various objects of public concern, which require your consideration. Your natural solicitude for the welfare of Ireland, and a full sense of her real interests, will direct all your deliberations, and point

point out to you the line of conduct which may be most conducive to the public advantage; and to that lasting connection between the sister kingdoms, so essential to the prosperity of both.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the public accounts, and other necessary papers, to be laid before you. The principle which you so wisely established of preventing the accumulation of the national debt, will, I hope, appear already to have proved successful; and I entertain no doubt, that your wisdom will persevere in measures, which, in their operation, promise such beneficial effects. His majesty relies with confidence upon your grant of such supplies as are necessary for the public service, and for the honourable support of his government.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

A systematic improvement of the police, and a vigorous execution of the laws, are essential not only to the due collection of the public revenue, but to the security of private property, and indeed to the protection of society. The frequent outrages which have been committed in some parts of the kingdom, will particularly call your attention to this important object.

It is unnecessary for me to recommend the protestant charter-schools to your protection, or to enumerate the happy effects which may be derived from your continued attention to the linen and other manufactures, to the agriculture, and to the fisheries of the kingdom, and to such measures as may animate the

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industry, extend the education, and improve the morals of the people.

It will ever be my ambition to promote the real interests of Ireland, and to contribute by all the means in my power towards establishing its future prosperity on the surest and most lasting foundation.

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*The Speech of the Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland, to his Grace Charles, Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant, on Tuesday the 21st of March, upon the presenting the Money Bills at the Bar of the House of Lords.*

May it please your Grace.

**T**HE expences of this kingdom had for a series of years, as well in time of peace as war, constantly exceeded its revenue, and debt increased on debt.

Where such a system is suffered to prevail, manufactures must at length give way, trade will decline, and agriculture cease to produce wealth or plenty. The commons, therefore, in the last session, wisely determined to put a stop to so ruinous a system, and with a spirited attention to the true interest of their country, and the honourable support of his majesty's government, they voted new taxes to increase the revenue of the year, in the sum of 140,000l.

The effort was great, and the event has proved its wisdom. No further addition is now wanting—no loan or act of credit is necessary—a situation unknown to this kingdom for many sessions past, and marking with peculiar force the happy æra of your grace's administration.

[R]

Animated

Animated by this success, and determined to persevere in the principle of preventing the accumulation of debt, his majesty's faithful commons have, in this session, continued the same taxes, and granted all the supplies that were desired, to the full amount of every estimated expence; nor have they omitted at the same time to provide for the speedy reduction of the national debt by a considerable sinking fund, and to continue to the agriculture, the fisheries, and the rising manufactures of the kingdom, the bounties necessary for their support.

Great as these taxes are, they are liberally and cheerfully given, in the most firm and full confidence, that from your grace's experienced wisdom and affection for this kingdom, they will be found effectually to answer the end proposed, of supplying the whole of the public expence, and preventing any further accumulation of debt.

The bills which I have the honour to present to your grace, for the royal assent, are, &c. &c. &c.

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*The Speech of his Grace Charles, Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, on closing the Session, Monday, May 8, 1786.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Have seen, with great satisfaction, the constant attention and uncommon dispatch with which you have gone through the public business. I am thereby enabled now to relieve you from further attendance in parliament. The harmony of your deliberations has given no less efficacy than dignity to your proceed-

ings; and I am confident that you will carry with you the same disposition for promoting the public welfare to your residence in the country, where your presence will encourage the industry of the people, and where your example and your influence will be happily exerted in establishing general good order and obedience to the laws.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I am to thank you in his majesty's name for the liberal supplies which you have given for the public service, and for the honourable support of his majesty's government. They shall be faithfully applied to the purposes for which they were granted. My reliance upon your decided support to the execution of the laws for the just collection of the public revenue, affords me the best founded hope, that the produce of the duties will not fall short of their estimated amount.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The determined spirit with which you have marked your abhorrence of all lawless disorder and tumult, hath, I doubt not, already made an useful impression: and the salutary laws enacted in this session, and particularly the introduction of a system of police, are honourable proofs of your wisdom, your moderation, and your prudence.

His majesty beholds, with the highest satisfaction, the zeal and loyalty of his people of Ireland; and I have his majesty's express commands to assure you of the most cordial returns of his royal favour and paternal affection.

I have the deepest sense of every obligation to confirm my attachment

ment to this kingdom; and it will be the constant object of my administration, and the warmest impulse of my heart, to forward the success of her interests, and to promote the prosperity of the empire.

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*His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on closing the Session of Parliament, Wednesday, July 11, 1786.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Cannot close this session of parliament without expressing the particular satisfaction with which I have observed your diligent attention to the public business, and the measures you have adopted for improving the resources of the country.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I thank you for the supplies which you have granted for the service of the current year, and for the provision you have made for discharging the incumbrances on the revenue applicable to the uses of my civil government. The most salutary effects are to be expected from the plan adopted for the reduction of the national debt; an object which I consider as inseparably connected with the essential interests of the public.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The assurances which I continue to receive from abroad promise

the continuance of general tranquillity.

The happy effects of peace have already appeared in the extension of the national commerce; and no measures shall be wanting, on my part, which can tend to confirm these advantages, and to give additional encouragement to the manufactures and industry of my people.

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*The Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common Council of the City of London, presented to his Majesty on Friday, August 11, 1786, on the Occasion of his happy Escape from Assassination\*.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, humbly approach the throne with our most sincere congratulations on the providential deliverance manifested in the failure of that outrageous attempt which so lately endangered your majesty's royal person.

Impelled at once by duty and inclination, your majesty's faithful citizens of London are happy in tendering an unfeigned assurance of their affection and zeal for your majesty's person and government.

Deeply sensible of the value and importance of your majesty's life to the prosperity of your kingdoms, and of the unspeakable affliction which your people would have suf-

\* A variety of other addresses were presented to his majesty on this occasion by the clergy, and several of the counties and bodies corporate throughout the kingdom.



tained by its mournful termination, the late horrid occurrence (which threatened that national calamity) could not fail to excite in their minds a proportionate alarm; but more particularly painful and severe were their sensations, on reflecting that your majesty's gracious attention to the petitions of your subjects had proved the lamentable cause of exposing your sacred person to danger.

Permit us, royal sir, to add our most fervent prayers, that your reign may continue long and prosperous over free, happy, and united subjects; and that your descendants may transmit the blessings the nation now enjoys to the latest posterity.

Signed, by order of court,

WILLIAM RIX.

ANSWER.

I receive, with the greatest pleasure, the very affectionate expressions of your duty and attachment to me, and thank you for your congratulations upon the providential deliverance from the attack which has been lately made upon my person: those professions cannot but be acceptable to me from my loyal city of London, to whom I am always disposed to shew every mark of attention and regard.

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*Treaty of Alliance and Commerce between his Majesty Frederick III. King of Prussia, and the United States of America, as ratified by Congress, May, 7, 1786.*

**H**IS majesty the king of Prussia and the United States of America, desiring to fix, in a permanent and equitable manner, the rules to

be observed in the intercourse and commerce they desire to establish between their respective countries, have judged, that the said end cannot be better obtained than by taking the most perfect equality and reciprocity for the basis of their agreement.

With this view, his majesty the king of Prussia has nominated and constituted, as his plenipotentiary, the baron Frederic William de Thulemeyer, envoy extraordinary with their high mightinesses the states general of the United Netherlands; and the United States have, on their part, given full powers to John Adams, esq. now minister plenipotentiary of the United States with his Britannic majesty, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson, respective plenipotentiaries, have concluded articles, of which the following is an abstract, so far as concerns the states of America.

The subjects of his majesty the king of Prussia may frequent all the coasts and countries of the United States of America, and reside and trade there in all sorts of produce, manufactures, and merchandize, and shall pay within the said United States no other or greater duties, charges, or fees whatsoever, than the most favoured nations are or shall be obliged to pay; and they shall enjoy all the rights, privileges, and exemptions, in navigation and commerce, which the most favoured nation does or shall enjoy; submitting themselves to the laws and usages there established.

In like manner the citizens of the United States of America may frequent all the coasts and countries of his majesty the king of Prussia, and reside and trade there in all sorts of produce, manufactures, and merchan-

merchandize, and shall pay in the dominions of his said majesty no other or greater duties, charges, or fees whatsoever, than the most favoured nation is or shall be obliged to pay; and they shall enjoy all the rights, privileges, and exemptions, in navigation and commerce, which the most favoured nation does or shall enjoy; submitting themselves as aforesaid.

Each party shall have a right to carry their own produce, manufactures, and merchandize, in their own or any other vessels, to any parts of the dominions of the other, where it shall be lawful for all the subjects or citizens of that other freely to purchase them; and thence to take the produce, manufactures, and merchandize of the other, which all the said citizens or subjects shall in like manner be free to sell, paying in both cases such duties, charges, and fees only, as are or shall be paid by the most favoured nation.

Each party shall endeavour to protect and defend all vessels, and other effects, belonging to the citizens or subjects of the other, which shall be within the extent of their jurisdiction by sea or land; and shall use all their efforts to recover, and cause to be restored to their right owners, their vessels and effects which shall be taken from them within the extent of their said jurisdiction.

If one of the contracting parties should be engaged in war with other powers, the free intercourse and commerce of the subjects or citizens of the party remaining neutral, with the belligerent powers, shall not be interrupted. On the contrary, in that case, as in full peace, the vessels of the neutral

party may navigate freely to and from the ports, and on the coasts of the belligerent parties, free vessels making free goods, insomuch that all things shall be adjudged free which shall be on board any vessel belonging to the neutral party, although such things belong to an enemy of the other; and the same freedom shall be extended to persons who shall be on board a free vessel, although they should be enemies to the other party, unless they be soldiers in actual service of such enemy.

In the same case of one of the contracting parties being engaged in war with any other power—to prevent all the difficulties and misunderstandings which usually arise respecting the merchandize heretofore called contraband, such as arms, ammunition, and military stores of every kind—no such articles carried in the vessels, or by the subjects or citizens of one of the parties to the enemies of the other, shall be deemed contraband, so as to induce confiscation or condemnation, and a loss of property to individuals. But in the case supposed, of a vessel stopped for the articles heretofore deemed contraband, if the master of the vessel stopped will deliver out the goods supposed to be of contraband nature, he shall be admitted to do it, and the vessel shall not in that case be carried into any port, nor further detained, but shall be allowed to proceed on her voyage.

If the contracting parties shall be engaged in war against a common enemy, the following point shall be observed between them.

1st. If a vessel of one of the parties, retaken by a privateer of the other, shall not have been in possession of the enemy more than twenty-

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four

four hours, she shall be restored to the first owner for one third of the value of the vessel and cargo; but if she shall have been more than twenty-four hours in possession of the enemy, she shall belong wholly to the re-captor. 2d, If in the same case the re-capture were by a public vessel of war of the one party, restitution shall be made to the owner of one thirtieth part of the vessel and cargo, if she shall not have been in the possession of the enemy more than twenty-four hours; and one tenth of the said value where she shall have been longer; which sums shall be distributed in gratuities to the re-captors. 3d, The restitution in the cases aforesaid shall be after due proof of property, and surety given for the part to which the re-captors are entitled. 4th, The vessels of war, public and private, of the two parties, shall be reciprocally admitted with their prizes into the respective ports of each; but the said prizes shall not be discharged nor sold there, until their legality shall have been decided according to the laws and regulations of the state to which the captors belong, but by the indicators of the place into which the prize shall have been conducted. 5th, It shall be free to each party to make such regulations as they shall judge necessary for the conduct of their respective vessels of war, public or private, relative to the vessels which they shall take and carry into the ports of the two parties.

Where the parties shall have a common enemy, or shall both be neutral, the vessels of war of each shall upon all occasions take under their protection the vessels of the other going the same course, and shall defend such vessels as long as

they hold the same course, against all force and violence, in the same manner as they ought to protect and defend vessels belonging to the party of which they are.

If war should arise between the two contracting parties, the merchants of either country, then residing in the other, shall be allowed to remain nine months to collect their debts and settle their affairs, and may depart freely, carrying off all their effects without molestation or hinderance.

This treaty shall be in force during the term of ten years from the exchange of ratifications.

(Signed)

F. G. DE THULEMEYER, a la Haye,  
le 10 Septembre 1785.

THO. JEFFERSON, Paris, July 28,  
1785.

B. FRANKLIN, Passy, July 9,  
1785.

JOHN ADAMS, London, August 5,  
1785.

Now know ye, that we the said United States in congress assembled, having considered and approved, do hereby ratify and confirm the said treaty. Witness the hon. Nathaniel Gotham, our chairman, in the absence of his excellency John Hancock, our president, the 7th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1786, and of our independence and sovereignty the tenth.

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*Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the King of Spain, signed at London, the 14th of July, 1786.*

**T**HE kings of England and of Spain, animated with the same desire of consolidating, by every means in their power, the friendship

friendship so happily subsisting between them and their kingdoms, and wishing, with one accord, to prevent even the shadow of misunderstanding which might be occasioned by doubts, misconceptions, or other causes of disputes between the subjects on the frontiers of the two monarchies, especially in distant countries, as are those in America, have thought proper to settle, with all possible good faith, by a new convention, the points which might one day or other be productive of such inconveniencies, as the experience of former times has very often shewn. To this end, the king of Great Britain has named the most noble and most excellent lord Francis, baron Osborn of Kiveton, marquis of Carmarthen, his Britannic majesty's privy counsellor, and principal secretary of state for the department of foreign affairs, &c. &c. &c. and the catholic king has likewise authorised Don Bernardo del Campo, knight of the noble order of Charles the Third, secretary of the same order, secretary of the supreme council of state, and his minister plenipotentiary to the king of Great Britain; who having communicated to each other their respective full powers, prepared in due form, have agreed upon the following articles.

Art. I. His Britannic majesty's subjects, and the other colonists who have hitherto enjoyed the protection of England, shall evacuate the country of the Mosquitos, as well as the continent in general, and the islands adjacent, without exception, situated beyond the line hereinafter described, as what ought to be the frontier of the extent of territory granted by his catholic majesty to the English, for the uses specified in

the third article of the present convention, and in addition to the country already granted to them in virtue of the stipulations agreed upon by the commissaries of the two crowns in 1783.

Art. II. The catholic king, to prove, on his side, to the king of Great Britain, the sincerity of his sentiments of friendship towards his said majesty and the British nation, will grant to the English more extensive limits than those specified in the last treaty of peace; and the said limits of the lands added by the present convention shall for the future be understood in the manner following.

The English line, beginning from the sea, shall take the centre of the river Sibun or Jabon, and continue up to the source of the said river; from thence it shall cross in a straight line the intermediate land, till it intersects the river Wallis; and by the centre of the same river, the said line shall descend to the point where it will meet the line already settled and marked out by the commissaries of the two crowns in 1783: which limits, following the continuation of the said line, shall be observed as formerly stipulated by the definitive treaty.

Art. III. Although no other advantages have hitherto been in question, except that of cutting wood for dyeing, yet his catholic majesty, as a greater proof of his disposition to oblige the king of Great Britain, will grant to the English the liberty of cutting all other wood, without even excepting mahogany, as well as gathering all the fruits, or produce of the earth, purely natural and uncultivated, which may, besides being carried away in their natural state, become an object of utility

lity or of commerce, whether for food or for manufactures; but it is expressly agreed, that this stipulation is never to be used as a pretext for establishing in that country any plantation of sugar, coffee, cocoa, or other like articles, or any fabric or manufacture, by means of mills or other machines whatsoever (this restriction however does not regard the use of saw mills for cutting or otherwise preparing the wood) since all the lands in question being indisputably acknowledged to belong of right to the crown of Spain, no settlements of that kind, or the population which would follow, could be allowed.

The English shall be permitted to transport and convey all such wood, and other produce of the place, in its natural and uncultivated state, down the rivers to the sea, but without ever going beyond the limits which are prescribed to them by the stipulations above granted, and without thereby taking an opportunity of ascending the said rivers beyond their bounds, into the countries belonging to Spain.

Art. IV. The English shall be permitted to occupy the small island known by the names of Casina, St. George's Key, or Cayo Casina, in consideration of the circumstance of that part of the coasts opposite to the said island being looked upon as subject to dangerous disorders; but this permission is only to be made use of for purposes of real utility: and as great abuses, no less contrary to the intentions of the British government than the essential interests of Spain, might arise from this permission, it is here stipulated, as an indispensable condition, that no fortification, or work of defence whatever, shall at any time be erected

there, nor any body of troops posted, nor any piece of artillery kept there; and in order to verify with good faith the accomplishment of this condition *sine qua non* (which might be infringed by individuals, without the knowledge of the British government) a Spanish officer or commissary, accompanied by an English commissary or officer, duly authorized, shall be admitted, twice a year, to examine into the real situation of things.

Art. V. The English nation shall enjoy the liberty of refitting their merchant ships in the southern triangle included between the Point of Cayo Casina, and the cluster of small islands which are situated opposite that part of the coast occupied by the cutters, at the distance of eight leagues from the river Wallis, seven from Cayo Casina, and three from the river Sibun, a place which has always been found well adapted to that purpose. For which end, the edifices and store-houses absolutely necessary for that service shall be allowed to be built; but in this concession is also included the express condition of not erecting fortifications there at any time, or stationing troops, or constructing any military works; and in like manner it shall not be permitted to station any ships of war there, or to construct an arsenal, or other building, the object of which might be the formation of a naval establishment.

Art. VI. It is also stipulated, that the English may freely and peaceably catch fish on the coast of the country assigned to them by the last treaty of peace, as also of that which is added to them by the present convention; but without going beyond their boundaries, and confining themselves

elves within the distance specified in the preceding article.

Art. VII. All the restrictions specified in the last treaty of 1783, for the entire preservation of the right of the Spanish sovereignty over the country, in which is granted to the English only the privilege of making use of the wood of the different kinds, the fruits and other produce, in their natural state, are here confirmed: and the same restrictions shall also be observed with respect to the new grant. In consequence, the inhabitants of those counties shall employ themselves simply in the cutting and transporting of the said wood, and in the gathering and transporting of the fruits, without meditating any more extensive settlements, or the formation of any system of government, either military or civil, further than such regulations as their Britannic and catholic majesties may hereafter judge proper to establish, for maintaining peace and good order amongst their respective subjects.

Art. VIII. As it is generally allowed that the woods and forests are preserved, and even multiply, by regular and methodical cuttings, the English shall observe this maxim, as far as possible; but if, notwithstanding all their precautions, it should happen in course of time that they were in want of dying-wood, or mahogany, with which the Spanish possessions might be provided, the Spanish government shall make no difficulty to furnish a supply to the English, at a fair and reasonable price.

Art. IX. Every possible precaution shall be observed to prevent smuggling; and the English shall take care to conform to the regulations which the Spanish govern-

ment shall think proper to establish amongst their own subjects, in all communications which they may have with the latter; on condition nevertheless that the English shall be left in the peaceable enjoyment of the several advantages inserted in their favour in the last treaty, or stipulated by the present convention.

Art. X. The Spanish governors shall be ordered to give to the said English dispersed, all possible facilities for their removal to the settlements agreed upon by the present convention, according to the stipulations of the 6th article of the definitive treaty of 1783, with respect to the country allotted for their use by the said article.

Art. XI. Their Britannic and Catholic majesties, in order to remove every kind of doubt with regard to the true construction of the present convention, think it necessary to declare, that the conditions of the said convention ought to be observed according to their sincere intention to ensure and improve the harmony and good understanding, which so happily subsist at present between their said majesties.

In this view, his Britannic majesty engages to give the most positive orders for the evacuation of the countries above mentioned, by all his subjects of whatever denomination; but if, contrary to such declaration, there should still remain any persons so daring as to presume, by retiring into the interior country, to endeavour to obstruct the entire evacuation already agreed upon, his Britannic majesty, so far from affording them the least succour, or even protection, will disavow them in the most solemn manner,

manner, as he will equally do those who may hereafter attempt to settle upon the territory belonging to the Spanish dominion.

Art. XII. The evacuation agreed upon shall be completely effected within the space of six months after the exchange of the ratifications of this convention; or sooner, if it can be done.

Art. XIII. It is agreed that the new grants described in the preceding articles, in favour of the English nation, are to take place as soon as the aforesaid evacuation shall be entirely accomplished.

Art. XIV. His catholic majesty, prompted solely by motives of humanity, promises to the king of England, that he will not exercise any act of severity against the Mosquitos, inhabiting in part the countries which are to be evacuated by virtue of the present convention, on account of the connections which may have subsisted between the said Indians and the English; and his Britannic majesty, on his part, will strictly prohibit all his subjects from furnishing arms, or warlike stores, to the Indians in general, situated upon the frontiers of the Spanish possessions.

Art. XV. The two courts shall mutually transmit to each other duplicates of the orders, which they are to dispatch to their respective governors and commanders in America, for the accomplishment of the present convention; and a frigate, or proper ship of war, shall be appointed, on each side, to observe in conjunction that all things are performed in the best order possible, and with that cordiality and good faith of which the two sovereigns have been pleased to set the example.

Art. XVI. The present conven-

tion shall be ratified by their Britannic and catholic majesties, and the ratifications exchanged, within the space of six weeks, or sooner, if it can be done.

It witnesses whereof, We, the undersigned ministers plenipotentiary of their Britannic and catholic majesties, in virtue of our respective full powers, have signed the present convention, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms. (Signed)

CARMARTHEN, &c. &c.

DON BERNARDO DEL CAMPO,  
&c. &c.

14th July, 1786.

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*Treaty of Commerce and Navigation,  
between his Britannic Majesty and  
the Most Christian King, signed at  
Versailles, the 26th of September,  
1786.*

**H**IS Britannic majesty, and his Most Christian majesty, being equally animated with the desire not only of consolidating the good harmony which actually subsists between them, but also of extending the happy effects thereof to their respective subjects, have thought that the most efficacious means for attaining those objects, conformably to the 18th article of the treaty of peace, signed the 6th of September, 1783; would be to adopt a system of commerce on the basis of reciprocity and mutual convenience, which, by discontinuing the prohibitions and prohibitory duties which have existed for almost a century between the two nations, might procure the most solid advantages, on both sides, to the national productions and industry, and put an end to contraband trade, no less injurious to the public revenue, than to that lawful commerce which is alone entitled

entitled to protection; for this end, their said majesties have named for their commissaries and plenipotentiaries, to wit, the king of Great Britain, William Eden, esq. privy counsellor in Great Britain and Ireland, member of the British parliament, and his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to his Most Christian majesty; and the Most Christian king, the Sieur Joseph Mathias Gerrard de Rayneval, knt. counsellor of state, knight of the royal order of Charles III. who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. I. It is agreed and concluded between the most serene and most potent king of Great Britain, and the most serene and most potent, the Most Christian king, that there shall be a reciprocal and entirely perfect liberty of navigation and commerce between the subjects of each party, in all and every the kingdoms, states, provinces, and territories, subject to their majesties in Europe, for all and singular kinds of goods, in those places, upon the conditions, and in such a manner and form as is settled and adjusted in the following articles:

Art. II. For the future security of commerce and friendship between the subjects of their said majesties, and to the end that this good correspondence may be preserved from all interruption and disturbance, it is concluded and agreed, that if, at any time, there should arise any misunderstanding, breach of friendship, or rupture between the crowns of their majesties, which God forbid! (which rupture shall not be deemed to exist until the recalling or sending home of the respective ambassadors and ministers) the subjects of

each of the two parties residing in the dominions of the other, shall have the privilege of remaining and continuing their trade therein, without any manner of disturbance, so long as they behave peaceably, and commit no offence against the laws and ordinances; and in case their conduct should render them suspected, and the respective governments should be obliged to order them to remove, the term of twelve months shall be allowed them for that purpose, in order that they may remove, with their effects and property, whether entrusted to individuals, or to the state. At the same time it is to be understood, that this favour is not to be extended to those who shall act contrary to the established laws.

Art. III. It is likewise agreed and concluded, that the subjects and inhabitants of the kingdoms, provinces, and dominions of their majesties, shall exercise no acts of hostility or violence against each other, either by sea or by land, or in rivers, streams, ports or havens, under any colour or pretence whatsoever; so that the subjects of either party shall receive no patent, commission, or instruction for arming and acting at sea as privateers, nor letters of reprisal, as they are called, from any princes or states, enemies to the other party; nor by virtue, or under colour of such patents, commissions, or reprisals, shall they disturb, molest, or any way prejudice or damage the aforesaid subjects and inhabitants of the king of Great Britain, or of the Most Christian king; neither shall they arm ships in such manner as is above said, or go out to sea therewith. To which end, as often as it is required by either party, strict and express prohibitions shall be renewed and published



lished in all the territories, countries, and dominions of each party wheresoever, that no one shall in any wise use such commissions or letters of reprisal, under the severest punishment that can be inflicted on the transgressors, besides being liable to make full restitution and satisfaction to those to whom they have done any damage; neither shall any letters of reprisal be hereafter granted by either of the said high contracting parties, to the prejudice or detriment of the subjects of the other, except only in such a case wherein justice is denied or delayed; which denial or delay of justice shall not be regarded as verified, unless the petitions of the person, who desires the said letters of reprisal, be communicated to the minister residing there on the part of the prince against whose subjects they are not to be granted, that within the space of four months, or sooner, if it be possible, he may manifest the contrary, or procure the satisfaction which may be justly due.

Art. IV. The subjects and inhabitants of the respective dominions of the two sovereigns shall have liberty, freely and securely, without licence or passport, general or special, by land or by sea, or any other way, to enter into the kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, islands, cities, villages, towns, walled or unwalled, fortified or unfortified, ports, or territories whatsoever, of either sovereign, situated in Europe, and to return from thence, to remain there, or to pass through the same, and therein to buy and purchase, as they please, all things necessary for their subsistence and use, and they shall mutually be treated with all kindness and favour. Provided, however, that in all these matters,

they behave and conduct themselves conformably to the laws and statutes, and live with each other in a friendly and peaceable manner, and promote a reciprocal concord by maintaining a mutual and good understanding.

Art. V. The subjects of each of their said majesties may have leave and licence to come with their ships, as also with the merchandizes and goods on board the same, the trade and importation whereof are not prohibited by the laws of either kingdom, and to enter into the countries, dominions, cities, ports, places, and rivers of either party, situated in Europe, to resort thereto, and to remain and reside there, without any limitation of time; also to hire houses, or to lodge with other persons, and to buy all lawful kinds of merchandizes, where they think fit, either from the first maker or the feller, or in any other manner, whether in the public market for the sale of merchandizes, or in fairs, or wherever such merchandizes are manufactured or sold. They may likewise deposit and keep in their magazines and warehouses the merchandizes brought from other parts, and afterwards expose the same to sale, without being in any wise obliged, unless willingly and of their own accord, to bring the said merchandizes to the marts and fairs. Neither are they to be burthened with any impositions or duties on account of the said freedom of trade, or for any other cause whatsoever, except those which are to be paid for their ships and merchandizes, conformably to the regulations of the present treaty, or those to which the subjects of the two contracting parties shall themselves be liable. And they shall have free leave to re-  
move

move themselves, as also their wives, children, and servants, together with their merchandizes, property, goods, or effects, whether bought or imported, wherever they shall think fit, out of either kingdom, by land and by sea, on the rivers and fresh waters, after discharging the usual duties; any law, privilege, grant, immunities, or customs, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. In matters of religion, the subjects of the two crowns shall enjoy perfect liberty: They shall not be compelled to attend divine service, whether in the churches or elsewhere; but, on the contrary, they shall be permitted, without any molestation, to perform the exercises of their religion privately in their own houses, and in their own way. Liberty shall not be refused to bury the subjects of either kingdom who die in the territories of the other, in convenient places to be appointed for that purpose: nor shall the funerals or sepulchres of the deceased be in any wise disturbed. The laws and statutes of each kingdom shall remain in full force and vigour, and shall be duly put in execution, whether they relate to commerce and navigation, or to any other right, those cases only excepted, concerning which it is otherwise determined in the articles of this present treaty.

Art. VI. The two high contracting parties have thought proper to settle the duties on certain goods and merchandizes, in order to fix invariably the footing on which the trade therein shall be established between the two nations. In consequence of which they have agreed upon the following tariff, viz.

1st. The wines of France, imported directly from France into

Great Britain, shall, in no case, pay any higher duties than those which the wines of Portugal now pay.

The wines of France, imported directly from France into Ireland, shall pay no higher duties than those which they now pay.

2d. The vinegars of France, instead of sixty-seven pounds five shillings and three pence and twelve twentieths of a penny sterling, per ton, which they now pay, shall not for the future pay, in Great Britain, any higher duties than thirty-two pounds eighteen shillings and ten pence and sixteen twentieths of a penny sterling, per ton.

3d. The brandies of France, instead of nine shillings and six pence and twelve twentieths of a penny sterling, shall for the future pay, in Great Britain, only seven shillings sterling per gallon, making four quarts, English measure.

4th. Oil of olives, coming directly from France, shall, for the future, pay no higher duties than are now paid for the same from the most favoured nations.

5th. Beer shall pay reciprocally a duty of thirty per cent. ad valorem.

6th. The duties on hardware, cutlery, cabinet ware, and turnery, and also all works, both heavy and light, of iron, steel, copper, and brass, shall be classed; and the highest duty shall not exceed ten per cent. ad valorem.

7th. All sorts of cottons manufactured in the dominions of the two sovereigns in Europe, and also woolsens, whether knit or wove, including hosiery, shall pay, in both countries, an import duty of twelve per cent. ad valorem; all manufactures of

of cotton or wool, mixed with silk excepted, which shall remain prohibited on both sides.

8th. Cambricks and lawns shall pay, in both countries, an import duty of five shillings, or six livres Tournois, per demi piece of seven yards and three quarters, English measure; and linens, made of flax or hemp, manufactured in the dominions of the two sovereigns in Europe, shall pay no higher duties, either in Great Britain or France, than linens manufactured in Holland or Flanders, imported into Great Britain, now pay.

And linen made of flax or hemp, manufactured in Ireland or France, shall reciprocally pay no higher duties than linens manufactured in Holland, imported into Ireland, now pay.

9th. Sadlery shall reciprocally pay an import duty of fifteen per cent. ad valorem.

10th. Gauzes of all sorts shall reciprocally pay ten per cent. ad valorem.

11th. Millinery made up of muslin, lawn, cambrick, or gauze of every kind, or of any other article admitted under the present tariff, shall pay reciprocally a duty of twelve per cent. ad valorem: and if any articles shall be used therein, which are not specified in the tariff, they shall pay no higher duties than those paid for the same articles by the most favoured nations.

12th. Porcelain, earthen-ware, and pottery, shall pay reciprocally twelve per cent. ad valorem.

13th. Plate-glass and glass-ware in general shall be admitted, on each side, paying a duty of twelve per cent. ad valorem.

His Britannic majesty reserves the right of countervailing, by additional

duties on the undermentioned merchandizes, the internal duties actually imposed upon the manufactures, or the import duties which are charged on the raw materials; namely, on all linens or cottons, stained or printed, on beer, glass-ware, plate-glass, and iron.

And his Most Christian majesty also reserves the right of doing the same, with regard to the following merchandizes; namely, cottons, iron, and beer.

And for the better securing the due collection of the duties payable ad valorem, which are specified in the above tariff, the said contracting parties will concert with each other as well the form of the declarations to be made, as also the proper means of preventing fraud with respect to the real value of the said goods and merchandizes.

But if it shall hereafter appear, that any mistakes have inadvertently been made in the above tariff, contrary to the principles on which it is founded, the two sovereigns will concert with good faith upon the means of rectifying them.

Art. VII. The duties above specified are not to be altered but by mutual consent; and the merchandizes not above specified shall pay, in the dominions of the two sovereigns, the import and export duties payable in each of the said dominions by the most favoured European nations, at the time the present treaty bears date; and the ships belonging to the subjects of the said dominions shall also respectively enjoy therein all the privileges and advantages which are granted to those of the most favoured European nations.

And it being the intention of the two high contracting parties, that their

their respective subjects should be in the dominions of each other upon a footing as advantageous as those of other European nations, they agree, that in case they shall hereafter grant any additional advantages in navigation or trade to any other European nations, they will reciprocally allow their said subjects to participate therein; without prejudice, however, to the advantages which they reserve, viz. France in favour of Spain, in consequence of the 24th article of the family compact, signed the 10th of May, 1761, and England according to what she has practised in conformity to, and in consequence of the convention of 1703, between England and Portugal.

And to the end that every person may know, with certainty, the state of the aforesaid imposts, customs, import and export duties, whatever they may be, it is agreed, that tariffs, indicating the imposts, customs, and established duties, shall be affixed in public places, as well in Rouën and the other trading cities of France, as in London and the other trading cities under the dominion of the king of Great Britain, that recourse may be had to them whenever any difference shall arise concerning such imposts, customs, and duties, which shall not be levelled otherwise than in conformity to what is clearly expressed in the said tariffs, and according to their natural construction. And if any officer, or other person in his name, shall, under any pretence, publicly or privately, directly or indirectly, demand or take of a merchant, or of any other person, any sum of money, or any thing else, on account of duties, impost, search, or compensation, although

it be under the name of a free gift, or under any other pretence, more or otherwise than what is above prescribed; in such case the said officer, or his deputy, if he be accused and convicted of the same before a competent judge, in the place where the crime was committed, shall give full satisfaction to the injured party, and shall likewise suffer the penalty prescribed by the laws.

Art. VIII. No merchandize exported from the countries respectively under the dominion of their majesties, shall hereafter be subject to be inspected or confiscated, under any pretence of fraud or defect in making or working them, or of any other imperfection whatsoever; but absolute freedom shall be allowed to the buyer and seller to bargain and fix the price for the same, as they shall see good; any law, statute, edict, proclamation, privilege, grant, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

Art. IX. Whereas several kinds of merchandizes, which are usually contained in casks, chests, or other cases, and for which the duties are paid by weight, will be exported from and imported into France by British subjects; it is agreed, that in such case, the aforesaid duties shall be demanded only according to the real weight of the merchandizes; and the weight of the casks, chests, and other cases whatever, shall be deducted, in the same manner as has been, and is now practised in England.

Art. X. It is further agreed, that if any mistake or error shall be committed by any master of a ship, his interpreter or factor, or by any other employed by him, in making the entry or declaration of her cargo, neither the ship nor the cargo shall

shall be subject, for such defect, to confiscation; but it shall be lawful for proprietors to take back again such goods as were omitted in the entry or declaration of the master of the ship, paying only the accustomed duties according to the placart, provided always that there be no manifest appearance of fraud: neither shall the merchants or the masters of ships, or the merchandize, be subject to any penalty, by reason of such omission, in case the goods omitted in the declaration shall not have been landed before the declaration has been made.

Art. XI. In case either of the two high contracting parties shall think proper to establish prohibitions, or to augment the import duties upon any goods or merchandize of the growth or manufacture of the other, which are not specified in the tariff, such prohibitions or augmentations shall be general, and shall comprehend the like goods and merchandizes of the other most favoured European nations, as well as those of either state; and in case either of the two contracting parties shall revoke the prohibitions, or diminish the duties in favour of any other European nation, upon any goods or merchandize of its growth or manufacture, whether on importation or exportation, such revocations or diminutions shall be extended to the subjects of the other party, on condition that the latter shall grant to the subjects of the former the importation and exportation of the like goods and merchandizes under the same duties; the cases reserved in the VIIth article of the present treaty always excepted.

Art. XII. And so far as a certain usage, not authorized by any law, has formerly obtained in divers

parts of Great Britain and France, by which French subjects have paid in England a kind of capitation tax, called in the language of that country, head-money; and English subjects a like duty in France, called *argent du chef*; it is agreed that the said impost shall not be demanded for the future, on either side, neither under the ancient name, nor under any other name whatsoever.

Art. XIII. If either of the high contracting parties has granted, or shall grant, any bounties for encouraging the exportation of any articles, being of the growth, produce, or manufacture of his dominions, the other party shall be allowed to add to the duties already imposed, by virtue of the present treaty, on the said goods and merchandizes imported into his dominions, such an import duty as shall be equivalent to the said bounty. But this stipulation is not to extend to the cases of restitutions of duties and imposts (called drawbacks), which are allowed upon exportation.

Art. XIV. The advantages granted by the present treaty to the subjects of his Britannic majesty shall take effect, as far as relates to the kingdom of Great Britain, as soon as laws shall be passed there for securing to the subjects of his Most Christian majesty the reciprocal enjoyment of the advantages which are granted to them by the present treaty.

And the advantages granted by all these articles, except the tariff, shall take effect, with regard to the kingdom of Ireland, as soon as laws shall be passed there for securing to the subjects of his Most Christian majesty the reciprocal enjoyment of the advantages which are granted

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to them by this treaty; and, in like manner, the advantages granted by the tariff shall take effect, in what relates to the said kingdom, as soon as laws shall be passed there for giving effect to the said tariff.

Art. XV. It is agreed, that ships belonging to his Britannic majesty's subjects, arriving in the dominions of his Most Christian majesty, from the port of Great Britain or Ireland, or from any other foreign port, shall not pay freight duty or any other like duty. In the same manner, French ships shall be exempted in the dominions of his Britannic majesty, from the duty of five shillings, and from every other similar duty or charge.

Art. XVI. It shall not be lawful for any foreign privateers, not being subjects of either crown, who have commissions from any other prince or state, in enmity with either nation, to arm their ships in the ports of either of the said two kingdoms, to sell what they have taken, or in any other manner whatever to exchange the same; neither shall they be allowed even to purchase victuals, except such as shall be necessary for their going to the nearest port of that prince from whom they have obtained commissions.

Art. XVII. When any dispute shall arise between any commander of a ship and his seamen, in the ports of either kingdom, concerning wages due to the said seamen, or other civil causes whatever, the magistrate of the place shall require no more from the person accused, than that he give to the accuser a declaration in writing, witnessed by the magistrate, whereby he shall be bound to answer that matter before a competent judge in his own country; which being done, it shall not

be lawful for the seamen to desert their ship, or to hinder the commander from prosecuting his voyage. It shall moreover be lawful for the merchants in the places of their abode, or elsewhere, to keep books of their accounts and affairs, as they shall see fit, and to have an intercourse of letters, in such language or idiom as they shall chuse, without any molestation or search whatsoever. But if it should happen to be necessary for them to produce their books of accounts for deciding any dispute or controversy, in such case they shall be obliged to bring into court the entire books or writings, but so as the judge may not have liberty to take cognizance of any other articles in the said books than such as shall relate to the affair in question, or such as shall be necessary to give credit to the said books; neither shall it be lawful, under any pretence, to take the said books or writings forcibly out of the hands of the owners, or to retain them, the case of bankruptcy only excepted. Nor shall the subjects of the king of Great Britain be obliged to write their accounts, letters, or other instruments relating to trade, on stamped paper, except their day-book, which, that it may be produced as evidence in any law-suit, ought, according to the laws which all persons trading in France are to observe, to be indorsed and attested gratis by the judge, under his own hand.

Art. XVIII. It is further agreed and concluded, that all merchants, commanders of ships, and others, the subjects of the king of Great Britain, in all the dominions of his most Christian majesty in Europe, shall have full liberty to manage their

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their

their own affairs themselves, or to commit them to the management of whomsoever they please; nor shall they be obliged to employ any interpreter or broker, nor to pay them any salary, unless they shall chuse to employ them. Moreover, masters of ships shall not be obliged, in loading or unloading their ships, to make use of those persons who may be appointed by public authority for that purpose, either at Bourdeaux or, elsewhere; but it shall be entirely free for them to load or unload their ships by themselves, or to make use of such person or persons in loading or unloading the same, as they shall think fit, without the payment of any reward to any other whomsoever; neither shall they be forced to unload into other ships, or to receive into their own, any merchandize whatever, or to wait for their lading any longer than they please. And all the subjects of the Most Christian king shall reciprocally have and enjoy the same privileges and liberties, in all the dominions of his Britannic majesty in Europe.

Art. XIX. The ships of either party being laden, sailing along the coasts of the other, and being forced by storm into the havens or ports, or making land there in any other manner whatever, shall not be obliged to unlade their goods, or any part thereof, or to pay any duty, unless they, of their own accord, unlade their goods there, and sell some part thereof. But it shall be a privilege, when such a permission having been first granted by the king, to those who have the command of maritime affairs, to unload a small part of their goods, only for the end of purchasing necessaries, either for victuals or refitting the ship; and

in that case the whole lading shall not be subject to pay the duties, but that small part only which shall have been taken out and sold.

Art. XX. It shall be lawful for all the subjects of the king of Great Britain, and of the Most Christian king, to sail with their ships, with perfect security and liberty, no distinction being made who are the proprietors of the merchandizes laden thereon, from any port whatever, to the countries which are now, or shall be hereafter at war with the king of Great Britain, or the Most Christian king. It shall likewise be lawful for the aforesaid subjects to sail and traffic with their ships and merchandizes, with the same liberty and security, from the countries, ports, and places of those who are enemies of both, or of either party, without any opposition or disturbance whatsoever, and to pass directly not only from the places of the enemy afore-mentioned to neutral places, but also from one place belonging to an enemy to another place belonging to an enemy, whether they be under the jurisdiction of the same, or of several princes. And as it has been stipulated concerning ships and goods, that every thing shall be deemed free, which shall be found on board the ships belonging to the subjects of the respective kingdoms, although the whole lading, or part thereof, should belong to the enemies of their majesties, contraband goods being always excepted, on the stopping of which such proceedings shall be had as are conformable to the spirit of the following articles; it is likewise agreed, that the same liberty be extended to persons who are on board a free ship, to the end that, although

though they be enemies to both, or to either party, they may not be taken out of such free ships, unless they are soldiers, actually in the service of the enemies, and on their voyage for the purpose of being employed in a military capacity, in their fleets or armies.

Art. XXI. This liberty of navigation and commerce shall extend to all kinds of merchandizes, excepting those only which are specified in the following article, and which are described under the name of contraband.

Art. XXII. Under this name of contraband, or prohibited goods, shall be comprehended arms, cannon, arquebusses, mortars, petards, bombs, grenades, saucisses, carcasses, carriages for cannon, musket-rests, bandoleers, gunpowder, match, saltpetre, ball, pikes, swords, head-pieces, helmets, cutlasses, halberds, javelins, holsters, belts, horses and harness, and all other like kinds of arms and warlike implements fit for the use of troops.

Art. XXIII. These merchandizes which follow shall not be reckoned among contraband goods, that is to say; all sorts of cloth, and all other manufactures of wool, flax, silk, cotton, or any other materials, all kinds of wearing apparel, together with the articles of which they are usually made, gold, silver, coined or uncoined, tin, iron, lead, copper, brass, coals, as also wheat and barley, and any other kind of corn and pulse, tobacco, and all kinds of spices, salted and smoked flesh, salted fish, cheese and butter, beer, oil, wines, sugar, all sorts of salt, and of provisions which serve for sustenance and food to mankind; also all kinds of cotton, cordage, cables, sails, sailcloth, hemp, tallow, pitch,

tar, and rosin, anchors and any parts of anchors, ships masts, planks, timber of all kinds of trees, and all other things proper either for building or repairing ships. Nor shall any other goods whatever, which have not been worked into the form of any instrument, or furniture for warlike use, by land or by sea, be reputed contraband, much less such as have been already wrought and made up for any other purpose. All which things shall be deemed goods not contraband, as likewise all others which are not comprehended and particularly described in the preceding article; so that they may be freely carried by the subjects of both kingdoms, even to places belonging to an enemy, excepting only such places as are besieged, blocked up, or invested.

Art. XXIV. To the end that all manner of dissensions and quarrels may be avoided and prevented on both sides, it is agreed, that in case either of their majesties should be engaged in a war, the ships and vessels belonging to the subjects of the other shall be furnished with sea-letters or passports, expressing the name, property, and bulk of the ship, as also the name and place of abode of the master or commander of the said ship, that it may appear thereby that the ship really and truly belongs to the subjects of one of the princes; with passports shall be made out and granted, according to the form annexed to the present treaty: they shall likewise be renewed every year, if the ship happens to return home within the space of a year. It is also agreed, that such ships when laden are to be provided not only with passports as above mentioned, but also with certificates containing the several particu-



ticulars of the cargo, the place from whence the ship sailed, and whither she is bound, so that it may be known whether she carries any of the prohibited or contraband goods specified in the XXIIId article of this treaty; which certificates shall be prepared by the officers of the place from whence the ship set sail, in the accustomed form. And if any one shall think fit to express in the said certificates the person to whom the goods belong, he may freely do so.

Art. XXV. The ships belonging to the subjects and inhabitants of the respective kingdoms, coming to any of the coasts of either of them, but without being willing to enter into port, or being entered, yet not willing to land their cargoes, or break bulk, shall not be obliged to give an account of their landing, unless they are suspected, upon sure evidence, of carrying prohibited goods, called contraband, to the enemies of either of the two high contracting parties.

Art. XXVI. In case the ships belonging to the said subjects and inhabitants of the respective dominions of their most serene majesties, either on the coast or on the high seas, shall meet with any men of war belonging to their most serene majesties, or with privateers, the said men of war and privateers, for preventing any inconveniences, are to remain out of cannon-shot, and to send their boats to the merchant-ship which may be met with, and shall enter her to the number of two or three men only, to whom the master or commander of such ship or vessel shall shew his passport, containing the proof of the property of the ship, made out according to the form annexed to this pre-

sent treaty; and the ship which shall have exhibited the same shall have liberty to continue her voyage, and it shall be wholly unlawful any way to molest or search her, or to chase or compel her to alter her course.

Art. XXVII. The merchant-ships belonging to the subjects of either of the two high contracting parties, which intend to go to a port at enmity with the other sovereign, concerning whose voyage and the sort of goods on board there may be just cause of suspicion, shall be obliged to exhibit, as well on the high seas as in the ports and havens, not only her passports, but also her certificates, expressing that the goods are not of the kind which are contraband, as specified in the XXIIId article of this treaty.

Art. XXVIII. If, on exhibiting the above-mentioned certificates, containing a list of the cargo, the other party should discover any goods of that kind which are declared contraband, or prohibited by the XXIIId article of this treaty, and which are designed for a port subject to his enemies, it shall be unlawful to break up or open the hatches, chests, casks, bales, or other vessels found on board such ship, or to remove even the smallest parcel of the goods, whether the said ship belongs to the subjects of the king of Great Britain, or of the Most Christian king, unless the landing be brought on shore, in the presence of the officers of the court of admiralty, and an inventory made by them of the said goods: nor shall it be lawful to sell, exchange, or alienate the same in any manner, unless after due and lawful process shall have been had against such prohibited goods, and the judges of the admiralty

admiralty respectively shall, by sentence pronounced, have confiscated the same; saving always as well the ship itself, as the other goods found therein, which by this treaty are to be accounted free: neither may they be detained on pretence of their being mixed with prohibited goods, much less shall they be confiscated as lawful prize: and if, when only part of the cargo shall consist of contraband goods, the master of the ship shall agree, consent, and offer to deliver them to the captor who has discovered them, in such case, the captor having received those goods as lawful prize, shall forthwith release the ship, and not hinder her, by any means, from prosecuting her voyage to the place of her destination.

Art. XXIX. On the contrary it is agreed, that whatever shall be found to be laden by the subjects and inhabitants of either party, on any ship belonging to the enemies of the other, although it be not contraband goods, shall be confiscated in the same manner as if it belonged to the enemy himself; except those goods and merchandizes which were put on board such ship before the declaration of war, or the general order for reprisals, or even after such declaration, if it were done within the times following; that is to say, if they were put on board such ship in any port or place within the space of two months after such declaration or order for reprisals, between Archangel, St. Petersburg, and the Scilly islands, and between the said islands and the city of Gibraltar; of ten weeks in the Mediterranean sea; and of eight months in any other country or place in the world; so that the goods of the subjects of either prince, whether they

be contraband, or otherwise, which, as aforesaid, were put on board any ship belonging to an enemy before the war, or after the declaration of the same, within the time and limits above-mentioned, shall no ways be liable to confiscation, But shall well and truly be restored, without delay, to the proprietors demanding the same; provided nevertheless, that if the said merchandizes be contraband, it shall not be any ways lawful to carry them afterwards to the ports belonging to the enemy.

Art. XXX. And that more abundant care may be taken for the security of the respective subjects of their most serene majesties, to prevent their suffering any injury by the men of war or privateers of either party, all the commanders of the ships of the king of Great Britain, and of the Most Christian king, and all their subjects, shall be forbid doing any damage to those of the other party, or committing any outrage against them; and if they act to the contrary they shall be punished, and shall moreover be bound, in their persons and estates, to make satisfaction and reparation for all damages, and the interest thereof, of what nature soever.

Art. XXXI. For this cause, all commanders of privateers, before they receive their patents or special commissions, shall hereafter be obliged to give, before a competent judge, sufficient security by good bail, who are responsible men, and have no interest in the said ship, each of whom shall be bound in the whole for the sum of thirty-six thousand livres Tournois, or fifteen hundred pounds sterling; or if such ship be provided with above one hundred and fifty seamen or soldiers,

for the sum of seventy-two thousand livres Tournois, or three thousand pounds sterling, that they will make entire satisfaction for all damages and injuries whatsoever, which they, or their officers, or others in their service, may commit during their cruize, contrary to the tenor of this present treaty, or the edicts made in consequence thereof by their most serene majesties, under penalty likewise of having their patents and special commissions revoked and annulled.

Art. XXXII. Their said majesties being willing mutually to treat in their dominions the subjects of each other as favourably as if they were their own subjects, will give such orders as shall be necessary and effectual, that the judgments and decrees concerning prizes in the courts of admiralty be given conformably to the rules of justice and equity, and to the stipulations of this treaty, by judges who are above all suspicion, and who have no manner of interest in the cause in dispute.

Art. XXXIII. And when the quality of the ship, goods, and master, shall sufficiently appear, from such passports and certificates, it shall not be lawful for the commanders of men of war to exact any further proof under any pretext whatsoever. But if any merchant-ship shall not be provided with such passports or certificates, then it may be examined by a proper judge, but in such manner as, if it shall be found, from other proofs and documents, that it truly belongs to the subjects of one of the sovereigns, and does not contain any contraband goods, designed to be carried to the enemy of the other, it shall not be liable to confiscation, but

shall be released, together with its cargo, in order to proceed on its voyage.

If the master of the ship named in the passports should happen to die, or be removed by any other cause, and another put in his place, the ships and goods laden thereon shall nevertheless be equally secure, and the passports shall remain in full force.

Art. XXXIV. It is further provided and agreed, that the ships of either of the two nations, retaken by the privateers of the other, shall be restored to the former owner, if they have not been in the power of the enemy for the space of four and twenty hours, subject to the payment, by the said owner, of one third of the value of the ship retaken, and of its cargo, guns, and apparel; which third part shall be amicably adjusted by the parties concerned: but if not, and in case they should disagree, they shall make application to the officers of the admiralty of the place where the privateer which retook the captured vessel shall have carried her.

If the ship retaken has been in the power of the enemy above four and twenty hours, she shall wholly belong to the privateer which retook her.

In case of a ship being retaken by any man of war belonging to his Britannic majesty, or to his Most Christian Majesty, it shall be restored to the former owner, on payment of the thirtieth part of the value of such ship, and of its cargo, guns, and apparel, if it was retaken within the four and twenty hours, and the tenth part if it was retaken after the four and twenty hours; which sums shall be distributed, as a reward, amongst the crews of the ships

ships which shall have retaken such prize. The valuation of the thirtieth and tenth parts above mentioned shall be settled conformably to the regulations in the beginning of this article.

Art. XXXV. Whensoever the ambassadors of either of their said majesties, or other their ministers having a public character, and residing at the court of the other prince, shall complain of the injustice of the sentences which have been given, their majesties shall respectively cause the same to be revised and re-examined in their councils, unless their councils should already have decided thereupon, that it may appear, with certainty, whether the directions and provisions prescribed in this treaty have been followed and observed. Their majesties shall likewise take care that this matter be effectually provided for, and that justice be done to every complainant within the space of three months. However, before or after judgment given, and pending the revision thereof, it shall not be lawful to sell the goods in dispute, or to unlade them, unless with the consent of the persons concerned, for preventing any kind of loss; and laws shall be enacted on both sides for the execution of the present article.

Art. XXXVI. If any differences shall arise respecting the legality of prizes, so that a judicial decision should become necessary, the judge shall direct the effects to be unladen, an inventory and appraisement to be made thereof, and security to be required respectively from the captor for paying the costs, in case the ship should not be declared lawful prize; and from the claimant for paying the value of the prize, in

case it should be declared lawful; which securities being given by both parties, the prize shall be delivered up to the claimant. But if the claimant should refuse to give sufficient security, the judge shall direct the prize to be delivered to the captor, after having received from him good and sufficient security for paying the full value of the said prize, in case it should be adjudged illegal. Nor shall the execution of the sentence of the judge be suspended by reason of any appeal, when the party against whom such appeal shall be brought, whether claimant or captor, shall have given sufficient security for restoring the ship or effects, or the value of such ship or effects, to the appellant, in case judgment should be given in his favour.

Art. XXXVII. In case any ships of war or merchantmen, forced by storms or other accidents, be driven on rocks or shelves, on the coasts of either of the high contracting parties, and should there be dashed to pieces and shipwrecked, all such parts of the said ships, or of the furniture or apparel thereof, as also of the goods and merchandizes as shall be saved, or the produce thereof, shall be faithfully restored, upon the same being claimed by the proprietors, or their factors, duly authorized, paying only the expences incurred in the preservation thereof, according to the rate of salvage settled on both sides; saving at the same time the rights and customs of each nation, the abolition or modification of which shall however be treated upon, in the cases where they shall be contrary to the stipulations of the present article; and their majesties will mutually interpose their authority, that such of their sub-

jects, as shall be so inhuman as to take advantage of any such misfortune, may be severely punished.

Art. XXXVIII. It shall be free for the subjects of each party to employ such advocates, attornies, notaries, solicitors, and factors, as they shall think fit; to which end the said advocates and others above mentioned, shall be appointed by the ordinary judges, if it be needful, and the judges be thereunto required.

Art. XXXIX. And for the greater security and liberty of commerce and navigation, it is further agreed, that both the king of Great Britain, and the Most Christian king, shall not only refuse to receive any pirates or sea-rovers whatsoever into any of their havens, ports, cities, or towns, or permit any of their subjects, citizens, or inhabitants, on either part, to receive or protect them in their ports, to harbour them in their houses, or to assist them in any manner whatsoever; but further they shall cause all such pirates and sea-rovers, and all persons who shall receive, conceal, or assist them, to be brought to condign punishment, for a terror and example to others. And all their ships, with the goods or merchandizes taken by them, and brought into the ports of either kingdom, shall be seized as far as they can be discovered, and shall be restored to the owners, or their factors duly authorized or deputed by them in writing, proper evidence being first given, in the court of admiralty, for proving the property, even in case such effects should have passed into other hands by sale, if it be proved that the buyers knew, or might have known, that they had been piratically taken. And generally all ships

and merchandizes, of what nature soever, which may be taken on the high seas, shall be brought into some port of either kingdom, and delivered into the custody of the officers of that port, that they may be restored entire to the true proprietor, as soon as due and sufficient proof shall have been made concerning the property thereof.

Art. XL. It shall be lawful, as well for the ships of war of their majesties, as for privateers belonging to their subjects, to carry whithersoever they please the ships and goods taken from their enemies, without being obliged to pay any fee to the officers of the admiralty, or to any judges whatever; nor shall the said prizes, when they arrive at and enter the ports of their said majesties, be detained or seized; neither shall the searchers, or other officers of those places, visit or take cognizance of the validity of such prizes; but they shall be at liberty to hoist sail at any time, to depart, and to carry their prizes to the place mentioned in the commissions or patents, which the commanders of such ships of war shall be obliged to shew: on the contrary, no shelter or refuge shall be given in their ports to such as have made prize upon the subjects of either of their majesties; but if forced by stress of weather, or the dangers of the sea, to enter therein, particular care shall be taken to hasten their departure, and to cause them to retire from thence as soon as possible, as far as it is not repugnant to former treaties made in this respect with other sovereigns or states.

Art. XLI. Neither of their said majesties shall permit the ships or goods belonging to the subjects of the other to be taken within cannon-shot

shot of the coast, or in the ports or rivers of their dominions, by ships of war, or others having commission from any prince, republic, or city, whatsoever: but in case it should so happen, both parties shall employ their united force to obtain reparation of the damage thereby occasioned.

Art. XLII. But if it shall appear that the captor made use of any kind of torture upon the master of the ship, the crew, or others who shall be on board any ship belonging to the subjects of the other party, in such case, not only the ship itself, together with the persons, merchandizes, and goods whatsoever, shall be forthwith released, without any delay, and set entirely free, but also such as shall be convicted of so enormous a crime, together with their accomplices, shall suffer the most severe punishment suitable to their offences: this the king of Great Britain and the Most Christian king mutually engage shall be observed, without any respect of persons whatsoever.

Art. XLIII. Their majesties shall respectively be at liberty, for the advantage of their subjects trading to the kingdoms and dominions of either of them, to appoint therein national consuls, who shall enjoy the right, immunity, and liberty belonging to them, by reason of their duties and their functions: and places shall hereafter be agreed upon where the said consuls shall be established, as well as the nature and extent of their functions. The convention relative to this point shall be concluded immediately after the signature of the present treaty, of which it shall be deemed to constitute a part.

Art. XLIV. It is also agreed, that in whatever relates to the lading and unlading of ships, the safety of merchandize, goods, and effects, the succession to personal estates, as well as the protection of individuals, and their personal liberty, as also the administration of justice, the subjects of the two high contracting parties shall enjoy in their respective dominions the same privileges, liberties, and rights, as the most favoured nation.

Art. XLV. If hereafter it shall happen, through inadvertency or otherwise, that any infractions or contraventions of the present treaty should be committed on either side, the friendship and good understanding shall not immediately thereupon be interrupted; but this treaty shall subsist in all its force; and proper remedies shall be procured for removing the inconveniences, as likewise for the reparation of the contraventions: and if the subjects of either kingdom shall be found guilty thereof, they only shall be punished and severely chastised.

Art. XLVI. His Britannic majesty and his Most Christian majesty have reserved the right of revising and re-examining the several stipulations of this treaty, after the term of twelve years, to be computed from the day of passing laws for its execution in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, to propose and make such alterations as the times and circumstances may have rendered proper or necessary for the commercial interests of their respective subjects: and this revision is to be completed in the space of twelve months; after which term the present treaty shall be of no effect, but in that event the good harmony and friendly

friendly correspondence between the two nations shall not suffer the least diminution.

Art. XLVII. The present treaty shall be ratified and confirmed by his Britannic majesty and by his Most Christian majesty, in two months, or sooner, if it can be done, after the exchange of signatures between the plenipotentiaries.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned commissaries and plenipotentiaries of the king of Great Britain and the Most Christian king, have signed the present treaty with our hands, and have set thereto the seals of our arms.

Done at Versailles, the 26th of September, 1786.

WM. EDEN. (L. S.)

GERARD DE RAYNEVAL. (L. S.)

*Form of the Passports and Sea-letters which are to be granted by the respective Admiralties of the Dominions of the two high contracting Parties to the Ships and Vessels sailing from thence, pursuant to the 24th article of the present treaty.*

N. N. To all who shall see these presents, greeting. Be it known that we have granted licence and permission to N. of the city (or place) of N. master or commander of the ship N. belonging to N. of the port of N. burthen

tons, or thereabouts, now lying in the port or haven of N. to sail to N. laden with N. the ship having been examined before her departure, in the usual manner, by the officers of the place appointed for that purpose. And the said N. or such other person as shall happen to succeed him, shall produce this licence in every port or haven which

he may enter with his ship, to the officers of the place, and shall give a true account to them of what shall have passed or happened during his voyage; and he shall carry the colours, arms, and ensigns of N. during his voyage.

In witness whereof, we have signed these presents, and set the seal of our arms thereto, and caused the same to be countersigned by N. at  
day of  
in the year, &c. &c.

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*The Prince of Orange's Letter to the States of the Province of Holland, sent September 26, 1786, in answer to their Notification of his Suspension from the Office of Captain General.*

Noble, great, and mighty lords, and particularly good friends.

IT is with the utmost concern we have seen by the letter and resolution of your noble and great mightinesses, dated the 22d instant, that you are pleased to persist provisionally, and without prejudice to the further deliberations of your noble and great mightinesses, in the various orders issued out concerning the troops of that state, by which they have been relieved, till further orders, from that part of the oath which bound them to our obedience as captain-general of Holland and West Friesland, but which orders your noble and great mightinesses did not think proper to impart to us in our aforesaid quality, whilst you suspend provisionally the effect of your resolution of the 8th of March, 1766, which

invested us as captain-general of your province by especial delegation, with power to dispose of all military employments, from the ensign to the colonel inclusively, serving in the militia or troops within your jurisdiction.

We cannot but be sensibly hurt at the aforesaid resolution, since its effect is to deprive us of a right which has been allowed and secured to us by the unanimous vote of all the members of the state, by appointing us captain-general hereditary of Holland and West Friesland. We might here claim the immediate effect of such a resolution, which as it had been entered into *nem. con.* cannot, supposing it to be revocable, be cancelled, or even suspended, without the like unanimity. But what goes still nearer to our heart, and on which we cannot remain silent, is the motives you are pleased to adduce in support of your last resolution, namely, that it has been taken with a view to obviate our influence as captain-general over the said troops, and the manner of directing them, which is incompatible with the safety of your province, and the measures adopted to secure it.

We might, without failing in what we owe to your noble and great mightinesses, and in as earnest a manner as befits a matter of such high importance, that concerns our honour and good name, request you would be pleased to communicate to us the reasons of the mistrust your noble and great mightinesses entertain of our influence and direction of the provincial troops, and then you would find that we have it sufficiently in our power to convince your noble and great mightinesses how groundless

are both your apprehensions and the malicious hints thrown out by certain persons, ill-disposed towards the country and ourselves. But we are perfectly easy and secured that nothing can be alledged with truth against us, by which we should have deserved to forfeit the confidence of your noble and great mightinesses. And we can vouch before God, yourselves, all the citizens of the Netherlands, nay, and before all the world, that in this regard our conscience is perfectly irreproachable. Under pleasure of your noble and great mightinesses, we cannot but declare, since our honour, dearer to us than life, stands impeached, that we cannot remain under such a blame and stigma, resulting from the tokens of distrust given us by your noble and great mightinesses, and especially by your recent resolution; and it is a duty we owe to the race from whence we spring, to the royal house to which we have the honour to be allied, to their high mightinesses, to the respective provinces to whose service we are bound by the employments we hold by hereditary right, and to ourselves, in fine, to clear ourselves from such an aspersion; that, conscious of our innocence, from any failure of our plighted faith to your noble and great mightinesses, as well as to the provinces of Holland and West Friesland, by the oath taken by us as stadtholder, governor, captain-general, and hereditary admiral of your province, when we undertook to act in those capacities; we are justified in supposing that nothing positive hath been laid to our charge, and that all the steps taken against us are merely the result of some members of your assembly having too readily lent an ear to the reports  
of



of persons unworthy of their confidence, and whose sole aim is to abridge our lawful prerogatives, and those of our house, granted by your noble and great mightinesses, and enjoyed by the stadtholders and captain-generals our predecessors, or even to bring about a total alteration in the lawful and established constitution of those countries, entirely abolish the stadtholdership, or so contrive it, that the above dignity should become completely useless to our dear country, and its good citizens. Mean while we reserve to ourselves the choice of such further measures for our justification as to us may seem best.

Here we might conclude, did we not think it necessary to protest once more, that we never have done, or even attempted any thing that we justly might look upon as derogatory to the real concerns of the United Provinces in general, or in particular to the states of Holland and West Friesland; and that we desire nothing better than to be put to the test of giving effectual proofs of the true love we bear to the country, having nothing more at heart than the prosperity of the United Provinces, and especially, that of the province under the jurisdiction of your noble and great mightinesses, wherein we were born and brought up; and that our first and warmest wish is, to become, in the hands of the Almighty, a fit instrument to contribute to the welfare of the country.

Wherefore, &c.

(Signed)

WILLIAM, Prince of Orange.

*of Prussia's Letter to the  
General of the United Pro-  
vinces, delivered on the 18th of*

*September, 1786, by the Count de Goertz, his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary.*

**W**E, Frederick William, by the grace of God, king of Prussia, marquis of Brandenburg, &c. &c. to their high mightinesses the States of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, with offers of friendship, and every good thing in our power.

High and mighty Lords, particular good friends, and neighbours.

As it has pleased Providence to call to himself our much honoured and loved uncle Frederic the Third, late king of Prussia, by which we succeeded to the government of the estates which he left, we have thought proper to send to your high mightinesses, in quality of envoy extraordinary, our minister of state and grand-master of the wardrobe, the comte de Goertz, to give your high mightinesses a proof of our esteem, and that he may by word of mouth communicate to you how desirous we are to continue in that friendship and harmony with the republic of the Seven United Provinces, which has been transmitted down to us by our ancestors for centuries; and also to demonstrate the warm part we take in the unhappy dissensions which have so long divided some of the provinces, and particularly those which have arisen between some of them and the stadtholder, prince of Orange and Nassau, and the very extraordinary oppressions which that prince is innocently obliged to suffer. We will not detain your high mightinesses with any ample detail on that subject, as his highness the prince stadtholder has, in several different let-  
ters

ters to the states of Holland and West Friesland, explained in a very ample and convincing manner the hardness of taking from him his prerogatives; but we would rather refer to the letter sent by our predecessor on the 18th of September, 1785\*, as well to your high mightinesses as to the states of Holland and West Friesland, the contents of which well-intentioned letter we seriously confirm and renew, repeating the amicable request contained in it, that the affairs of the prince stadtholder may be directed by such reciprocally agreeable means, that they may be re-established as soon as possible upon their former footing, conformable to the constitution, and the convention. By the present we request your high mightinesses earnestly and amicably to employ your powerful intercession, in the most serious manner, with the states of Holland and West Friesland, and wherever else your high mightinesses may think proper, to put his serene highness the prince stadtholder in a situation (by means which are not difficult to be found out) to return with honour and propriety to the Hague, to take upon him his high employments; and that a durable termination be put to all the other differences, in a manner compatible with equity, and the honour and true interests of all parties, towards which we are willing to contribute, with other friends and neighbours of the republic, by our councils and mediation, in a manner both equitable and impartial. We have given instructions to the comte de Goertz to lay all this before your high mightinesses, and, if circumstances require it, before the states of each parti-

cular province, in a most explicit manner, to assure on our part all that is necessary, and, if it be thought proper, to enter into negotiations on the subject.

We desire your high mightinesses in consequence to place entire confidence in the comte de Goertz in this weighty affair, and to negotiate and finish with him whatever may be thought agreeable to both parties, according to circumstances. We hope and trust that no suspicions can arise in the minds of your high mightinesses, or those of the states of any of the provinces, on account of our interesting ourselves so seriously for the prince stadtholder. On the one hand, we are such near relations, that the lot of that prince, his comfort, our beloved and worthy sister (of whose sentiments entirely devoted to the republic, your high mightinesses can have no doubt) and their children and posterity, cannot be indifferent to us. On the other hand, because we know in the most certain manner, and can insure, that the stadtholder and all his family are most affectionately attached to the republic of the United Provinces, and that certainly they will never do any thing against the interest and system of the states, but, on the contrary, will always endeavour to preserve them, and contribute to their well-being; to which we must add, that being the nearest neighbour of the United Provinces, and in consequence of the ties which have never been broken between the two parties, we have great interest that the government of the republic, conformable to the ancient constitution, should not be changed in any essential point, but always preserved un-

\* For this letter, see State Papers, page [364] in our last volume.

touched;

touched; and that the intestine divisions and differences, which certainly were caused merely by mistrust, may be settled as soon as possible, by an equitable, just, and sincere reconciliation, and by a durable good understanding between all the parties concerned.

We recommend this important affair, together with all that we have mentioned, to your high mightinesses in the most sincere and amicable manner; and as we hope not to fail herein, we reciprocally assure your high mightinesses, that we have, and always shall bear, a neighbourly friendship and affection towards the republic in general, and each province in particular.

Of your high mightinesses the good friend and neighbour,  
(Signed) FREDERIC WILLIAM.  
(Counterigned) FINKENSTEIN,  
V. HERTSBERG.

*Berlin, Sept. 2, 1786.*

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*To the Right Honourable the Lords  
Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury.*

*The Memorial of the General Meeting  
of West India Planters and Merchants,  
delivered the 26th of December, 1786;*

Humbly sheweth,

**T**HAT, should the commercial treaty with France, by which the brandy and wines of that country are to be admitted here on lowered duties, take effect, your memorialists will be most deeply injured, unless the duties on British West India rum shall be reduced.

That rum pays more freight from the place of its growth than brandy,

is subject to higher insurance, suffers more by leakage from its voyage, and by evaporation from its climate, requires more capital, and produces more loss of interest on that capital. That this is particularly true of the rum from Jamaica, which furnishes the chief supply for the British market, the insurance in winter from that island being eight per cent. a charge only to be avoided on the latter shipments, by a still greater inconvenience from delaying them till the spring.

That the smuggling of rum into Great Britain from the West Indies scarcely existing, and that of brandy being very considerable, the duties on the former are far more faithfully collected, and less nominal than the latter. And that, with respect to the frauds in the drawbacks, the higher the original duty, the greater, in case of fraud, is the public loss.

That the duties on French brandy stand lower by the new treaty, than in any before the year 1778, while those on rum rather exceed the standard of that time. That the experiment having been made of raising the duties on rum and brandy since 1778, the increase in the rum duties has been suspended as impolitic, while that on brandy still remains. That, if it has been lately in contemplation to lessen the duties on brandy, as an act of government, independent of any treaty, it is presumed that it was with a view to diminish the temptation to contraband, and certainly not from tenderness or predilection to a foreign commodity, which is not necessary, and forms the material of no particular manufacture, and in preference to a native commodity.

That not only the comparative rate

rate of duties on rum, thus in fact greater than before, but the circumstances occurring since 1776, have made it less capable of bearing even the same burthens. That the import of various supplies, for the cultivation and support of the British West Indies, is rendered more difficult, precarious, and expensive, than before the war, from the impeded intercourse of the islands with North America; and that a similar restraint prevails in their export trade to North America, which almost solely affects their vent of rum. That other recent burthens are to be found in the rise of freights in the trade with the West Indies, in several particulars, and in the various calamities which have lately afflicted the island.

That the very treaty in question of itself must occasion a fresh detriment to the islands, since, independent of the increased rivalship from French brandy, rum will be essentially hurt by the cheapness of French wines, besides the apprehension to be entertained of other similar treaties, which may be formed with other wine countries. That, while the difficulties attending rum have thus lately augmented, the French government has given various new facilities to the vent of their brandy and other spirits, still more to strengthen the competition between their articles and ours.

That the imports of rum into Great Britain in 1775, and in the last and present year, shew that, when obstructions occur, in the ports of North America, to the trade of the British West Indies (whether by the act of one country or the other) no alternative has presented itself, but that of sending the superfluous rum to the British

market, for which, nevertheless, the rum of the Windward and Leeward islands is in general little adapted, though proper for North America. That the quantity of rum, thus turned out of its course into the British market, appears not to be inconsiderable, even during a short crop, and must greatly overstock the British market, when crops are more abundant.

That your memorialists find a preference given, by the Methuen treaty, to Portuguese over French wines, which they shall be doubly concerned not to see both adopted and farther increased in favour of British West India over French spirits, since they cannot suspect that the attachment or value of the sugar colonies to this country has been proved to be inferior to that of Portugal.

That rum is a production, which turns to account all that would be otherwise wasted in the manufacturing of sugar, issuing from the same plant, and being relied upon by the planter for paying the principal yearly expences of its cultivation; whatever, therefore, impedes the sale of rum, affects sugar also, of which it is the auxiliary and support, together with the immense duties and extensive navigation, &c. depending on sugar.

That, in consequence of the short distance of Britain from France, a very few and small ships can transport many goods between them in a short space of time, and of those ships and crews, a large proportion must be chiefly French; whereas, between the British West India islands and this country, none can navigate but British ships and British crews; and the length of time spent in the voyage renders the encouragement to

to British navigation proportionally more considerable.

That, for these, and various other reasons, which your memorialists might adduce, they trust they may claim the aid of his majesty's ministers in procuring a proper reduction of the duties on rum, as a measure clearly consistent with the present treaty, and truly indispensable to your memorialists.

Signed,

W. BRAITHWAITE, Chairman.

*A Translation of the Letter sent by the Emperor of Morocco to the States of North America, relative to a Treaty lately entered into by that Emperor with the States.*

In the name of God! Mahomet Ben-Abdala!

Most illustrious Congress of America!

WE have received your letter by the hands of your ambassador, and perused its contents with all due attention. We have remarked therein the inclination you express of concluding with us a treaty of peace. To this we willingly have assented, and even ratified the plan, such as you have proposed, by setting thereto our imperial seal. Wherefore we have, from that very moment, given strict command to the captains of our ports, to protect and assist all ships under American colours, and, in short, to shew them every favour due to the most friendly powers: being fully determined to do much, when an opportunity offers. We write this in full testimony of our sincere friendship, and of the peace which we offer on our part.

*The Fifth Report of the Commissioners appointed to examine, take, and state, the Public Accounts of the Kingdom, relative to the Balance in the Hands of the Paymaster General of the Forces in Office. Presented to his Majesty upon the 15th of August, 1781; and to both Houses of Parliament upon the 28th of November, 1781.*

UPON the certificate of accounts depending in the office of the auditors of the impress, next to the paymasters general of the forces out of office, stands the name of the right honourable Richard Rigby, the present paymaster general of the forces. In return to our precept, he stated to be in his hands, upon the 28th of November last, a balance of four hundred forty-seven thousand one hundred fifty-three pounds eleven shillings and three pence three farthings. ll.

The ~~act~~ <sup>directors</sup>, that in taking an account of the public money in the hands of an accountant, "we shall consider what sum may be taken out of his hands, to be disposed of by parliament for the public service." But in an office of so large a receipt and expenditure as that of the pay office, through which many millions pass in the year, it was not to be imagined, that a sum in the hands of the paymaster general upon any given day, could possibly remain long enough in his possession to become a subject capable of such discussion; he must have issued the whole of it, long before we could, in the course of our proceedings, have an opportunity of examining it; and therefore we considered this balance, not with a view to the taking any part of that individual

vidual sum out of his hands, but to compare the quantum of that balance with the demands upon it on the day of its date, and to see whether it was not more than was necessary to answer the then existing or approaching claims upon the paymaster general of the forces, for the services of the army.

That we might be able to form an opinion upon this subject, we proceeded to enquire of what parts this balance was compounded, at what time each part was received, and for what service intended. An inquiry that comprehends the whole extent of the business in this office.

The public money in the hands of the paymaster general is received by him, either from the exchequer, or from the treasury of Ireland, when Irish regiments are drawn out of that kingdom, and in part paid by Great Britain; or from persons who, upon their accounts being settled, are directed by the king's warrant to pay the balance into his hands.

The present paymaster general has no money in his hands received from the treasury of Ireland; all the accounts of the Irish regiments being made up, and their whole pay now borne by Great Britain. The sum in his hands, arising from balances directed to be paid to him, was, upon the 1st of February last, eight thousand four hundred sixty-three pounds ten shillings and fourpence. The exchequer is the great source from whence he draws his supply.

As the extensive transactions of the last year would probably furnish us with instances of every species of receipt and issue, we procured from the treasury an account of the several sums issued to the paymaster ge-

neral of the forces, from the 24th of December 1779 to the 25th of December 1780, and from thence to the 16th of May 1781, distinguishing the times when issued, and for what particular services.

From the examinations of Mr. John Hughson, clerk of the debentures in the office of the auditor of the exchequer; Richard Moleworth, esq. late deputy paymaster in North America; the right honourable Richard Rigby, the present paymaster general; John Powell, esq. cashier; and Charles Bembridge, esq. accountant in the office of the paymaster general; we obtained the following account of the manner of transacting the business in this office, and of the balance in question.

The supply for the army is granted by parliament to the king, and therefore no part of this supply can be issued from the exchequer, without the royal sign manual authorizing such issue. After the supply is granted, there comes from the treasury to the pay-office the king's sign manual, directing the lords of the treasury to issue unto the paymaster general a certain part of that supply (in time of war usually a million) by way of imprest, and upon account, according to such warrants and orders as either are, or shall be signed by the king. This sign manual, with the treasury warrant, and order of the auditor of the exchequer made in pursuance of the sign manual, after being entered in the pay-office, are lodged at the exchequer, and give the paymaster general a credit there for the sum mentioned in those instruments. To obtain any part of this credit, the paymaster general presents a memorial to the treasury, specifying the sum

sum he requires, and for what service. The treasury, by letter, directs the auditor of the exchequer to issue that sum to the paymaster general, upon the unsatisfied order above-mentioned. This letter being produced, and passing through the forms of office, he obtains from them the sum he wants. When the sum in this sign manual is exhausted, another sign manual, with the consequential warrant and order, is obtained, and in like manner from time to time renewed, until there is occasion for the last sum, which completes the whole army supply of the year; when, instead of a sign manual, there comes a privy seal, directing the issue of that remaining sum, and including, authorizing, confirming, and covering, the whole supply of that year.

It was usual formerly for the paymaster general to apply to the treasury every four months, each time for about a third part of the sum voted for the services of the army, under the general head of subsistence and pay of the forces at home and abroad; but since the year 1759, the practice has been to ask of the treasury, from time to time, for the sums voted under distinct heads of service, and not until the time when the demands for the services are near approaching.

The services are ranged under two general heads, the ordinary, and the extraordinary; the ordinary, are those for which specific sums are annually voted by parliament; the extraordinary, are those, which, though not provided for by parliament, are nevertheless considered as necessary, and therefore paid, in confidence of their being provided for in the succeeding session.

As the service is distinguished, so is the application for it to the treasury. Sums for the ordinary services are obtained upon the application of the paymaster general himself; those for the extraordinary, are directed into his hands, upon the application of others.

After the supply for the pay of the army is voted by parliament, the secretary at war sends to the pay-office the four establishments for the year; which are, the guards, garrisons, and land forces; the forces in the plantations, and the garrisons in North America and the West Indies; the forces in Minorca and garrison of Gibraltar; and, the militia; with the several regulations of the subsistence. The establishment contains the distribution of the whole sum voted, amongst the several regiments, corps, garrisons, officers, and private men, by the day, and by the year, and the gross sum allowed for each regiment, corps, and garrison. To each establishment are annexed two warrants, the one directing the paymaster general to make a deduction of twelve pence in the pound out of all he shall issue, called the poundage, and specifying to what services it shall be applied; the other, directing a deduction of one day's pay, out of the payments in the establishment, for the use of Chelsea hospital.

In general, the gross sum allowed for a regiment, or corps, is divided, in the establishment, into five parts, under the description of, the full pay of each officer and private man; the allowance to widows; the allowance to the colonel, and for cloathing lost by deserters; the allowance to the captain for recruiting, &c.; and, the allowance to the agent. But in the pay-office this  
gross

gross sum undergoes a different division, consisting of, the subsistence, the poundage, the hospital, the allowance to widows, the nett off-reckonings, the clearings, and sometimes respits.

It is in consequence of these deductions from, and divisions of, the gross sums allotted to different corps, and of distinct sums being provided by parliament for certain services, that the application by the paymaster general to the treasury, for money, is made under distinct heads of service. These services may, for the purpose of our enquiry, be distinguished under three heads:

First. Those services for which the whole sum received by the paymaster general, at the exchequer, is issued by him soon after he receives it.

Secondly. Those, for which the sum he receives, belonging to particular persons, remains in his possession, upon account of the persons entitled, until they, or their agents, apply to him for payment.

Thirdly. Those, for which a part only of the sum he receives is issued by him soon after he receives it, and the remainder continues in his hands for any indefinite time.

Of the first class, where he soon issues all he receives, are, the returned poundage; Chelsea hospital, and the out-pensioners; the subsistence of the forces in Jamaica and the East Indies, and of the non-commissioned officers and private men in Africa; the subsistence and cloathing of the militia and invalids; the subsistence issued upon account; the stoppages of the officers; subsistence in the West-Indies, North America, and garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca; the general and staff officers

and garrisons in Great Britain; the nett off-reckonings; the allowances to the colonel, captain, and agent; the clearings; foreign subsidies; arrears of the foreign troops; levy money; and all the extraordinaries. Under the heads of subsistence of the forces at home, so much of the sum received, as the subsistence actually amounts to, is issued to the agents as soon as he receives it.

Of the second class, are, the reduced officers, and, under the several heads of the garrisons abroad, the general and staff officers, and hospital abroad: so much of the sums voted for these services, as is contained in each warrant for the pay of the officers named in the certificate, remains in his hands until those officers or their agents apply for it.

Of the third class, where he issues a part only of the sums he receives, are, the subsistence of the forces at home; the subsistence of the non-commissioned officers and private men of the British forces in the West Indies and North America, and of the foreign troops; the garrisons abroad; and, the general and staff officers and hospital abroad. Besides these, there are some other heads of service, to satisfy which, he does not expressly apply to the treasury for money, but pays the demands for them out of what he has received under other heads of service: these are, the allowance to widows; some services, to which the poundage is made subject by the king's warrant; and, contingencies.

Having thus procured the knowledge of the services, and of the mode of receiving from the exche-



quer, and of issuing money for each service; it remained, in order to find out the component parts of this balance, to compare the sums received for these services, with the sums issued, and see what remained in the hands of the paymaster general under each head: but the manner in which the accounts in this office are now, and have been kept from time immemorial, rendered such an investigation hardly practicable.

When the paymaster general passes an account before the auditor of the imprest, he charges himself therein with the money he has received out of the exchequer, during the period of that account, in one gross sum; he verifies the charge by the imprest roll, which specifies the sums he has received in each memorial, and the terms in which he received them, but not for what services; all that is required of him is, to render an account for what services he has expended the sum imprested to him: to do this consistently with order and method, his payments must be arranged under distinct heads of service; but there is no necessity for making the like arrangements of his receipts; it would only occasion the entry of a variety of articles in his charge, instead of one, which one answers full as well all the purposes of passing his accounts. With a view to this, is formed the plan upon which his books are kept; the accounts of his payments are under separate and distinct heads of service, but he has only one cash account; though in one memorial to the treasury, he often asks for several sums, under various distinct heads of service, yet he enters the receipt in his cash-book, as one en-

tire sum received that day at the exchequer, and carries it as one sum to the king's account current in his ledger: to have found out, therefore, the savings in his hands, under any one head of service, he must have examined every memorial presented by him to the treasury for the thirteen years he has been in office, and have extracted from thence, and collected together, all the sums he has received for that service, in order to compare them with the issues. And here too arose another difficulty:—In this office, a payment for any service made in a subsequent year, is entered in the account of that year in which the sum was voted for that service, unless such account is made up, and then it is entered in the next open year's account; hence these accounts are usually kept open, until they are ready to be passed by the auditors of the imprest; which time not being yet come for the accounts of the paymaster general in office, not one of his ledgers are yet made up; he could not therefore have given us the issues for any one service, without making up the account of that service, in every year's ledger, since he has been in office.

Thinking ourselves by no means warranted to take up the time, and perhaps impede the current business of this office, at so busy and important a period, by employing them in so laborious, and, unless for this particular purpose, so useless a task, we had recourse to such other circumstances in evidence before us, as might lead us to a decision upon the point we are pursuing.

From the arrangement we have made of the sums received by the paymaster general from the exchequer,

quer, it appears, that the balance in his hands cannot consist of any sums comprehended in the first class, because of them he very soon issues all he receives: nor is it probable that sums in the second class can constitute any very considerable part of it; because it is not to be presumed, that officers of any denomination will suffer their pay to continue long without applying for it, either by themselves or their agents.

A continual receipt and issue, implies a balance continually in hand; there must be the like continual balance where there are intervals between the receipt and issue, and a fresh supply always comes in before the issue, as in the case of every bank: but our enquiry is after a sum more permanent; a sum that remains long unapplied to any service, and which, if otherwise disposed of, would occasion no interruption in the regular course of paying the army services; for such a balance, in the hands of the paymaster general, we must look amongst the sums for the services named in the third class, where he issues less than he receives.

Under the denomination of subsistence for the forces at home, he receives more than that subsistence amounts to, with an intent of procuring thereby a fund for certain payments not specifically applied for by him, and therefore otherwise unprovided for: he receives subsistence upon the full establishment of the non-commissioned officers and private men of the British forces in North America and part of the West Indies, and of the foreign troops; but as these regiments must be incomplete, and the deputy paymasters there issue subsistence according to the strength only of the

regiment, he does not remit to them the whole he receives, but so much only as, from the last accounts they send him of the state of the balances in their hands, he judges will be sufficient to enable them to carry on the public service. This unissued subsistence of the British forces in the West Indies and North America continues in his hands till the accounts of the several regiments are made up, when it falls into the clearings, and is issued to the agents; but this is not till fifteen or sixteen months after they become due. The unissued subsistence of the foreign troops remains with him till their arrears are paid to the agents; which time seems, from the account of the issues received from the treasury, generally to be about two years after they are due.

He receives the whole sums voted for garrisons, staff, and hospital abroad; but the officers in these departments, named in the certificates from the war-office, do not exhaust the whole sum voted.

Hence arises a fund composed of these savings, out of which he issues for certain services, and defrays certain expences, without making any specific application for them to the treasury; these are, the allowance to widows; some of the payments to which the poundage is made applicable by the king's warrants; and, the miscellaneous head of contingencies.

To demands for these services, and to no other that we can discover (except such claims for the pay of the general and staff officers, and officers of the garrisons and hospitals abroad, and of the reduced officers, as remained unsatisfied) was this balance liable on the day of its date. What then was the amount of the

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demands

demands at that time? Nothing had been issued for the allowance to widows in the year 1780; for enough remained of former receipts, in the hands of the paymaster of the widows pensions, to carry on that service; and therefore this balance was not liable to be reduced by any issue under the head of allowance to widows. We could not have the accounts of the payments out of poundage and hospital, and for the contingencies in the year 1780, because some of the warrants had not been produced for payment, and therefore the accounts could not be made up; but finding, that where the establishments are nearly the same, there is no considerable difference between the payments made, upon these two heads, in one year and another; we applied to the pay-office for an account of the payments made by the paymaster general, out of the deductions of twelve pence in the pound, and one day's pay; and for an account of the payments made by him for the contingent expences of his majesty's forces, for the last year in which these accounts were made up at the office. The accounts transmitted to us, pursuant to this requisition, are of the year 1778; and as they, probably, do not vary much from those of the year 1780, they will shew us, with sufficient accuracy, the amount of the demands for these two heads of service upon the balance now before us. The payments out of the poundage and one day's pay consist of salaries to officers, and exchequer fees, returned poundage, and Chelsea hospital; the whole amount of which, for this one year, amounts to one hundred fourteen thousand three hundred sixty-five pounds ten shillings and two pence. The ar-

ticles of exchequer fees, returned poundage, and Chelsea hospital, though placed to this account, are not demands upon this balance. The exchequer fees for every sum, are always paid at the exchequer out of the sum at the time it is received; the paymaster general debits his cash with the whole sum he applies for, and credits it for the fees; and therefore the only alteration made in his cash, is an increase by the sum he asks, deducting the exchequer fees. The other two services being applied for under their specific heads, he receives a sum with one hand, and issues it with the other; and therefore these three articles, amounting to ninety-seven thousand nine hundred and twelve pounds seven shillings and six pence, being deducted from the total, leaves the sum of sixteen thousand three hundred fifty-three pounds two shillings and eight pence only, as a charge upon this balance; which sum, consisting chiefly of salaries, for the most part paid quarterly, soon after they become due, leaves claims to a very small amount indeed to be satisfied out of this balance.

The contingent expences consist of a variety of articles, amounting to twenty-four thousand nine hundred and fourteen pounds nineteen shillings and eight pence; this account never either much exceeds, or comes much under, twenty-four thousand pounds, the sum voted for the contingencies upon the establishment at home and abroad; for so much of these payments as exceed the sum voted, are carried to the account of extraordinaries. These articles being paid some quarterly, some half-yearly, and some yearly, no very considerable part of them can

can probably remain unpaid at the end of the eleventh month of that year, and cannot therefore be a charge upon this balance on the 28th of November 1789: from hence it follows, that, supposing the amount of the claims for these services in 1780 not to exceed their amount in 1778, the claims for these services upon this balance, upon the 28th of November 1780, was so much only of the sums of sixteen thousand three hundred fifty-three pounds two shillings and eight pence, and twenty-four thousand nine hundred fourteen pounds nineteen shillings and eight pence; making together forty-one thousand two hundred sixty-eight pounds two shillings and four pence; as had not been applied for, and satisfied, during the first eleven months of that year; and therefore, we think ourselves well grounded in an opinion, that the sum of four hundred forty-seven thousand one hundred fifty-three pounds eleven shillings and three pence three farthings, in the hands of the paymaster general of the forces, upon the 28th of November last, was greatly more than was necessary to answer the claims upon him at that time for the service of the army.

But our inquiry did not rest here; it concerns the public to know what proportion the sum, continually in the hands of an officer to whom so much is entrusted, bears to the services of his department; we required, therefore, from the pay-office, an account of the balance in the hands of the present paymaster general of the forces, on the 31st of December 1768, and at the end of each succeeding year, to the 31st of December 1780, inclusive; and an account of the total sums received

and paid by the paymaster general for every month, from the 1st of January 1780 to the 31st of May last, with the total of the balance remaining in his hands at the end of each month. These accounts shew, that the average yearly balance in the hands of the present paymaster general, for twelve years, has been five hundred eighty-five thousand eight hundred ninety-eight pounds; and his average monthly balance, for seventeen months, has been eight hundred sixty-nine thousand one hundred forty-eight pounds.

The magnitude of these sums furnishes a strong presumption, that the paymaster general of the forces possesses, constantly, a sum much larger than is requisite for the carrying on the army services; and we are confirmed in this opinion, by the state of the balances in the possession of the paymasters general of the forces after their resignation, annexed to our last report; by which it appears, that of four paymasters general, each, upon his quitting the office, took with him the sum then in his hands; the balances they returned to our precepts, above twelve years after their resignations, were even then very large. Lord Holland's balance, the Christmas after he quitted the office in 1765, was four hundred and sixty thousand pounds; in the year 1778, at the time his representatives paid back into the exchequer two hundred thousand pounds, it was four hundred and fifty thousand pounds; and, upon the 27th of September last, the sum returned to our requisition was two hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds; so that, during a period of fifteen years after he was out of office, it suffered very

little diminution from any claims whatever.

From these facts we may infer, that a paymaster general, at the time of his resignation, be it when it will, takes with him a sum of public money, a great part of which remains with him, unapplied to any public service, until his accounts are passed by the auditors of the imprest; and consequently, that he has constantly in his hands greatly more than he wants for the purposes for which it was issued to him.

During the course of our inquiry, certain circumstances in this office attracted our attention, as subjects demanding present correction, and prevention for the future.

The usual course of the receipts and issues in this office, for several years, has constantly put into the hands of the paymaster general a large sum of public money not employed in the public service, expressly contrary to that sound maxim of prudence and œconomy, That more should not be issued from the exchequer for any service, than that service wants. He asks sums of the treasury under specific heads of service, and in the form of a computation; the treasury direct the issue in the terms he asks it, without knowing whether the service is adequate to the requisition, whether the computation be just, and whether he has not already in his hands full as much as he wants: there is no controul upon him in the exchequer; the only attention of that office is to see that the issue does not exceed his credit, and that his credit does not exceed the supply for the army services, voted by parliament that year. Supposing the constitution of this office to con-

tinue in its present form, we think the interposition of some check necessary, to reduce and confine this balance within its due bounds. The paymaster general can receive nothing from the exchequer, but by direction of the treasury; the treasury, therefore, should have the means of judging upon the propriety and necessity of the requisition; to which a frequent knowledge of his balance is essential; and therefore we are of opinion, that in the first memorial presented every month, by the paymaster general of the forces to the lords of the treasury, for a supply for the army services, he should always insert the sum total of the balance of public money, for the service of the army, at that time in his hands, custody, or power. What those due bounds are, within which this balance ought to be circumscribed, depends upon a variety of circumstances, of which the treasury may, upon examination, obtain knowledge sufficient to direct their judgment.

But this usage of office operates still further; it is not confined to the paymaster general in being only, but he has been permitted, after his resignation, and his representatives, in case of his death, to retain the money of the public, until the final adjustment of his accounts by the auditors of the imprest. The average of lord Holland's balance, from his resignation in the year 1765, to the year 1778, when the two hundred thousand pounds were paid into the exchequer, by his representatives, was four hundred fifty-five thousand seven hundred thirty-five pounds. The average of the balance of the present paymaster general, from the year

year 1768, when he came into office, to the same year 1778, was four hundred fifty-three thousand one hundred and eighty pounds; making together nine hundred and eight thousand nine hundred and fifteen pounds; a sum belonging to the public, in the possession of only two of their officers, for nine years, and the public reaping no benefit from it whatever.

The public good calls for so effectual a correction of this evil, as to prevent it from ever happening for the future. As there should be a check upon the balance of a paymaster general whilst he is in office, it is equally expedient that he should retain his balance as short a time as possible after his resignation; that he should pay it over to his successor, and the subsequent business be carried on by him, at least as much of it as can be transacted by him without causing confusion or delay. According to the present course of business in this office, upon the resignation of a paymaster general, his accounts of the year's establishment are carried on to the 24th of June, or 24th of December, preceding or subsequent to his resignation, as is most convenient to the public service; when it is subsequent, he receives from the exchequer, though out of office, his proportion of the supply of the year to that time, and applies it in discharge of the demands upon the service, which accrued down to that period; but of these demands, some do not come in a course of payment, others are not applied for till some time after they are due; neither the nett off-reckonings nor the clearings, which are the last payments on account of a regiment, are discharged till fifteen or sixteen

months after they become due; the general, staff, and reduced officers, do not all apply immediately for their pay; warrants for contingencies are frequently not produced until several months after they are payable; and the paymaster general has deputies in various parts of the world, whose accounts he must have time to adjust; it is therefore convenient, and prevents trouble to the office, that his business should be carried on, and so much of the public money as is necessary for that purpose continue in his hands for some short time afterwards; and if the balance be confined within its proper bounds, whilst he is in office, the interest of the public will not be materially affected by the detention of a moderate balance, for a few months after his resignation.

If claimants for sums directed, but not applied for, in the time of the predecessor, must, according to the present forms of office, have recourse to the treasury for new warrants, those forms are inconvenient, and should be altered; the successor should be empowered to pay such demands, under the authority given to the predecessor, without putting claimants to the trouble and expence of a second application.

Was the paymaster general to retain his balance until his accounts are finally adjusted, the public would be kept out of their money to a very distant and uncertain period. It is sixteen years since lord Holland resigned, and his accounts are still in the office of the auditors of the imprest unsettled; the present paymaster general has been in office thirteen years, and the first three years and a half only of his accounts

accounts are sent into that office, and in their first stage. The public have a right to be informed how their money has been expended, and as speedily as possible after the expenditure: the evils attending delay are many and obvious, both to the person accounting, and to those entitled to call for the account. Being accustomed to go in one track, and long inattention to this point, in the departments both of the paymaster general and of the auditors of the imprest, added to a great increase of business, have produced long arrears; it requires, and there ought to be, an extraordinary exertion in both offices, to bring the accounts forward, and to introduce and establish that order and regularity in making them up, and keeping them, which should be strictly adhered to in every office of account. To obtain and preserve an accurate and competent knowledge of the state they are in, they should be made up and balanced once a year, to a certain stated time, and as soon as may be after that stated time is elapsed. But the time it takes to complete the payment of certain services, and the manner of carrying on some branches of the business in this office, are impediments to such a regulation, and seem not well calculated either for perspicuity or expedition. There are certain services, for which no specific sums are appropriated, either by the vote of parliament, or by the distribution in the establishment; but they are paid out of funds compounded of a great variety and number of articles, subtracted from various different gross sums, either voted or allotted for certain purposes: these services are, Chelsea hospital, the allowance

to widows, the cloathing of the regulars, exchequer fees, and salaries to certain officers. One of these funds is the poundage, which consists of various deductions of twelve pence in the pound upon almost every individual sum (except the half pay, of which the deduction is only six pence in the pound) voted, or allotted by the distributions in the establishments; for the army services: out of this fund are paid, 1st. The returned poundage; that is, this very deduction, thus made, is paid back to certain corps; so that this part of it seems to be deducted for no other purpose but that of returning it back again. 2dly. A part of this poundage is applied towards the expences of Chelsea hospital. 3dly. The remainder pays the exchequer fees, and the salaries of the paymaster general, and of other officers.

The expences attending Chelsea hospital are paid out of two funds, blended together; the one is part of the poundage above-mentioned; the other is formed of the deductions of one day's pay of every person named in some of the establishments, and of some of the persons named in other of the establishments: to form this fund, and that of the poundage, and to make these several deductions, is the business of the pay-office.

The allowance to widows, consists of the pay of two private men a company, and is a part of the establishment in every regiment; this comes from the war-office, but the several articles are collected together from the regimental distributions, and formed into a fund, in the pay-office.

The fund for the cloathing is called the nett off-reekonings; and

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is composed of deductions made in the pay-office, out of the sums allotted in the establishment for the full pay of the non-commissioned officers and private men, in most of the regiments and corps.

One effect of these operations is, that in making up the state of every regiment in the pay-office, the sum allotted for its pay in the establishment must consist of six parts; the poundage, the hospital, the subsistence, the allowance to widows, the off-reckonings, and the clearings, and sometimes respits. This state, besides the business it creates in the pay-office, must be examined, computed, and signed, by the agent; for he receives the clearings, which is the balance due to the regiment; the truth of which balance depends upon the justness of the calculation of the other divisions: it must be examined too, and computed, by the auditor of the imprest; for the paymaster general taking credit in his account for the whole pay of each regiment, and surcharging himself with the total amount of the deductions of the poundage, hospital, and widows, in every year, the auditor cannot know the accuracy of the surcharge, without an examination of each article that composes it.

To persons accustomed to the course of office, these computations are easy and familiar; but they certainly must take up time; an object, considering the present state of the army accounts, worth attending to. If, instead of these deductions, certain specific distinct sums were estimated and set apart for these services in the establishment; if distinct accounts were kept of the receipts and payments, under each head of service; if the cloathing

of the regulars was voted like the cloathing of the militia, separate from the establishment; if the sum allotted to a regiment should be the actual pay, and the whole of it be distributed amongst the officers and private men, and paid to them without deduction, at such times and in such proportions as shall be deemed best for the service; if every distinct service had its distinct appropriation, which can be easily estimated by the experience of preceding years; it should seem as if this branch of the pay of the army might be carried on in a more simple, expeditious, and intelligible manner.

In public trusts, the possibility of a loss should be guarded against, as much as the nature of the trusts will admit, without any respect to persons, or placing any more confidence in any man than can be helped. The sums that appear to have been intrusted to paymasters general, are of a magnitude that implies danger to the public; for who can give, or find security for the payment of them? At the head of this class of accountants, stands an instance of an actual loss; the last account that was passed of Lord Lincoln's was to the 24th of December 1719, between which, and the 25th of June 1720, four hundred seventy-three thousand one hundred twenty-seven pounds, were issued to him from the exchequer; of this sum it does not appear that any account was ever given, nor have we been able to trace, either in the pay-office, or in that of the auditors of the imprest, the expenditure of any part of it; neither book nor paper, relative to this account, is to be found in either of those offices. It has been the practice



the paymasters general, when they went out of office, to take with them the books and papers that relate to their accounts, as their own private property; but as the paymaster general is an officer appointed to a public trust, his office created for the use of, and supported by, the public, and his books contain accounts of the receipt and expenditure of public money; we are of opinion, that all these official books and papers are, and should be considered as the property of the public, and as such left and deposited in the pay-office, for the use and information of posterity.

The regulations hitherto suggested, are upon a supposition that the constitution of this office continues in its present form; but there is a modification, which, if it can be adopted, will effectually remove the power, and therefore the possibility, of loss or abuse; that is, by taking away from the paymaster general of the forces the custody of the public cash, and placing it in the bank of England; this treasury will then be converted into an office of mere account, and the paymaster general, instead of being the banker of the army, will be the instrument only, through whom the army services are paid, without having the power of applying the public money to any other purposes whatever. Some judgment may be formed how far this plan is practicable, by comparing the alteration it will make in the great outlines of the business of this office, the receipt, the issue, the keeping the accounts, and the accounting, with the forms now in use. The imprest must be to the bank; the bank must make the payments, by means of cheque drafts drawn by the paymaster ge-

neral, specifying the warrant, and the service: the paymaster general must keep the account of these receipts and payments, and the bank a duplicate; both must join in passing the accounts, the one producing the warrants discharged by his drafts, the other producing the drafts discharged by payment. Under the present constitution of this office, the paymaster general keeps his cash at the bank; the bank receives it at the exchequer on his account; he never pays in cash, but by his cashiers drafts on the bank: he keeps the account of all these receipts and payments, as if they were transacted in cash: the warrant indorsed, or the warrant and receipt, or the warrant and regimental pay-book, signed by the agent, and receipt for the off- reckonings, are his vouchers: his deputies pay, when they can, by drafts upon the agent to the remitter, who is the bank abroad, and accountable to the public.

Such is the similitude between the mode proposed and the mode in use: and thus far this regulation carries with it all the appearance of being reducible to practice.

We are well aware of the difficulties that must for ever attend the introducing novelty of form into ancient offices, framed by the wisdom of our ancestors, and established by the experience of ages; they are considered as incapable of improvement; the officers educated in, and accustomed to the forms in use, are insensible of their defects, or, if they feel them, have no leisure, often no ability, seldom any inclination, to correct them; alarmed at the idea of innovation, they resist the proposal of a regulation, because it is a change, though from a perplexed

a perplexed and intricate, to a more simple and intelligible system.

To trace this alteration through every branch of the business, to mark all its effects, that it does not in anywise disturb the pay of the army, perplex the accounts, or throw difficulties or delays in the passing them; to point out the steps by which it ought gradually and methodically to be introduced, is a work of long serious attention and accurate examination; but the appearance this plan carries with it of being practicable, and the advantage it holds out to the public, in an office, that certainly stands in need of some reform, afford us sufficient reason for submitting the consideration of it to the wisdom of the legislature.

Guy Carleton, (L. S.)  
 T. Anguish, (L. S.)  
 A Piggott, (L. S.)  
 Rich. Neave, (L. S.)  
 Sam. Beachcroft, (L. S.)  
 Geo. Drummond, (L. S.)

Office of Accounts,  
 Surrey-street,  
 10th August, 1781.

*Heads of the principal Acts of Parliament which passed in the 3d Session of the 16th Parliament of Great Britain, commencing on the 24th of January, 1786.*

**F**URTHER continuation, for a limited time, of the acts passed in the 23d and 24th years of his present majesty's reign, relative to the commercial intercourse betwixt the United States of America and his majesty's dominions.

An act for confining to a limited time the trade between the ports of the United States of America and his

majesty's subjects in the island of Newfoundland, to bread, flour, Indian corn, and live stock, to be imported in none but British-built ships, actually belonging to British subjects, and navigated according to law, clearing out from ports of his majesty's European dominions, and furnished with a licence according to the form thereunto annexed.

An act for augmenting and ascertaining the income of the rectors of the parish church and parochial chapel of Liverpool.

An act to explain and amend certain provisions of an act made in the 24th year of the reign of his present majesty, respecting the better regulation and management of the affairs of the East India Company.

An act for obviating all doubts which have arisen, or might arise, with respect to the exclusive power of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to nominate and appoint the governor general and council of the presidency of fort William in Bengal.

An act for vesting certain sums in commissioners at the end of every quarter of a year, to be by them applied to the reduction of the national debt.

An act for regulating the time of the imprisonment of debtors imprisoned by process from courts instituted for the recovery of small debts; for abolishing the claim of fees of gaolers and others, in cases of such imprisonment; and for ascertaining the qualification of the commissioners.

An act for the further relief of debtors, with respect to the imprisonment of their persons; and to oblige debtors who shall continue in execution in prison beyond a certain time, and for sums not exceeding

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ing what are mentioned in the act, to make discovery of, and deliver upon oath, their estates for their creditors benefit.

An act for augmenting and fixing the salaries of the lords of session, lords commissioners of judiciary, and barons of exchequer, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland.

An act for the further regulation of the trial of persons accused of certain offences committed in the East Indies; for the repealing so much of an act made in the 24th year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for the better regulation and management of the affairs of the East India Company, and of the British possessions in India, and establishing a court of judicature for the more speedy and effectual trial of persons accused of offences committed in the East Indies;" and for the more easy proof, in certain cases, of deeds and writings executed in Great Britain or India.

An act for appointing commissioners further to enquire into the fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments, which are or have been lately received in the several public offices therein mentioned; to examine into any abuses which may exist in the same, and to report such observations as shall occur to them for the better conducting and managing the business transacted in the said offices.

An act for appointing and enabling commissioners further to examine, take, and state, the public accounts of the kingdom.

An act for appointing commissioners further to enquire into the losses and services of all such persons who have suffered in their rights, properties, and possessions, during the late unhappy dissensions in America, in consequence of their loyalty to his majesty, and attachment to the British government.

An act for appointing commissioners to enquire into the losses of all such persons who have suffered in their properties, in consequence of the cession of the province of East Florida to the king of Spain.

An act to empower the archbishop of Canterbury, or the archbishop of York, for the time being, to consecrate to the office of bishop persons being subjects or citizens of countries out of his majesty's dominions.

An act for appointing commissioners to enquire into the state and condition of the woods, forests, and land revenues, belonging to the crown, and to sell or alienate fee-farm and other unimproveable rents.

An act for incorporating certain persons therein named, by the name and style of "The British Society for extending of the fisheries, and improving the sea coasts of this kingdom;" and to enable them, when incorporated, to subscribe a joint stock, and therewith to purchase lands, and build thereon free towns, villages, and fishing stations, in the highlands and islands in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, and for other purposes.

## C H A R A C T E R S.

*Character \* of Dr. Samuel Johnson.  
Extracted from Mrs. Piozzi's Anecdotes concerning him.*

**I**T is usual, I know not why, when a character is given, to begin with a description of the person; that which contained the soul of Mr. Johnson deserves to be particularly described. His stature was remarkably high, and his limbs exceedingly large: his strength was more than common I believe, and his activity had been greater I have heard than such a form gave one reason to expect: his features were strongly marked, and his countenance particularly rugged; though the original complexion had certainly been fair, a circumstance somewhat unusual: his sight was near, and otherwise imperfect; yet his eyes, though of a light grey colour, were so wild, so piercing, and at times so fierce, that fear was I believe the first emotion in the hearts of all his beholders. His mind was so comprehensive, that no language but that he used could have expressed its contents; and so ponderous was his language, that sentiments less lofty and less solid than his were, would have been encumbered, not adorned by it.

Mr. Johnson was not intentionally however a pompous converser; and though he was accused of using big words as they are called, it was only when little ones would not express his meaning as clearly, or when per-

haps the elevation of the thought would have been disgraced by a dress less superb. He used to say, "that the size of a man's understanding might always be justly measured by his mirth;" and his own was never contemptible. He would laugh at a stroke of genuine humour, or sudden fall of odd absurdity, as heartily and freely as I ever yet saw any man, and though the jest was often such as few felt besides himself, yet his laugh was irresistible, and was observed immediately to produce that of the company, not merely from the notion that it was proper to laugh when he did, but purely out of want of power to forbear it. He was no enemy to splendour of apparel or pomp of equipage.—"Life (he would say) is barren enough surely with all her trappings; let us therefore be cautious how we strip her." In matters of still higher moment he once observed, when speaking on the subject of sudden innovation,— "He who plants a forest may doubtless cut down a hedge; yet I could wish methinks that even he would wait till he sees his young plants grow."

With regard to common occurrences, Mr. Johnson had, when I first knew him, looked on the shifting scenes of life till he was weary; for as a mind slow in its own nature, or unenlivened by information, will contentedly read in the same book for twenty times per-

\* In our preceding volume there is a character of Dr. Johnson, by Mr. Boswell. The characters of eminent men become the more interesting, from being delineated by such different persons as had the best opportunities of knowing them.

haps, the very act of reading it, being more than half the business, and every period being at every reading better understood; while a mind more active or more skilful to comprehend its meaning is made sincerely sick at the second perusal; so a soul like his, acute to discern the truth, vigorous to embrace, and powerful to retain it, soon sees enough of the world's dull prospect, which at first, like that of the sea, pleases by its extent, but soon, like that too, fatigues from its uniformity; a calm and a storm being the only variations that the nature of either will admit.

Of Mr. Johnson's erudition the world has been the judge, and we who produce each a score of his sayings, as proofs of that wit which in him was inexhaustible, resemble travellers who, having visited Delhi or Golconda, bring home each a handful of Oriental pearl to evince the riches of the Great Mogul. May the public condescend to accept my *ill-strung* selection with patience at least, remembering only that they are relics of him who was great on all occasions, and, like a cube in architecture, you beheld him on each side, and his size still appeared undiminished.

As his purse was ever open to alms-giving, so was his heart tender to those who wanted relief, and his soul susceptible of gratitude, and of every kind impression; yet though he had refined his sensibility, he had not endangered his quiet, by encouraging in himself a solicitude about trifles, which he treated with the contempt they deserve.

It was well enough known before these sheets were published, that Mr. Johnson had a roughness in his manner which subdued the faucy, and terrified the meek: this was, when

I knew him, the prominent part of a character which few durst venture to approach so nearly; and which was for that reason in many respects grossly and frequently mistaken, and it was perhaps peculiar to him, that the lofty consciousness of his own superiority, which animated his looks, and raised his voice in conversation, cast likewise an impenetrable veil over him when he said nothing. His talk therefore had commonly the complexion of arrogance, his silence of superciliousness. He was however seldom inclined to be silent when any moral or literary question was started: and it was on such occasions, that, like the sage in *Rasselas*, he spoke, and attention watched his lips; he reasoned, and conviction closed his periods: if poetry was talked of, his quotations were the readiest; and had he not been eminent for more solid and brilliant qualities, mankind would have united to extol his extraordinary memory. His manner of repeating deserves to be described, though at the same time it defeats all power of description; but whoever once heard him repeat an ode of Horace, would be long before they could endure to hear it repeated by another.

His equity in giving the character of living acquaintance ought not undoubtedly to be omitted in his own, whence partiality and prejudice were totally excluded, and truth alone presided in his tongue: a steadiness of conduct the more to be commended, as no man had stronger likings or aversions. His veracity was indeed, from the most trivial to the most solemn occasions, strict, even to severity; he scorned to embellish a story with fictitious circumstances, which (he used to say) took off from its real value. "A story  
(says

(says Johnson) should be a specimen of life and manners; but if the surrounding circumstances are false, as it is no more a representation of reality, it is no longer worthy our attention."

For the rest—That beneficence which during his life increased the comforts of so many, may after his death be perhaps ungratefully forgotten; but that piety which dictated the serious papers in the Rambler, will be for ever remembered; for ever, I think, revered. That ample repository of religious truth, moral wisdom, and accurate criticism, breathes indeed the genuine emanations of its great author's mind, expressed too in a style so natural to him, and so much like his common mode of conversing, that I was myself but little astonished when he told me, that he had scarcely read over one of those inimitable essays before they went to the press.

I will add one or two peculiarities more, before I lay down my pen.—Though at an immeasurable distance from content in the contemplation of his own uncouth form and figure, he did not like another man much the less for being a coxcomb. I mentioned two friends who were particularly fond of looking at themselves in a glass—"They do not surprise me at all by so doing (said Johnson): they see, reflected in that glass, men who have risen from almost the lowest situations in life; one to enormous riches, the other to every thing this world can give—rank, fame, and fortune. They see likewise, men who have merited their advancement by the exertion and improvement of those talents which God had given them; and I see not why they should avoid the mirror."

The other singularity I promised to record, is this, That though a man of obscure birth himself, his partiality to people of family was visible on every occasion; his zeal for subordination warm even to bigotry; his hatred to innovation, and reverence for the old feudal times, apparent, whenever any possible manner of shewing them occurred. I have spoken of his piety, his charity, and his truth, the enlargement of his heart, and the delicacy of his sentiments; and when I search for shadow to my portrait, none can I find but what was formed by pride, differently modified as different occasions shewed it; yet never was pride so purified as Johnson's, at once from meanness and from vanity.—The mind of this man was indeed expanded beyond the common limits of human nature, and stored with such variety of knowledge, that I used to think it resembled a royal pleasure-ground, where every plant of every name and nation flourished in the full perfection of their powers, and where, though lofty woods and falling cataracts first caught the eye, and fixed the earliest attention of beholders, yet neither the trim parterre nor the pleasing shrubbery, nor even the antiquated ever-greens, were denied a place in some fit corner of the happy valley.

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*A short account of the person and character of Peter the Second, Emperor of Russia, and of his sister the Princess Natchalia. From Mrs. Vigor's additional letters from Russia, written in that Emperor's reign.*

"HE appeared tall of his age, has light-brown hair, blue eyes, rather

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rather a handsome face, and, I fancy a fine complexion; but tanned like a mulatto. He has a very grave look; if I were not speaking of a monarch, I should say, a surly one; so much so, that even the bloom of youth loses its pleasingness by it. He is, they say, very reserved, and does not chuse to make himself master of any language but his own. He was doatingly fond of his sister\*, and she could persuade him to almost any thing. One anecdote, I think, I can be sure, is true. One of his valet de chambres, a Frenchman, was cutting the princess's hair, and she talking to him in French, when the emperor came into her apartment, and said, "Sister, why do you talk French to him? he speaks better Russian than you do French." She answered, "That is the very reason, brother, why I do it; for would it not be shameful, that he, who has so few helps, should learn our language better than we learn his who have helps to it?" He patted her cheek, and kissed her, and said, "I will apply for the future;" and to the man, "Do you always speak French to me when you are about me." This princess promised fair to have inherited her grandfather's genius. Count Osterman made use of her influence, over his pupil to do, or prevent his doing, any thing he liked or disliked. The day she died, the worthless young favourite † that this young monarch has unhappily taken a fancy to, finding count Osterman in the next room to that where her corpse lay, with the greatest grief painted in his face, with a sneer said to him, "There lies your princess. Now go, and complain of me to her."—Every worthy person agrees that the

\* Princess Nathalia.

empire had the greatest loss by her death, that it has had since that of her grandfather, and no lovers of the country speak of her without tears. She died of a consumption, and behaved through a tedious illness like a heroine.

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*Character of the Mogul Emperor, Shaw Aulum, eldest son and successor to the famous Aulumgeer Aurengzebe.*

*This account is taken from a translation of the memoirs, in the Persian language, of Eradut Khan, a nobleman of Hindostan, by Jonathan Scott, Captain in the service of the East India Company, and private Persian Translator to Governor Hastings.—Eradut Khan was contemporary with, and held high offices under Aurengzebe, and under his sons, and his memoirs are held as highly authentic in Hindostan.*

"SHAW AULUM was generous and merciful, of a great soul tempered with affability, discerning of merit. He had seen the strict exercise of power during the reigns of his grandfather and father, and been used to authority himself for the last fifty years. Time received a new lustre from his accession, and all ranks of people obtained favour equal, if not superior, to their merits; so that the public forgot the excellencies and great qualities of Aulumgeer, which became absorbed in the bounties of his successor. Some narrow-hearted persons, however, out of ingratitude and envy, attributed his general liberality to ill-placed extravagance and profusion; but it is a fact, that the deserving of every profession, and worthy of all degrees, whether † Prince Dolghorucki.

among

among the learned or the eloquent, the noble or the ignoble, received an attention from the throne, which the eye of time prior to this had never seen, nor had such been heard of before by the ears of fame. His personal qualities and perfections, speech is unequal to relate. His valour was such, that he had resolved on meeting Azim Shaw, whose bravery was celebrated, in single combat. His four sons, possessed of great power and considerable force, he suffered constantly to be near his person, never giving himself a moment's suspicion regarding them, nor preventing their forming connections with the prime nobility; upon which subject I, the humblest of his slaves, once ventured to present him a petition of a cautionary nature, thinking it my duty, as I had often done so to Aulungeer. To what I represented, he wrote a wise and just reply, which, by God's permission, I will one time or other relate. He permitted the sons of those princes, who had fallen in battle against him, to appear at all times completely armed in his presence. The infant children he let remain unmolested with their mothers, while those arrived at manhood daily accompanied him in the chace, unguarded, and

shared in all his diversions. His court was magnificent to a degree beyond that of Shaw Jehaun. Seventeen princes, his sons, grandsons, and nephews, sat generally round his throne, in the manner following:—On his right hand, Jehaundaur Shaw, his eldest son, with his three sons, his third son Ruffeh Ooshawn with his three sons, and Bedar Dil, son to his nephew Bedar Bukht. On his left, Mahummud Azeem Ooshawn with his two sons, and Jehaun Shaw with his son. \* Ali Tibbar, the only surviving son of Azim Shaw, sat on the right hand of Azeem Ooshawn, and a little to the right, somewhat advanced, the two sons of Mahummud Kaum Bukht. Behind the royal princes on the right, stood the sons of conquered sovereigns, as of Secunder Adil Shaw of Beejapore, and Koottub Shaw, king of Golconda; also a vast croud of the nobility, from the rank of seven to three thousand, such as were allowed to be on the platform, between the silver rails. How can I mention every particular of the splendid scene? On the  $\dagger$  eeds, and other festivals, his majesty, with his own hands, gave the betel and perfumes to all in his presence, according to their ranks. His gifts of jewels, dresses, and other favours, were

\* Anglicè, Of high descent.

$\dagger$  The Mahummedans have two grand eeds or holidays, one at the conclusion of the ramzaun, and the other on the anniversary of the day on which Abraham consented to sacrifice his son. On these days tents are pitched about a mile distant from the city, to which the emperor goes in great state to pray, and on his return receives presents from his ameeers, on whom he confers honorary dresses according to rank. The same ceremony is observed in every town, by the governor. At the last eede, after prayers, a camel is sacrificed, and a small part of it dressed, and eaten on the spot by the emperor and his attendants. The cavalcades which I chanced to attend on each of these days, at Lucnow and Banaris, were very brilliant, and served to give an idea of the astonishing splendor which must have graced these in the flourishing times of the empire. It is probable Mr. Zoffani may offer the public a view of the procession at Lucnow, on the first eed in 1784, as he was present, and took a sketch of it.



truly royal. When in private, he dressed plain and humbly, like a religious, and daily, without fail, prayed with many in company. Frequently on holidays and Fridays, when travelling, he would read the prayers himself, in the grand tent of audience, and repeat portions of the Koraun with a tone and sweetness which captivated the most eloquent Arabians. He never missed the devotions of the latter part of the night, and frequently employed the whole in prayer. In the early part of the evening, he had generally an assembly of the religious, or learned men. He himself related \* traditions, in the number of which he excelled, as well as in a knowledge of the holy laws. He had explored the different opinions of all sects, read the works of all free-thinkers, and was well acquainted with the hypotheses of each. On this account, some over-strict devotees accused him of heterodoxy in his religious opinions, through mere envy of his superior abilities. I heard most of his tenets, and lamented the insolence of his vain eritics; for it was as clear as the sun, how just and orthodox he was in his opinions on religious points. But how can I enumerate all his perfections! It would fill volumes to recite but a small part."

*Characters of the four Sons of Shaw Aulum. From the same Work.*

" † **M**OIZ ad Dien Jehaundaur Shaw, the eldest, was a weak man, devoted to pleasure,

who gave himself no trouble about state affairs, or to gain the attachment of any of the nobility, as will be seen when I come to relate his reign.

Azeem Ooshawn, the second son, was a statesman of winning manners. Aulumgeer had always pursued the policy of encouraging his grandsons, and employing them in public affairs; for, as his sons were ambitious of great power, and at the head of armies, he thus prudently controuled them, by opposing to them enemies in their own families, as Pedar Bukht to Azim Shaw, and Azeem Ooshawn to Shaw Aulum. To the latter he had given the advantageous government of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, from whence he had now come with a rich treasure, and considerable army; and though in the late battle he had performed great service, yet he was suspected by his father, and dreaded as a rival: but to relate the causes would be useless prolixity.

‡ Ruffeh Ooshawn, the private companion and favourite of his father, was a prince of quick parts, a great proficient in religious learning, a fine writer, and of much knowledge in the law, but at the same time addicted to pleasure, particularly fond of music, and the pomp of courtly shew. He paid no attention to public affairs, or even those of his own household.

|| Khojeste Akhter Jehaun Shaw had the greatest share of all the princes in the management of affairs, before his father's accession to the throne; after which, the

\* Anecdotes and maxims of the prophet.

† Anglicè, Respector of the faith.

‡ Anglicè, Of high rank.

|| Of happy star; king of the world,

whole

whole administration of the empire was long influenced by him. He had the closest friendship and connection with Monauim Khan, who, by his interest, was appointed vizier."

*The following is the account given of the behaviour and conduct of Jehaundaur Shaw, after he became Emperor.*

"BE it known to those of enlightened understandings, and to the acquainted with the usages of the world, that if, in the relation of the affairs of my liege and hereditary lord, the emperor Moiz ad Dien Jehaundaur Shaw, some observations and expressions should escape my pen, contrary to respect, and the examples of the historiographers of princes, they will not proceed from disaffection or a prejudiced mind. I know they are improper from the pen of a servant, and God forgive me! but by them I mean no disaffection to his person, or disrespect to the family of Timur; no vent of my own spleen: no view to flatter a successor, by disparaging his rival, nor malicious abuse for the neglect or disappointment I may have suffered during this reign. I swear by God, and God is a sacred witness of oaths, that I loved him as my sovereign; but, as it was incumbent on me to record the actions of the reigning prince, good or bad, wise or foolish, in public and private, if they were, without one exception, all unworthy, what can I say, as a faithful writer?—

Let it be remembered, that I was nourished for fifty years under the benignant shadow of the great and glorious emperor Aulumgeer. How sad the alteration I now beheld! Of this man, this wretched idiot, opposite to him in every quality, succeeding to the very same empire, sitting on the very same throne, and the actions he did, what can I say, or in what terms paint the disgraces they suffered by his accession?—I had beheld upon the throne an emperor. Warmth of expression operates in advice: the friends to the \*Imaums, from the ardor of their loyalty to the house of Ali, heightened their style, and represented with all the eloquence of zeal (for which they have been ever praised by good men) that the oppressed might draw the sword against a worthless tyrant. But I only mean a warning to the family of Timur; for the head of which, let his character be what it may, if I hesitate to sacrifice my life, may I be numbered with traitors, and abhorred by my friends!

When Jehaundaur Shaw, by the intrigues and support of the ameer al amra Zoofeccar Khan, had triumphed over his three brothers, and ascended the throne of empire without the fear or dread of a competitor, all the customs of time were changed. He was in himself a weak man, effeminately careful of his person, fond of ease, indolent, and totally ignorant of the arts of government. He had also blemishes and low vices unworthy of royalty, and unknown among his illustrious

\* The two chief Imaums were the sons of Ali, by the daughter of Mahumud, and were put to death by the caliph Maweeah, one by poison, and the other in battle, with all their children except one, from whom descended the other ten Imaums, and the race of Syeds, so highly respected among the Mahummedans.

ancefſors. He made the vaſt empire of Hindoſtan an offering to the fooliſh whims of a public courtezán, which tortured the minds of worthy ſubjects loyal to his family. The relations, friends, and minions of the miſtreſs, uſurped abſolute authority in the ſtate; and high offices, great titles, and unreaſonable grants from the Imperial domains, were ſhowered profuſely on beggarly muſicians. \* Two crores of rupees annually were ſettled for the houſhold expences of the miſtreſs only, excluſive of her cloaths and jewels. The emperor frequently rode with her in a chariot through the markets, where they purchaſed, agreeable to whim, ſometimes jewels, gold, ſilks, and fine linen; at others, greens, fruits, and the moſt trifling articles. A woman named † Zo-

hera, keeper of a green-ſtall, one of Lal Koor's particular friends, was promoted to a high rank, with a ſuitable jaghire, and her relations exalted to the emperor's favour, which they uſed to promote the intereſts of the courtiers, for large bribes: nor did the nobility decline their patronage, but forgetting their honour, and ſacrificing decency to the preſent advantage, eagerly flocked to pay adoration to the royal idols, whoſe gates were more crowded with equipages in general than thoſe of the Imperial palace, ſo that to paſs through the ſtreet where they reſided was a matter of difficulty, by reaſon of the throng. To do them juſtice, many of them had generous minds, and performed various good actions in the uſe of their influence at court. The rid-

\* About two millions ſterling.

† The celebrated Nizam al Mulluk, who at this time lived a very retired life at Dhely, was one day paſſing in a palankeen, with only a few attendants, when, in a narrow ſtreet, he was met by Zohera, who was riding on an elephant, with a great train of ſervants. The nizam endeavoured to get out of the way; but, notwithſtanding this, Zohera's ſervants were insolent to his attendants, and as he paſſed by, ſhe exclaimed, "Are you the ſon of the blind man?" This enraged the nizam, who commanded his people to pull her from her elephant; which they did, with rudeneſs. She complained to the miſtreſs, who prevailed on the weak Jehaundaur to take notice of it, and command Zoofecar Khan to puniſh the nizam. The nizam had ſuſpected this to happen, and had informed the miniſter of the affair. When Jehaundaur Shaw ſpoke to him, he was answered, that, to puniſh the nizam for having corrected an insolent upſtart, would enrage all the nobility, who would conſider the honour of the order as hurt by any affront to the nizam. Jehaundaur, upon this, did not enforce his commands.

Upon Jehaundaur Shaw's promoting one of his miſtreſs's relations, a muſician, to a high rank, Zoofecar Khan, ameer al amra, out of ſneer, demanded of the new-made lord, as a fee for putting his ſeal of office to the patent, one thouſand ſmall tabors. The muſician complained to Lall Koor, his patroness, of the indignity offered him; and ſhe told the emperor, inſiſting that he ſhould reprimand the ameer al amra. Jehaundaur Shaw accordingly reproached the miniſter, who ironically replied, that, as muſic was the beſt recommendation with his majeſty for promotion, he had asked the tabors to deliver out to perſons of family, that they might, by praſtiſing upon them, qualify themſelves for high office, and ſucceed as well as their inferiors, the muſicians. Jehaundaur Shaw felt the force of the ſatire, and, being afraid of his miniſter, withdrew the patent.

ulous jaunts of the emperor and his mistress at last grew to such a pitch, that on a certain night, after spending the day in debauchery, and visiting different gardens near the city, in company with Zohera the herb-woman, they retired to the house of one of her acquaintance who sold spirits, with which they all became intoxicated. After rewarding the woman with a large sum, and the grant of a village, they returned in a drunken plight to the palace, and all three fell asleep on the road. On their arrival, Lall Koor was taken out by her women; but the emperor remained sleeping in the chariot, and the driver, who had shared in the jollity of his royal master, without examining the machine, carried it to the stables. The officers of the palace, after waiting till near morning for his arrival, on finding that the mistress had entered her apartments without the emperor, were alarmed for his safety, and sent to her to enquire concerning his situation. She desired them immediately to examine the coach, where they found the wretched prince fast asleep in the arms of Zohera, at the distance of nearly two miles from the palace. This scandalous event afforded matter of offence to all good subjects, but of mirth and laughter to the weak Jehaunder and his abandoned favourites. He after this still more exposed his vices to the public, often, as he passed through the streets, seizing the wives and daughters of the lower tradesmen. Once a week, according to the vulgar superstition, he bathed with Lall Koor, concealed

only by a single cloth, in the fountain of the Lamp of Dhely\*, in hopes that this ceremony would promote pregnancy. Happy was the day in which he was bathed in his own blood! The mistress had the insolence to abuse the princess Zebe al Niffa †, daughter of the emperor Aulumgeer, and aunt to Jehaunder Shaw, with expressions so vile as were unbecoming the meanest person. This princess had neglected to pay compliments to her, which she received from other ladies of rank, and Lall Koor, enraged at this, teased the emperor to reprove his aunt, and oblige her to shew attention towards her; but all was vain. However, he so far complied with her unreasonable entreaties, that he left off visiting the princess, and declined going to an entertainment she had prepared for him, without inviting Lall Koor. How shall I relate all his follies? The above-mentioned are sufficient to shew the sad changes of affairs, public and private. His other indecencies are too unworthy of record to relate."

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*History and Character of Lord Digby, by the Earl of Clarendon, from the Supplement to the third Volume of his State Papers.*

[The following History and Account of so remarkable a Character as the Lord Digby, and written by the Earl of Clarendon, is of so very interesting a nature, as to make it impossible for us, notwithstanding its length, to abridge or curtail any part of it, without depriving our Readers

\* A celebrated fakeer so entitled.  
 † Anglicè. Ornament of the sex.

of

*of a proportionable quantity of Knowledge and Amusement.]*

HE was of a very extraordinary composition by nature, and if he had not from thence had some infirmities very prevalent over him, the advantages he had in his education must have rendered him a person of rare perfection; and in truth, a person of rare parts he was. He was born in Spain, in the early growth of his father's greatness, who failed for many years with a full gale of success, till he was grown to a great height both in title and fortune. In which time his son received all the benefits of all sorts, which a liberal support, and a well-ordered education could bring to him; and though he made a journey or two into his own country, yet his whole breeding upon the matter was in Spain, till he was thirteen years of age; so that that language might very well be called his own, and no Spaniard spoke it more naturally than he did ever after. When by the all-disposing power of the duke of Buckingham, his father was not only removed from court, but committed to the Tower, he was sent with a petition to the house of commons on his father's behalf, which he delivered at the bar, with a short speech of his own; which being delivered with confidence, by a youth very young, of delicate features, and a very graceful person, made a good impression on that body, and caused him to be looked upon as a young man of great expectation; but the same cloud of prejudice and disaffection still covering his father, though he had his liberty, the whole family retired into the country. His father grew rich, and was esteemed as a very wise man, who had failed very

prosperously, and made a great voyage whilst the wind was with him, and when it raged against him in terrible storms and tempests preserved himself unhurt, and rested in greater security than his enemies; and, it may be, his reputation and esteem was the greater for having no favourable aspect from the court. In this calm the young gentleman was sent to the university of Oxford, being excellently prepared by his youthful studies for that approach; and from thence, after some years spent with notable success in all kinds of learning, he went into France; in the language whereof he was well versed, and had been carefully instructed; and, after some time spent there, in a condition liberally supported for any virtuous improvement of himself, but not for riot or impertinence, he returned again to his country, and his father's house, the most accomplished person that that nation, or it may be, that any other at that time could present to the world, to which the beauty, comeliness, and gracefulness of his person gave no small lustre.

It was no small advantage to him, that the misfortune of his father (though such benefits are seldom grateful to those who most enjoy the fruit of them) made his retreat and residence in the country absolutely necessary, for he had several temptations and inclinations in his nature, which, if he had lived in court, would have brought him sooner into many difficulties which he was afterwards perplexed with, when he was better able to struggle with them; and there being no footing for him there, necessity made it his choice to live in the country in his father's house; in which he enjoyed,

enjoyed, besides the benefit of his father's information, a very liberal conversation with men of the best quality and parts (who frequently resorted thither, as to a house where they found very good reception) and leisure enough to intend his books, in which he took wonderful delight, and made so great progress, that he was a stranger to no part of learning, and very subtle in the most curious parts of philosophy, and excellently versed in the Latin and Greek fathers, and those controversies in which their authority is applied by all the parties who contend. And in this time he writ a discourse to his cousin Sir Kenelm Digby against the catholic religion, which he would never afterwards take upon him to answer, when he grew to have a better opinion of it, or a worse of his own, than he was then thought to have; and lest this exercise might make him be thought too grave and serious for his age, he made it manifest that he was excellently versed in all polite learning, and in all the poets, Greek and Latin, so that when a man produced a serious discourse of his of religion, or the abstruser part of philosophy, he found commonly in the same company somebody, who likewise produced a copy of verses in Latin, or English, or some facetious discourse by letter or otherwise, upon the reading some book, or lighter argument, writ by the same pen.— And in this blessed retreat he lived, his great abilities being communicated abroad solicitously enough, and his infirmities unknown, but to very few, and as carefully concealed by them; nor was he heard of at court till a too loud, and a furious pursuit of an amour, within the very wars of Whitehall, made him be

taken notice of, and for which (after he had chastised, rather than fought with an insolent, but faint adversary who was too much favoured there) he was first committed to prison, and afterwards very severely prosecuted, with circumstances not usual to persons of that quality; so that he was forced again to retire into the country, with so much more acrimony towards the court, as his own particular reckoning added to his father's account; which increased more the stock of his reputation with those who judged of men's affections to their country, by the disaffection the court had for them, and the reciprocal esteem they had for it.

When the disorders of Scotland obliged the king to call a parliament, he was, by the universal election of the populous country where he lived, chosen to serve as one of their knights, where his person, and his parts, and the fame and reputation he had, made him quickly taken notice of; and the conversation he chose and wedded himself to, amongst those who were resolved to find fault with every thing that was amiss, and not to be content with any ordinary application of remedies, made it easily foreseen what counsels he meant to follow; but that stage allowed so short a time for action, that no possible conclusions could be made. But a few months after, when the discontents of men were grown higher, and the reverence to the government much impaired, he being then returned again by the same people to serve in the same place, it was quickly discerned that he meant to make himself as considerable as he could. If any thing was spoken against the government more bluntly and rudely,

ly,

ly, he took up the argument and polished it, making the edge more sharp to wound than it was before, dressing the general charge with some smart instances, which made the enormity more sensible, and his delivery, and manner of speaking, from so lovely a person, and a very lovely aspect he had, was so graceful (though not altogether without affectation) that it wonderfully reconciled him to his auditors. When any grievances in religion were touched upon, and the government of the church assaulted or reproached, no man improved the discourse with more bitterness and animosity, speaking of the things he would be thought to value, gravely, and, as it seemed, with piety and devotion; and of the persons against whom he found it grateful to inveigh, wittily and pleasantly, and scornfully; so that that party, which had the most mischievous intentions in religion, and against the church, believed that they had gotten a champion to their own desire, who would be equal to their stoutest adversary, even to the bishops themselves. The greatest combination was, and which was least communicated, the design against the Earl of Strafford; which was no sooner entered upon, and some short instances given of his exercise of a very exorbitant power in Ireland, than he entered into the argument, made him the chief author of all that was grievous in England, giving some instances of words and expressions he had used in private conversation, of a very unpopular nature, which he took upon himself to prove; which some very considerable actors in that tragedy did often protest afterwards was the principal inducement to their hasty resolution of charging that earl with

high treason. And from hence he grew into so entire a confidence with the other cabal, which did not then consist of above seven or eight, that he was immediately received into the bowels of their design, and made one of those who were trusted to prepare such a charge against the earl, that might satisfy the rest that they had done well in accusing him; and so he became quickly privy to all their secrets, knew what every particular man thought he knew, and by what means they intended to know more, what proofs they could for the present make, and how they meant to support and enlarge those truths, - all their arts and artifices, which were necessary to be communicated amongst themselves, and with those lords who were joined with them, to make their conspiracy more practicable. In a word, the whole method they proposed for their proceedings, and what they most apprehended might obstruct those proceedings, was as clearly understood by him, as by Mr. Pym and Mr. Hambden themselves. — Having now got himself to the top of the pinnacle, he began to look about him, and take a full prospect of all that was to be seen; and it is very possible, that the desperate designs of the persons with whom he had communicated, not answerable to the reputation they had of integrity to the nation, the uningenuity of their proceeding, and the foul arts they could give themselves leave to use, to compass any thing they proposed to do; as in truth their method was, first to consider what was necessary to be done for some public end, and which might reasonably enough he wished for that public end, and then to make no scruple of doing any thing which might

might probably bring the other to pass; let it be of what nature it would; and never so much concern the honour or interest of any person who they thought did not, or would not favour their designs: I say, possibly this observation might make some impression upon him, who without doubt had no wicked purposes himself. Let what would be the cause or the temptation, resolve he did, to steer another course, and to set up for himself upon that stock of commodities, in the getting together whereof there were so many joint sharers with him; and so he found ways easily enough (and his nature was marvellously disposed to that dexterity) to insinuate to the court, that, if they gave him reasons for it, they might depend upon his service; and that he would make it very useful to them: and the strengths they were in, and the benefit they might receive from such a promptness, bringing him such a return from thence as he could wish, he took the first occasion (before he was so much as suspected) to give his party cause to believe, that he meant not to venture himself in their bottom. As soon as there was an occasion, by the address of a great number of ministers by way of proposition, to reform many particulars both in the doctrine and discipline of the church, he discovered his dislike of those designs, and the spirit that produced them, very warmly; and because it was well known that many of those ministers had had frequent communication with him, and even consulted that very address by his consent and approbation, he took notice of it himself, and seemed much offended that they had insisted upon many particulars which he had disallowed; and so mentioned some

particular expressions that had passed between them, and which offended more persons than had been privy to the conferences, and looked like a discovery of future projections which were not yet ripe. In the public prosecution of the earl of Strafford he continued still in the same conjunction, and kept his post amongst those who were to manage the evidence against him, but with such a temper (which could not be reasonably excepted against) that manifested enough, that he neither brought the spirit, nor would bring the testimony they expected from him; and as soon as the trial was over, and it was discerned that the house of peers would not take upon them the condemning the earl, but that it would be necessary to pass an act of parliament to that purpose, the bill was no sooner brought into the house of commons, but he appeared most violently against it, discovered many particulars which had passed in their most private conferences, which he said had first perplexed him; and enlarged so pathetically upon the whole matter, and against the condemning of the earl, that that whole party had so great a detestation of him, that they had not less appetite to destroy him, than the earl of Strafford. And this contest produced another discovery, that a very important paper, which had been produced and perused in the close committee, and upon which they principally depended for making good their charge, had been taken away, and could never afterwards be found; and it was confidently alledged, that at the time when that paper was last seen, and lay upon the table in Mr. Pym's chamber, there were only three persons present, whereof he

was



was one. This produced an order in the house that every one of that close committee, who were about eight, should make a solemn protestation in the house, that he neither had that paper, nor knew what became of it. Which test he cheerfully submitted to, with the most solemn and bitter execrations that can be imagined, upon himself and his family, if he knew what was become of that paper, or if he had ever taken it away; notwithstanding which, they who were angry with him did not believe him, and confidently reported, that it was found afterwards amongst some papers of his which were taken in the house of his father in the war; which is not probable, since it may be presumed that a man who had gotten it in such a manner, would at least, after such an enquiry was made upon it, have cast it into the fire, though there was not then any suspicion that such an action could ever have produced it.

However it was the inconvenience of that discovery, produced by the surreption of that paper, that it produced many other notable discoveries with it, which were all cast upon his accomplice, who was looked upon as a deserter at least, if not a betrayer of his party; and so from as great a height of applause, and even adoration, which he had attained to by Christmas, before Easter he was fallen to so low an esteem with all that people, that they thought no reproach equal to his demerit, and prosecuted him accordingly with their utmost animosity and rage. The truth is, he had a wonderful, and a very extraordinary facility throughout the whole course of his life, to arrive sooner to a great pitch of esteem and being

beloved, than any man I ever knew; and then would make the greatest haste, to fall from that estimation into a gulph of prejudice and detestation, which can be imagined; which wrought the unusual effect, that he had scarce a notable enemy throughout his life, with whom he had not held a very great friendship, or at least profess such an inclination to, which, in any other man, would have amounted to a friendship, and he bore both the extremes very unconcernedly, imputing the first to his own virtue, and transcendent parts, and his dexterity in managing them; and the latter, to the unsteadiness and inconstancy of other men's humours, to their envy and jealousy of his master faculties.

He was now compelled to transplant himself into the court, when the soil was neither so fruitful, nor the air so pleasant as it had formerly been; indeed, where a nipping frost had induced a marvellous sterility, and in this too his constitution was so happy that he found a consolation for himself, and industriously imputed that to his generosity and election, which other men thought to be the effect of his necessity, and that he could grow no where else, when he endeavoured to grow there. It was a very melancholy season there, where most of those who had received the greatest obligations from their master, and were most able to have done him service, not only forsook him, but betrayed him; and in order to getting credit with those who suppressed all other authority, they discovered all they knew which might advance the evil designs of the other, with whom they resolved to go thorough sharers in all that was to be gotten; and

and the other few who retained still their fidelity and their zeal, with indignation enough to see the backsliding of their fellows, were yet so terrified with the power of the other, and with the perfidiousness that they saw every day practised, inasmuch as nothing was said or done in the most secret places of the court, even by the king or queen themselves, but it was communicated to those who had no modesty in the considering it, but impudently declared that they would remove all persons from the king and queen, whose very looks were not grateful to them, of which they had already given many instances. So that they, who, I say, wanted not faith, were yet without skill to foresee what they were to do, and the king himself found his infelicity to be so monstrous, that he knew not with whom to advise, nor in truth whom to trust; for they, who had no mind to betray him, were betrayed themselves, and out of their trusting others, made them necessary to the betraying him. In this conjuncture, the vivacity of such a person could not but be very acceptable, who had a brain perpetually working, and a conception and understanding deliberating and resolving together, and a courage so keen and fearless, that he was ready to execute the same minute whatsoever was resolved. The truth is,

*Si duos præterea tales Idæa tulisset  
Terra viros*

God only knows what might, or might not have resulted from his bold temper; when the party, that did all the mischief, was made up of those whose despair of being safe any where else, and belief that the king would yield to any thing that should be confidently demanded, had

thrown into that stronger side. He could no longer act upon the stage where he had so long flourished, and where his mercurial temper was not grateful, even to those to whom the violence and ill designs of the others was visible, and equally odious; so that he was called up by writ to the house of peers, as fit to move in that sphere, where he no sooner came than he gave fresh life and vigour to it, the real temper of that house retaining a vigorous affection to the king, church, and government, and consequently very inclined to follow his example, and to be swayed by his reason, who always delivered himself with notable advantage, and was now known to be trusted by the court, and so like to carry on their designs in the method prescribed there, and where he was looked upon, not as having deserted his principles or his party, but as a prudent discoverer of their exorbitant designs contrary to the principles they owned, and had so retired himself from their dangerous conversation and lost their confidence, because he would not part with his innocence. And truly, if the two great activity and restlessness of his nature would have given him leave to have sat still, and expected, and made use of those advantages, which the hasty and choleric humour of the house of commons was ready every day to present to them, and which temper was the utmost extent of courage the house of peers could be carried to, which did not yet suspect the designs of the worst men to be so monstrous as they shortly after appeared to be, it is very probable, the wisdom and temper of the one house, with the concurrence it would have found from the major part of the other, which was far from being

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ing corrupted, would have prevented those calamities, which, under the specious authority of the parliament, were afterwards brought upon the kingdom. But his nature was impatient of such repose, and he always embraced those counsels which were boldest and most hazardous, which he thought would give a greater lustre to his wit and conduct. And this unhappy infirmity and vanity made him always reserved to those with whom he most intimately consulted, and without whose concurrence he pretended to resolve nothing. Yet in any determination that was ever made between them, he always reserved some such important particular to himself, which would in truth have changed the whole council, and have made them all protest against that which he resolved to have done, as a matter mutually adjusted between them; which he did not do out of jealousy and distrust of the other, or a contradiction of their opinions and judgment, which he was still most ready to comply with, and was upon any debate the most easily persuaded to depart from his own inclinations of any man I ever knew of such a talent in understanding: but the other reservation proceeded only, first, from an opinion that if he should communicate it, it would find a general approbation (as he was very indulgent to himself in believing that what appeared reason to him, would appear so to every body else) and then the reserving it would keep somewhat for credit and reputation to himself, which was unthought of by the rest; and by this unlucky temper in his nature, many desperate inconveniences fell out to the king and to himself, which would have confounded any other man in

himself, as well as with others. But such accidents were so far from making such impression upon him, that he was the more ready to embrace a new enterprize, when the old miscarried, and was the only man I ever knew of such incomparable parts, that was never the wiser for any experience or misfortune which befell him; but was as ready to take the same measures, and pursue the same expedients, often times to employ the same persons by which that miscarriage and those misfortunes had befallen him, which proceeded from a notable sagacity and confidence in himself, towards whom he never could entertain the least jealousy. This inconvenient presumption was the longer from being discovered or taken notice of, except by a few of his most intimate friends, by the wonderful faculty he had of dissimulation, which was so profound that he appeared the most offended and enraged when he saw any thing done that was notoriously disliked, and bitterly inveighed against the authors of those counsels which himself alone had contrived, and to the execution whereof no man else was privy. So when he had prevailed with the king, to cause the six members to be accused, and had undertaken to cause them to be committed, when he found in the house of peers the general disapprobation and dislike of it, he stood himself up and spake against it, and whispered the lord Mandeville in the ear, that the king would be undone if he did not publicly discover those who had given him that counsel, and that he would immediately go to the court and dispose him to it; when he alone was the only man, who, without communicating it to any other, had advised that prosecution, named

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all the persons, and promised the king to bring in ample testimony and evidence against them; and all this in a season when the king's affairs were in so good a posture, that there was no need of such a desperate remedy, and when the heart of the contrary party was so near broken, that they needed such an expedient to keep up their credit and ability to do further mischief. And therefore many sober men detested that advice as the most visible introduction to all the misery that afterwards befel the king and kingdom. Yet his great spirit was so far from failing, that when he saw the whole city upon the matter in arms to defend them, knowing in what house they were together, he offered the king, with a select number of a dozen gentlemen, who, he presumed would stick to him, to seize upon their persons, dead or alive, and without doubt he would have done it, which must likewise have had a wonderful effect. But that counsel being rejected, and finding his credit abated in all places, he transported himself out of the kingdom, and was shortly after, by a wonderful retaliation of providence, and in the same method of contempt, which he had caused to be practised towards the other, (by publishing a proclamation to restrain them from going out of the kingdom, when he knew they were together in London; and environed with a strength and power enough to drive the king himself from Whitehall, as they shortly did) accused of high treason, upon the most slight and trivial suggestions, and a proclamation issued out for his apprehension; all which would have brought another man to make serious reflections upon himself, and distinguished that inordinate heat of

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brain and fancy, which had so often transported him to unreasonable and unprosperous resolutions. But all this nothing allayed that flame, or extinguished that fire in him, but as soon as the war broke out, or rather, as soon as there was any appearance of it, he re-transported himself again into England, raised a regiment of horse, and charged in the head of it at the battle of Edgehill with as much courage as any man, and afterwards marched with prince Rupert towards the north; and in the way, finding the close in the city of Litchfield garrisoned by the rebels, and secured by a strong old wall and a mote, and the prince resolving to reduce it, he caused his foot to storm it, which being beaten off, and indeed not being sufficient in number to make such a general assault as was necessary, the other, to encourage the officers of the horse to make an attempt in another place, offered himself to go at the head of them, and so led them through the mote to another part of the wall which was thought to be weaker; by means whereof, and the garrison within being divided into several quarters, the foot entered the place, and made themselves master of it with great difficulty, and with great loss, and very many of the horse officers who entered by the mote were killed, and the rest beaten off, himself being in the mud to the middle, and shot through the thigh with a musquet bullet, was wonderfully brought off, and afterwards recovered his wounds; but not finding that respect from the prince which he had promised himself, he gave up his regiment of horse, and retired to the court, where he was sure to find great countenance:

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Though he had thus discharged himself from any command in the army, he was always ready to engage himself as a volunteer with it upon any brisk adventure; so he was, after the relief of Gloucester, in the pursuit of the earl of Essex's army, and was in the first engagement at Ambourne, where he was hurt; and had all the powder of a pistol shot in his face, by which it was thought he had lost both his eyes, the bullet dropping or passing by; and the lord Falkland being the next day killed at Newberry, he was shortly after made secretary of state, and betook himself to the discharge of it with great intentness of mind, and industry enough, and continued in that employment many years; in all which time he ran many adventures, and frequently found himself at a loss when he believed he had attained his point, and at last found the greatest part of the officers of the army so implacably irreconciled towards him, that he was again forced to retire from his majesty's service with his full approbation and consent, who in truth could not but find him at least very unfortunate. And by degrees, after several very brisk attempts of several kinds, in which he shewed as much resolution and dexterity as could be expected from a man of great wit and unquestionable courage, he was forced to transport himself into Ireland, about the time that the prince of Wales (after so great successes of the rebels, and the king's armies being upon the matter totally defeated) by his father's command to transport himself out of England, took his first refuge in the isle of Scilly, from whence he might naturally send to and receive intelligence from Ireland.

It hath been observed before, that the person of whom we discourse had so rare a composition by nature and by art, for nature alone could never have reached to it, that he was so far from ever being dismayed (and greater variety of misfortune never befel any man) upon any misfortune, that he quickly recollected himself so vigorously, that he did really believe his condition improved by that ill accident, and that he had an opportunity thereby to gain a new stock of reputation and honour; and so, he no sooner found himself in Ireland (when that kingdom was in the greatest distraction imaginable by the perfidiousness of the Irish; who having made a peace with the marquis of Ormond, the king's lieutenant for that kingdom, and within a few days renounced and broke it again) but he believed he was upon a stage where he should act wonders, and unite all the divided affections and all the distinct interests, and make them all subservient to the king. The quarrel was religion, which had transported both parties to the utmost outrages of blood and animosity, which can result from that unhappy spring; and though the soberer part of the nation did really and conscientiously desire to return to their allegiance, and had thereupon prevailed so far with their general council, that they had consented to a peace, as is said before, and which was accordingly published; yet the malignant party was so much superior and prevalent, that within few days they cancelled all that was done, imprisoned the principal persons who had contributed to that peace, and put the managery of their whole affairs into the hands of men of another temper, and committed the whole nation, and

and as much of the kingdom as they could dispose of, to the entire protection and disposal of the pope, in the person of his nuncio, Rinuccini, whom he had lately sent thither, with a very large supply of arms and ammunition, to interrupt their submission to the king. He was a man of a haughty and phantastical humour and nature, with a perplexed understanding; all his faculties being disposed principally to make easy things hard, and to create intricacies out of the most clear and manifest consultations. This was the condition and posture that Ireland was in when this gentleman arrived there, the whole kingdom being so near reduced to the obedience of the nuncio, that he seemed to have nothing to do but to shut up the lord lieutenant in Dublin, till he could by a closer siege likewise subdue that capital city, and in order thereunto he was drawing together an army from all the quarters of the kingdom. This was now a scene fit for the other's activity, and being received very kindly by the lord lieutenant, out of respect to his person, and the character he had under the king, he quickly took upon him to say any thing in the king's name, which the lord lieutenant believed (for he was steered by him) might contribute to his majesty's service in a time of so great jealousy. About the same time an express arrived from Scilly, who was sent thence to the lord lieutenant from the prince of Wales, to inform his lordship that his highness was newly retired to that island, where he meant to reside as long as he should find it convenient; and because the island was poor, and unfurnished with men, his highness wished that he might have a hundred men sent

him, with good officers for a guard to his person; having sent at the same time to his royal mother the queen, who was then at Paris, to procure him money from thence for the support of his person and the payment of the soldiers. This news came no sooner to Dublin, but the person we mentioned presently conceived that the prince's presence in Ireland would settle and compose all the factions there, reduce the kingdom to his majesty's service, and oblige the pope's nuncio, who was an enemy to the peace, to quit his ambitious designs. The lord lieutenant had so good an opinion of that expedient, that he could have been very well contented, that, when his highness had been forced to leave England, he had rather chosen to have made Ireland than Scilly his retreat; but being a wise man, and having many difficulties before him in view, and the apprehension of many contingencies which might increase those difficulties, he would not take upon him to give advice in a point of so great importance; but forthwith, having a couple of frigates ready, he caused a hundred men with their officers to be presently put on board, according to his highness's desire, and the lord Digby (who always concluded that that was fit to be done, which his first thoughts suggested to him, and never doubted the execution of any thing which he once thought fit to be attempted) put himself on board these vessels, resolving that upon the strength of his own reason he should be able to persuade the prince, and the council which attended him, forthwith to quit Scilly and to repair to Dublin; which he did not doubt might be brought to pass in that way that would have been grateful to the lord lieutenant. The prince within

a fortnight after his coming to Scilly, which was in March, found the place not so strong as he had understood it to be, that the island was very poor, and that he should not be able to draw any provisions thither from Cornwall, by which commerce those islands had still been supported, he resolved therefore, before the year advanced further, when the seas were like to be more infested with the enemy's ships, to transport himself to Jersey, which he did very happily, and found it to be a place in all respects very fit to reside in, till he might better understand the present condition of England, and receive some positive advice from the king his father.— But by this sudden remove of the prince from Scilly, the two frigates from Dublin missed finding him there, and the lord, whose order they were obliged to observe, made all the haste he could to Jersey, where he arrived well, and found the prince there with many other of his friends who attended his highness; the two lords being gone but the day before to attend the queen. He lost no time in informing his highness of the happy state and condition of Ireland, that the peace was concluded, and an army of twelve thousand men ready to be transported into England, of the great zeal and affection the lord lieutenant had for his service; and that if his highness would repair thither he should find the whole kingdom devoted to his service; and thereupon positively advised him, without further deliberation, to put himself aboard those frigates, which were excellent sailers, and fit for his secure transportation. The prince told him that it was a matter of greater importance than was fit to

be executed upon so short deliberation; that he no sooner arrived at Jersey than he received letters from the queen his mother, requiring him forthwith to come to Paris where all things were provided for his reception; that he had sent two of the lords of the council to the queen, to excuse him for not giving ready obedience to her commands, and to assure her that he was in a place of unquestionable security, in which he might safely expect to hear from the king his father before he took any other resolution. That it would be very incongruous now to remove from thence, and to go into Ireland before his messengers returned from Paris, in which time he might reasonably hope to hear from the king himself, and so wished him to have patience till the matter was more ripe for a determination. This reasonable answer gave him no satisfaction; he commended the prince's averseness from going into France, which he said was the most pernicious counsel that ever could be given, that it was a thing the king his father abhorred, and never could consent to; and that he would take upon himself to write to the queen, and to give her such solid advice and reasons that should infallibly convert her from that desire, and that should abundantly satisfy her that his going into Ireland was absolutely necessary; but that a little delay in the execution of it might deprive them of all the fruit which was to be expected from that journey, and therefore renewed his advice and importunity for losing no more time, but immediately to embark. Which when he saw was not like to prevail with his highness, he immediately repaired to one of those of the privy council who attended

tended the prince, with whom he had a particular friendship, and lamented to him the loss of such an occasion, which would inevitably restore the king, who would be equally ruined if the prince went into France, of which he spake with all the detestation imaginable, and said, he was so far satisfied in his conscience of the benefit that would redound from the one, and the ruin which would inevitably fall out by the other, that he said, if the person with whom he held this conference would concur with him, he would carry the prince into Ireland even without, and against his consent. The other person answered that it was not to be attempted without his consent, nor could he imagine it possible to bring it to pass if they should both endeavour it; he replied, that he would invite the prince on board the frigates to a collation, and that he knew well he could so commend the vessels to him, that his own curiosity would easily invite him to a view of them, and that as soon as he was on board, he would cause the sails to be hoisted up, and make no stay till he came into Ireland. The other was very angry with him for entertaining such imaginations, and told him they neither agreed with his wisdom nor his duty, and left him in despair of his conjunction, and at the same time of being able to compass it. He had no sooner discharged himself of this imagination, but in the instant (as he had a most pregnant fancy) he entertained another with the same vigour, and resolved with all possible expedition to find himself at Paris, not making the least question but that he should convert the queen from any further thought of sending for the prince into France,

and as easily obtain her consent and approbation for his repairing into Ireland; and he made as little doubt, with the queen's help, and by his own dexterity, to prevail with France to send a good supply of money by him into Ireland, by which he should acquire a most universal reputation, and be the most welcome man alive to the lord lieutenant; and transported with this happy auguration he left Jersey, leaving at the same time his two ships and his soldiers, and half a dozen gentlemen of quality, who, upon his desire and many promises, had kept him company from Ireland, without one penny of money to subsist upon during his absence.

As soon as he came to Paris and had seen the queen, whom he found very well inclined to do all she could for the relief of Ireland, but resolute to have the prince her son immediately with her, notwithstanding all the reasons pressed against it by the lords of the king's council who had been sent from Jersey, he attended the cardinal, who understood him very well and knew his foible. He received him with all the ceremony and demonstration of respect he could possibly express, entered upon the discourse of England, and celebrated the part which he had acted upon that stage in so many actions of courage and sagacity, of the highest prudence and circumspection, with an indefatigable industry and fidelity; he told him that France found too late their own error, that they had been well content to see the king's great puissance weakened by his domestic troubles, which they wished only should keep him from being able to hurt his neighbours, but that they never had desired



desired to see him at the mercy of his own rebels, which they saw now was like to be the case, and they were therefore resolved to wed his interest in such a way and manner as the queen of England should desire, in which he well knew how much her majesty would depend upon his counsel. He said it was absolutely necessary, since the crown of France resolved to wed the king's interest, that the person of the prince of Wales should reside in France; that the method he had thought of proceeding in was, that the queen of England should make choice of such a person whom she thought best affected, and best qualified for such an employment, whom the king would immediately send as his extraordinary ambassador to the king and to the parliament; that he should govern himself wholly by such instructions as the queen should give him, which he knew would be his work to prepare; that all things should be made ready as soon as the queen would nominate the ambassador; and that upon the arrival of the prince of Wales in any part of France, as soon as notice should be sent to the court of it, for which due preparation should be made, the ambassador should be in the same manner dispatched for England, with one only instruction from France, which should be, That he should demand a speedy answer from the parliament, whether they would satisfy the demands he had made; which if they should refuse to do, he should forthwith in the king his master's name declare a war against them, and immediately leave the kingdom and return home, and then there should be quickly such an army ready as was worthy for the prince of Wales to venture

his own person in, and that he should have the honour to redeem and restore his father. This discourse ended, he wanted not language to extol the generosity and the magnanimity of the resolution, and to pay the cardinal all his compliments in his own coin, and from thence to enter upon the condition of Ireland, in which the cardinal presently interrupted him, and told him he knew well he was come from thence, and meant to return thither, and likewise the carriage of the nuncio; that the marquis of Ormond was too brave a gentleman, and had merited too much of his master, to be deserted, and France was resolved not to do its business by halves, but to give the king's affairs an entire relief in all places, that he should carry a good supply of money with him into Ireland, and that arms and ammunition should be speedily sent after him, and such direction to their agent there as should draw off all the Irish from the nuncio, who had not entirely given themselves up to the Spanish interest.

The noble person had that which he most desired, he was presently converted, and undertook to the queen that he would presently convert all at Jersey, and that the prince should obey all her commands, and entered into consultation with her upon the election of an ambassador, and what instructions should be prepared for him, which he took upon himself to prepare. Monsieur Bellievre was named by the queen, whom the cardinal had designed for that office; the cardinal approved the instructions, and caused six thousand pistoles to be paid to him who was to go to Ireland; and though it was a much  
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less sum than he had promised himself, from the magnificent expressions the cardinal had used to him, yet it provided well for his own occasions. So he left the queen with his usual professions and confidence, and accompanied those lords to Jersey, who were to attend upon his highness with her majesty's orders for the prince's repair into France, for the advancement whereof the cardinal was so solicitous, that he writ a letter to the old prince of Condé, which he knew he would forthwith send to the queen, as he did; in which he said that he had received very certain advertisement out of England, that there were some persons about the prince of Wales in Jersey, who had undertaken to deliver his highness up into the hands of the parliament for twenty thousand pistoles, and this letter was forthwith sent by the queen to overtake the lords, that it might be shewed to the prince, and that they who attended upon him might discern, what would be thought of them, if they dissuaded his highness from giving a present obedience to his mother's commands. As soon as they came to Jersey, he used all the means he could to persuade his friend to concur in his advice for the prince's immediate repair into France; he told him of all that had passed between the cardinal and him, not leaving out any of the expressions of the high value his eminence had of his particular person; that an ambassador was chosen by his advice, and his instructions drawn by him, from no part of which the ambassador durst swerve, and, which is very wonderful, he did really believe for that time, that he had both nominated the ambassa-

dor, and that his instructions would be exactly observed by him (so great a power he had always over himself, that he could believe any thing which was grateful to him); that a war would be presently proclaimed upon their refusal to do what the ambassador required; and that there wanted nothing to the expediting this great affair but the prince's immediate repairing into France without further delay, there being no other question concerning that matter, than whether his highness should stay in Jersey, where there could be no question of his security, until he could receive express direction from the king his father; and therefore he conjured his friend to concur in that advice, which would be very grateful to the queen, and be attended with much benefit to himself; telling him how kind her majesty was to him, and how confident she was of his service, and that if he should be of another opinion, it would not hinder the prince from going, who he knew was resolved to obey his mother; and so concluded his discourse with those arguments which he thought were like to make most impression in him, and gave him the instructions by which the ambassador was to be guided. His friend, who in truth loved him very heartily, though no man better knew his infirmities, told him, whatever the prince would be disposed to do, he could not change his opinion in point of counsel, until the king's pleasure might be known; he put him in mind how he had been before deceived at Oxford by the compte de Harcourt, who was an ambassador likewise, as was then thought, named by ourselves, and whose instructions he had likewise drawn, and yet he could

not but well remember how foully that business had been managed, and how disobligingly himself had been treated by that ambassador; and therefore he could not but wonder that the same artifices should again prevail with him, and that he could imagine that the instructions he had drawn would be at all considered or pursued, further than they might contribute to what the cardinal for the present designed; of the integrity whereof they had no evidence, but had reason enough to suspect. And so neither's persuasions working upon the other, the prince shortly removed into France, and he pursued his journey for Ireland with as much of the French money as was left, whereof the lord lieutenant never received one thousand pistoles towards the support of his majesty's affairs.

When he landed in Ireland, he found the whole treaty of peace disavowed and made void by the Irish, under the command of the nuncio, who was declared both general at land and admiral at sea of that kingdom. Here was a new field for action, which this person presently entered into, made a journey upon very little encouragement or security in his own person to the nuncio, was received and entertained by him very rudely, till he found it necessary, with great difficulty, to make what haste he could again to Dublin, where he continued to have many imaginations of uniting parties, and dividing the Irish amongst themselves, until he plainly discerned that there was no way left to preserve that kingdom from being irrecoverably lost to the crown, but by putting it into the hands of the parliament, which still made profession of all duty to the king; and

when that was unavoidably to be done, and the commissioners from the parliament arrived to receive it, he found means again to transport himself into France, where he immediately found himself engaged in several quarrels upon the account of what had formerly passed in England, which without any kind of scruple he appeared ready to answer with his sword in his hand, his courage having always faithfully seconded him in all his designs. When these contests were over, he repaired again to his new friend the cardinal, who received him not with the esteem he formerly had done, and only as a man who had proposed to himself to live upon them; yet he gave him very good words, promised him some command in the army, he proposing to himself no other course of life for his subsistence and preferment, than in the war; and in the mean time gave him a very mean supply for his present subsistence, nor did he find any better reception from those of whom he expected to be admitted as a full sharer in all they enjoyed. This mortification would have broken any other man's spirits, but it gave him only some fits of indignation, without working in the least degree upon the vigour of his mind, resolving to take the first opportunity to make himself to be more considered, and an opportunity shortly offered itself, which could have hardly been propitious to any man born under another constellation.

The disorders of Paris had forced the king to retire from thence to St. Germain's, and all overtures towards accommodation being hopeless, forces were raised on both sides, some of the princes of the blood being in the head of those in Paris.

Paris, and others with the king; and when both armies were one day drawn up at a small distance from each other, the person we are discoursing of, having with some difficulty procured a horse, had put himself as a volunteer into the king's troops, and a person of the other side coming out single out of the troops in a bravado to change a pistol (as the phrase is) with any single man who should be willing to encounter him, he, without speaking to any body, moved his horse very leisurely towards him, the other seeming to stand still and expect him, but he did in truth dexterously retire so near his own troops, that before the time he could come to charge him, the whole front of that squadron discharged all their carbines upon him, whilst the other retired into his place. By this dishonourable proceeding, he received a shot in the thigh with a brace of bullets, and keeping still his horse, needed no excuse for making what haste he could back, when he could no longer sit his horse. This action being performed so gallantly in the view of the king, the cardinal, and the prince of Condé, all men enquired who the gentleman was, and very few knew more than that he was an Englishman; but his name was quickly known and published, and direction given for his accommodation and recovery, in such a manner, as expressed that the king thought himself concerned that he should want nothing, and from this action and accident he made another glorious flight into the world, for he was no sooner recovered of his wounds, and went to make his acknowledgment to the king and the cardinal, but he found the cardinal's countenance

very serene towards him, and himself quickly possessed of an honourable command of horse, with such liberal appointments as made his condition very easy, the cardinal taking all occasions to do him honour, and he very well knowing how to cultivate those inclinations.

If he had been born to be happy, or had had a temper to have received the approaches of good fortune, when she made most haste towards him, no man had ever prepared such an ascent to himself to any height he could propose; he was the discourse of the whole court, and had drawn the eyes of all men upon him; his quality, his education, the handsomeness of his person, and even the beauty of his countenance (being not at that time above thirty years of age, and looking much younger) his alacrity and fierceness in action against the enemy, his softness and civility in all kind of conversations, his profound knowledge in all kind of learning, and in all languages, in which he enlarged or restrained himself, as he saw opportunity, made him grateful to all kind of persons. His first troop of horse consisted most of English, who resorted to him in as great numbers as he could wish, and who thought their fortunes made by their dependance upon him; and he was well contented they should do so, not concealing any imagination of his own of the vast height his stars would carry him to, imputing still all success to his own rare contrivance, and dexterity in the management, and encouraged them to hope all for fortunes under his conduct; which brought great joy and satisfaction to them both; they, congratulating with themselves for the great blessing

fining that had befallen, that they had committed their fortunes into the hands of a person who could so easily, and was resolved so amply to provide for them, and so they celebrated him in all places as the wonder of the world; and he, too much delighting in that kind of celebration, requited them only in giving them equal testimony as brave men, excellent officers, who having the choice of all offices and preferments, made it their choice, out of their mere love and esteem of his person, to grow up under his shadow, and in the mean time that they would wait with patience and industry, that they might take their turn with him. But patience and industry were virtues that neither of them were acquainted with, they were pleased with him because his professions and promises were very early, and so like preferments, that they concluded, that he that said more than they could wish in the first and second weeks, would give them possession of something within three or four months. And he again believed that all their professions and zeal proceeded purely out of an innate affection to his person, would never be weary of their dependance, or that he should still be able to keep it warm with the same fire by which he had kindled it. So that they being men of licence and expence, who expected present liberal support, he having given them cause to expect much more, and he having not in his nature the least inclination to bounty or generosity, they grew quickly weary of each other, they abandoning him as a person who promised vastly, lightly, and unreasonably, and who would not perform, if it were in his power to do it as easily as to

promise; and he looking upon it as a great advancement to his fortune to be freed from such an importunate and insatiable dependance. When he made his first cornet for his troop, his impress was an ostrich, which is his own crest, and in its mouth a piece of iron, under it, these words, *Ferro vivendum est tibi, quid præstantia plumæ?*—alluding to the nature of the ostrich to live upon iron, which was now his fortune to do, without any benefit from the beauty of her feathers, as he was to expect none from the lustre of his pen, in which he believed he excelled all men. The invention had sharpness in it, and added to his reputation, even when it appeared to be full blown.

Whilst the civil wars of France continued, and every day discovered treachery and falsehood in the court, amongst those who were least suspected, his credit grew to that degree, both with the queen and the cardinal; that he was admitted into the greatest trust, and was in truth ready for the boldest undertakings, in which he had sometime success, which he never forgot, but he never remembered want of it, or when he had succeeded very ill; and was as prepared for any new undertaking. And in truth, the changes he met with, and even the reparations he sometimes received, might well work upon a nature less sanguine than his. Upon the king's first coming to Paris after the murder of his father, at which time he stood possessed of the office of secretary of state, he had some very good friends about the young king, who did wish that he might receive all gracious treatment from his majesty, as a man who had behaved himself faithfully and signally in

the service of his father, and being of that rank and quality as had seldom received any diminution upon the succession of the crown. But his majesty very quickly discovered such an aversion for him, that he did not receive him with any degree of grace, nor admit him into any kind of consultation, there being some persons of inferior condition about him who had made it their business to make the worst impression they could of him, principally infusing into him, that he was the most obnoxious person in England, and the most ingrateful to all degrees of persons, and therefore his majesty could not do a more unpopular thing than to receive such a person into any kind of credit with him. These and the like infusions prevailed so far, as that an obstinate aversion was too easily discovered by those who stood very near, and he himself discerned it soon enough not to expose himself till it was discerned by others at a farther distance; and therefore he speedily withdrew himself from any further attendance, and retired to his command in the army, where he grew every day, and where he pleased himself with the having discharged his duty in the overture of his service, and as much, that that overture was rejected, the acceptance whereof might have made him less solicitous to have prosecuted his fortune, which providence had laid before him, in a more specious way. And in his resentments of this kind he was naturally very sharp and flowing, let the persons be of what quality soever which were to be mentioned upon those occasions; and yet within two or three years, together with the progress he made in the war, he recovered so much

credit with the person of the king, by his own pure address and dexterity, that he not only made himself acceptable to him in conversation, but so gracious, that he made him knight of the order, which was the greatest honour he could bestow, and the most useful to the person on whom he bestowed it. And here he again congratulated his stars for the neglect and affront he had formerly sustained, and his own genius for the honour and reparation he had wrought out for himself by his wisdom in supporting it; and at the time when he had this obligation conferred upon him, the king was at the Louvre with his mother, and the city of Paris, with many of the princes, in rebellion. Whilst the king and his army were about St. Germans, he frankly undertook, by his pretence to pay his duty to the king, that he would introduce officers and men enough to possess himself of the Louvre, where the king was in great jealousy and umbrage with the princes and the city; and when the execution of this design was by some accident interrupted, he never thought he owed an apology to the king for engaging in such an enterprize, in which his person and his honour were to be so much concerned, without so much as communicating it to himself; but would with all assurance declare, that he ought not to let the king know of it, because it could not be presumed he would consent to it, and then it would be in his power to prevent it; and therefore it ought to be done without his privity, which would absolve him from being thought to have a hand in it, and the advantage would be so great to the king of France's service, and his own glory in the lustre of such

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an action that he was obliged in honour to undertake it.

His commands now were grown so considerable, not only in point of honour, but in point of profit (the greatest part of the trade to Paris being driven under his passes and licence, he having the command of those rivers by which they were to have their entrance) that it was concluded by all men, that he would in a very short time raise a very great estate to himself, it being evident enough that he never dispensed with, or remitted the least sum of money which he could exact; that he never made expence in eating or drinking; never had any expence in equipage; never exercised any thing of bounty towards friend, servant or dependant, and as little charity towards any person who stood in want of relief, of which he had worthy objects enough in many distressed persons of his own country; yet (which is the most wonderful part of his life) he was not only always without money, but without those supplies of linen and clothes which all men were possessed of who served in a much inferior condition; all which (for it was notorious to all) men then imputed to his excess in play and gaming, in which he was exceedingly delighted, and always over-reached, for he played not well; and to some amours in which he had always the vanity to involve himself, and to which he might possibly make some sacrifices for that vanity's sake. It is very true he was in his constitution, and as much in his nature, very amorous; and whether to exercise that part of his oratory, which he thought graceful and powerful in making love, or for the natural effects of it, he was very seldom without such a

deity to sacrifice to, which he always performed so industriously, that he seemed to neglect all other things of the world. He would admire and extol the person he adored beyond what any of the poets had used to do, and then grieve and lament, and bewail his own want of merit, and unworthiness, even in tears, at his mistress's feet, making all the promises and vows imaginable, and would procure letters of his wife's desperate sickness of some disease that could not be cured, nor supported above two, or three months, and thereupon make offers and promises of marriage with the same importunity as if the time were ready for contract; and when either success, or want of success, had put an end to, or allayed the fervour of these addresses, he was as ready and solicitous in any new embarkation, and would act as romantic exploits as are recited in any of the romances. Whilst he was a votary to a lady of noble extraction and incomparable beauty in Paris, it happened that a young abbot frequented the same house, and found his presence less agreeable than he had formerly thought it had been, and had thereupon used some expressions, according to the custom and liberty of that nation and that people, which the lady thought herself disobliged by, and complained of it to many persons of quality who used to be in her presence. This noble lover being once well informed where the abbot was, and what journey he intended to make, sent an officer that he could trust with some horse and took him prisoner, and sent him to the lady with a letter, that if he made not an entire and humble satisfaction to her for his miscarriage, he had appointed the

guard

ward to bring him to him, and he should thereupon do such further justice as was fit. The lady was infinitely surpris'd and scandalized with the reparation, caused the abbot immediately to be dismissed, without seeing him, and signified her desire to the officer that his superior would meddle no more in her interest, or any thing relating to her reputation; and so the matter ended, with the general laughter of the court, it being in a time when greater extravagancies could not be examined and punished. This wonderful humour continued with him to his age, and I believe will part with him last of all his good qualities, for he is not more pleas'd with any, and owns this passion, when he meets with an object worthy of his address, with the same fervour and importunity, with the same languishing and tears, which he hath found benefit by near forty years, and therefore practises it with the same assurance.

When the cardinal was compelled to leave the court and the kingdom, he left this person in great trust with the queen, who took all occasions, by frequent conferences with him, and frequent testirmonies of his parts and abilities, to express a very good and particular esteem of him, which he (according to the kindness he naturally had for himself) interpreted to proceed from his own great merit and abilities, which had rendered him very gracious to his majesty; and thereupon began to delight himself with the contemplation of the glorious condition he should be possess'd of, if he could now succeed the cardinal in the office of premier minister in France. And this transported him so far, that he was not only well contented

with the universal jealousy and clamour against the cardinal's return, but bare-faced took upon himself to advise the queen not to affect it, as a thing impossible to be brought to pass, and that the very desiring it would expose her own security to great hazard; which she no sooner perceived (though with a countenance of grace) than she gave the cardinal advertisement of it, that he might incur no further inconvenience by that trust; and the other found himself insensibly deprived of all further opportunities to give any counsel, and was shortly after sent with his troops into Italy in an enterprise which was not intended for success, and as soon as he returned from thence, upon pretence of state, and with many compliments from the cardinal, in the assignation of monies to be paid to him (though not half of what was in truth due upon his appointments) he was cashiered of all his commands, and obliged to depart out of France, and not to return thither; leaving behind him the reputation of a very extraordinary person, wonderfully qualified for speculation, but somewhat defective in reducing those speculations into practice.

Magnis tamen excidit ausis.

Being now to begin the world again, he repaired into Flanders to the king, pretending that he had brought enough with him to support him a year, which was four times more wealth than any person about his majesty could pretend to, and was indeed much more than he had any view of; for within less than six weeks he had spent all that he brought from France, and therefore he bestirred himself betime for early ways of supply. He staid very few days with the king at Brussels, but



but the army being then in the field, and under the command of Don Juan, he repaired speedily to him. His friends, who wished him very well, despaired that he would find any good reception there; it is very true he had the language of a Spaniard, having been born, and lived many years in Madrid, as hath been said before, but the gaiety of his humour, and his whole behaviour was most contrary to the nature of Spain; besides, he had in his whole comportment, both in France and Italy, rendered himself very ungracious to that whole nation. Don Alonzo de Cardinas, who was in principal trust about Don Juan, had lived very many years in England, knew the other gentleman very well, and the universal reproach he lay under there, and how unsuccessful his fine mercurial temper had always been in the forming any solid counsels, and therefore he was like to use all his credit to obstruct his pretences. Lastly, he had commanded a party of horse and dragoons a year or two before, in a winter expedition upon Flanders; which was the most famous for plunder and all kind of rapine, and for the unnecessary conflagration of many villages and towns, that had been in that whole war. So that his name had been rendered most odious in lampoons and songs throughout that whole province; all which, together with the freights and necessities the Spanish affairs at that time were in, and the insupportable poverty both of the army and the court at that time, would have discouraged any other man from that application; but all this rather sharpened than abated his edge; and after he had stayed three or four days at Brussels with the king, and entertained his ma-

jefty with variety of pleasant discourses concerning France and Italy, especially the great expressions the cardinal used to him at parting, when all mistakes were cleared and a new friendship entered into between them, he made his journey to Don Juan, who was then with his army before Condé, without any other advantage or credit than the strength of his own genius; for he carried not with him so much as any recommendation from the king, nor desired it. His reception at the army was with state and reservation enough, as a man towards whom they meant to stand upon their guard. In the mean time he, according to his natural vivacity, made all his addresses as well to the ministers and officers, as to Don Juan, as was most proper to their several tempers and humours, in which he prevailed so far over Don Alonzo's own parched stupidity, and commending his great abilities in state affairs (in which he was invincibly ignorant) that he thought he had not well enough known him before, and wished he might have credit enough with Don Juan and the marquis Carracina, that he might be believed in the testimony he gave of him. In a very few days he had made himself so acceptable to all kind of persons, that he was generally looked upon as a very fine gentleman, and of extraordinary parts; and Don Juan himself was very well pleased to see him frequently, and especially at those seasons when he was most vacant to discourse, as at meals and in the evening hours, in all which seasons the other attended very diligently, entertaining him upon all subjects with very acute and refined speculations. That prince had very fine natural

Natural parts, and had been very conversant in many parts of polite learning, and more with books than that nation used to be, and was very much superior to any person of what quality soever who was about him, so that he quickly made it manifest, that he was exceedingly delighted to exercise those talents in the conversation of a person so excellently endowed in all parts of literature. In the time Don Juan had spent in Italy, he had been, according to the genius of that nation, inclined to examine the art of astrology, and was not without a greater opinion of it than he publicly owned. The other had really waded as deep into the examination and study of it as any man had done; and though he would make many pleasant discourses upon it, and upon the general incertitude of it, yet he had in truth a greater esteem and dependence upon it, than he was willing to be thought to have, and had many discourses of the observations he had made in Italy, of the great confidence that people had in all their affairs and counsels upon those predictions, of the success whereof he would give many instances; and his late general the duke of Modena had much improved his curiosity and knowledge in that science. This argument did not only take up much of the time Don Juan spent in public discourse, but disposed him to many private conferences with him; till in the end Don Juan desired him to examine his horoscope, which he delivered to him, and the other as willingly received, and undertook the charge: and from this kind of intercourse, which in the beginning had no other foundation, it was upon the sudden believed that the prince held other conferences

with him upon matters of greater importance, and that he had credit enough with him to prevail in many cases. So that many persons of all conditions applied themselves to him, to promote their pretences to the prince, in reception whereof he was not forward; yet took care to cultivate those imaginations concerning his interest in the prince, of which he intended, as he shortly after did, to make some use.

When he had raised this opinion of his parts and abilities, his next work was to manifest his interest, and the power he had to do them service. There were many regiments in the French army, which consisted intirely, both officers and soldiers, of Irish, some whereof, during his majesty's residence in France, withdrew themselves from the Spanish service, declaring that they would always serve their own king, or in such places as he required them. And they were now as ready to leave that crown and to engage for the Spaniards in Flanders, to which they were the more disposed at this time, by the general rumour (which was known to be well grounded) that the duke of York would be shortly obliged likewise to retire himself out of France, by some obligation the cardinal was engaged in, upon his treaty with Cromwell; and then it was reasonably enough concluded that his royal highness would repair into Flanders to the king his brother, where the duke of Gloucester already was, having found it necessary not to remain longer with his sister in Holland, where his presence was not grateful to those states.

The Spaniards having entered into a secret treaty with the king, and permitted him to make his abode in Flanders,

Flanders, which was confined to the city of Bruges, rather as a prince incognito than as a king whose quarrel and interest they had wedded. As soon as they were engaged before Condé, finding that there were some Irish regiments in that garrison, they sent to the king to desire him that his majesty would send the marquis of Ormond to the camp, to the end that by his presence some of the Irish in the garrison might be wrought upon, the which his majesty consented to, and sent the marquis accordingly, of which Don Juan found the benefit; for the jealousy the garrison had of the Irish, made the French commander and governor treat the sooner upon the surrender; and though the lord Muskerry, who was nephew to the marquis of Ormond, and commanded a strong regiment of Irish in that town, positively refused to bring over his regiment to the Spaniard upon the surrender of Condé, which he conceived would not be honourable for him to do, yet he declared to his uncle, that as soon as he came into France with his men, he would repair to the court, and bare-faced demand from the cardinal a safe conduct for himself and his men to march into Flanders, according to the stipulation agreed between them, That whenever the king should require his service, he should have a pass to march to him with his whole regiment; that when he had done his part, and the cardinal should refuse to comply with his engagement, he would take himself to be at full liberty, and would with all speed repair to his majesty, and made no doubt but that his regiment would quickly find themselves with him, which fell out accordingly; and after the cardinal

had endeavoured, by all the ways he could, to dispose and persuade him to continue in that service with great promises of reward and preferment, finding at last that he could not be wrought upon, he gave him a licence for his own departure; but refused to licence his men; saying, That they were readier for the king of England's service whilst they remained in France, than if they went into Flanders. Whereupon Muskerry himself, with his servants and equipage only, repaired to Brussels, where he was received with great applause, both the colonel and the regiment having made themselves very signal, in very remarkable services; and Don Juan no sooner assigned him quarters for the reception of his men, but the whole regiment, by tens and twenties, repaired with their arms to him, in so much, that there were not above one officer and very few private soldiers who were not present with him, and there they continued till the making of the peace;

About the same time, and towards the end of the campaign, there was a strong garrison fixt and possessed by the French at St. Gillen, within five miles of Brussels, under the command of Monsieur Schomburgh; who, having been possessed thereof by the space of above a year, had, with great pains and care, made it very strong, and was a thorn in the side of Flanders, and exceedingly discommoded their whole affairs. The Spaniard had attempted the surprize of it before it was thoroughly fortified, and made afterwards several attempts to recover it, but were always beaten off with great loss, and left hopeless of success. The major part of this garrison were Irish, whereof most of the

officers

officers were of one family, and nearly allied to a gentleman who had long served the marquis of Ormond in the place of a secretary. They found means to let this gentleman know that if the king thought it would be for his service, they would undertake, whenever they should be required, to put it into the Spaniard's hands. The secretary quickly informed his lord of the overture, and his majesty approved that the secretary should resort to the army, that Don Juan might know and consider the proposition, and whether it might be practicable; and the marquis rather chose to commit the conduct of it to the gentleman who had made himself so gracious to Don Juan, than to reserve it to himself, his wisdom and his honour raising many scruples in him concerning that negotiation; and he was still unsatisfied that the benefits his majesty received from the Spaniard were, not proportionable to the advantages they received from the king.

The secretary no sooner communicated this affair to the other gentleman, but he received it with open arms, and looked upon it as a thing done which his stars had contrived for the raising and establishing his fortune; he made all the promises imaginable of managing it for the particular benefit and preferment of the officers and soldiers, and then communicated it to Don Juan, as an affair that wholly depended upon him, and upon the entire dependence those officers had upon him.—The overture could not but be very grateful to Don Juan, the reduction of that place being the most desirable thing before them, and to be purchased at any price, and therefore all the conditions were readily

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consented to, promises made for the payment of such and such sums of money out of hand, such and such pensions to be granted upon funds which could not be disappointed; and all other things to be done for officers and soldiers which they themselves required; and to this purpose a treaty was entered into and signed with all requisite formalities.

This negotiation was attended with other conveniencies; he had hitherto appeared only in the quality of a volunteer, which title would be at an end as soon as the army retired into their winter quarters, and he had reason to apprehend (though there continued all fair weather in Don Juan's countenance) that the Spanish council would not be so well pleased to see him frequently in the court, and in private with the prince, upon whose temper and inclinations he was already thought to have some ascendant; but this affair of St. Gillen, which was imparted to the principal counsellors, added infinitely to his reputation with them, and made his presence at Brussels to be even absolutely necessary, there being many difficulties which were in view for the execution of the design. Schomburgh was known to be an officer of great vigilance and courage, and it was very probable that the daily resort of so many Irish into Flanders, who withdrew from the French service, would raise a jealousy of all those of that nation who remained in that service, and therefore if the design were not speedily executed, they must expect that the garrison would be reinforced with other men, and the Irish removed; and the truth is, this was in Schomburgh's purpose from his natural jealousy of

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the inconstancy and infidelity of that nation, without having discovered the least circumstance of the treaty. But from the time of the taking of Condé, which administered the first suspicion of the Irish, it was not in his power to draw new forces to him, or to dismiss those out of his garrison whose company he least desired; thereupon he only changed one resolution he had, which was to make a journey himself to Paris, the knowledge and time whereof was the first ground that disposed the officers to this undertaking, as his presence made the work the more difficult; but they were too many, and those too far engaged, to give over the design, and therefore the officers within were as solicitous for the execution of it as the Spaniards themselves.

In the depth of winter about Christmas, in a very great frost and snow, Don Juan assembled all his army before St. Gillen, with which Schomburgh was very much surprised, and knew well that the army could do him no harm if his men were true to him, and therefore concluded that the enemy without depended upon treachery within, and he quickly found, by the frequent assembling of many of the Irish officers, and by the neglect of his orders, and sometimes changing the guards, that there was a conspiracy against him, and that some religious men had been suffered to pass in and out; and he intercepted one letter by which he found the lieutenant colonel of the Irish regiment, of whom he had always had a very good opinion (and he was indeed much superior in abilities to that kind of people) deeply engaged in the design, and indeed the whole conductor of it. Whereupon he cautioned

him suddenly to be apprehended, with a resolution as suddenly to execute him, but the officer advised him not to make too much haste, and resolutely told him that his own life, and the lives of all who adhered to him, should expiate for the loss of his; and in the same instant all the Irish betook themselves to their arms, and possessed themselves of some of the outworks, and of a place of some strength in the town; and a trumpet was sent from Don Juan with a letter to the governor, in which he let him know that he was very sure of the place in spite of all that he could do, and therefore if he should take away the lieutenant colonel's life, himself and all his friends should suffer, but if he would presently treat for the giving up of the place, he would give him conditions worthy of a soldier; in this freight the governor found it absolutely necessary for him to treat, and quickly consented to the conditions proposed, and marched out with all those who had a mind to follow him, much the major part remaining in the Spanish service. And so Don Juan returned triumphantly to Brussels, where he was the better welcome for having reduced so mischievous a neighbour in the depth of winter, which they durst not have attempted in the spring or summer.

This action so prosperously carried on gave great advantage to the affairs of that country, and the dexterous conduct of it, much reputation to the person who had been so instrumental in it, who was likewise liberally considered by the Spaniard for the service he had done, besides the consideration he took for himself out of the monies assigned for the officers and soldiers;

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and he now looked upon himself as settled in the service of that crown, and in the particular affection of Don Juan, of which he made daily use. From the time of his first approach into Don Juan's good opinion, he used all the ways he could to inculcate into the king the great benefit would accrue to his service by the reputation he had gotten with the prince and in the Spanish councils, where he would employ all his talent and his time to promote his majesty's pretences; and therefore he proposed to the king, that he might be restored to the character of his secretary, as he had been to his father, and the place had never been yet disposed of, there being always two secretaries of state, one of which, who had been joint officer with him, being then attending upon his majesty, and sufficient to dispatch all the business of that office. The arguments which he used to the king to gratify him in that his desire, were, that he should be thereby enabled to do his majesty great service by the reputation that character would give him; that he would not intermeddle with his counsels, otherwise than as his majesty should think fit to communicate them to him, in reference to the transactions which were to be made with Don Juan and in the court of Spain; that when the king should find it necessary, by the advancement of his affairs in England, to dispose of the place of the secretary to a person who might merit it by any notable service, he would willingly put it into his majesty's hands to dispose of, and betake himself to any other office he should be assigned to.— By these inducements he prevailed with his majesty to admit him into the same relation he had formerly

to his father, not at all meddling with the business of the office, nor believing that it would ever come to be an office in England, he being at that time possessed with as full a despair of his majesty's ever being restored to his dominions, as Cromwell himself was with a confidence that it could never come to pass, and so modelling all his designs to live in a good condition abroad, in which he had hitherto prospered so wonderfully, and all places being alike and equal to him.

Hitherto he avouched nothing more than his being a protestant above temptation, frequented the exercise of devotion in the king's house, and gave all the evidence of his affection that way as could be expected from a man who was long known to have great latitude in religion; and he had lately committed a younger son to the care and education of the jesuits in France, upon some promise the queen regent had made to him when he was in credit with her, that she would provide a liberal support for him in pensions, and church-livings, the receiving whereof he thought no religion could oblige a man to be averse from. Soon after his first coming into Flanders, and as soon as he found he had got credit there (which he still believed to be greater than in truth it was) he sent into England for a daughter he had there, of a full growth, who lived not easily with her mother, in order by his authority to compose some domestic differences, and to finish a treaty of marriage for her with a gentleman of the same country, who had long made that address. As soon as she arrived in Flanders, he provided a private lodging for her in Ghent, which being in the middle between Bruges, where the king

resided, and Brussels, where the Spanish court was, he thought to be a place where he could probably spend most part of his time; besides, having a great reverence for the lady abbess of the English monastery there, he had a particular devotion for that city; not without a design to have his own devotion the better thought of, his daughter remained very few days in the lodging he had provided for her, before he removed her to the English cloyster for her more honourable accommodation, whilst her stay should be necessary in those parts. The young lady was as averse from a monastery, and from the religion that is professed there, as is possible for a daughter who had been bred from her cradle under the severe discipline of a mother of another faith, and in an age and region where the Romish religion was perfectly detested, and she herself had always been taught very sharp objections against it; but her father easily persuaded her that there should be no attempt made upon her religion, but that the lodging should be very honourable, and the conversation such as she could not but take delight in, and that she should always be with him when he was in town, only lodge in the monastery, and eat there when he was away. And it cannot be denied but that the accommodation was very good, and prudently provided for her, the abbess being a lady of great reputation and wisdom, and the whole community consisted of ladies of noble extraction, great beauty, and unblemished virtue; and it was a great respect in the abbess towards her father, and her dependence upon his great power at court, that persuaded her to receive his daughter

into the monastery, where none of any quality had ever been admitted into the inclosure who did not profess the Roman religion. But she had been there very few days, when a half-witted man of a good family and a competent fortune, meeting this young lady at some house, whether she used to accompany her father, made love to her, and there being a great friendship between the abbess and the mother of the young gentleman, who was a widow of very great reputation and esteem in that place, the matter was quickly proposed to the father, who, according to his natural alacrity, presently looked upon it as a new manifestation of providence, that he and his family should never fall to insupportable necessity; and transported with the vanity of the reputation he should acquire, that being despoiled of his estate, and banished from his country, he should raise himself to such a reputation with a neighbourhood, as to marry a daughter into one of the best families of it, adorned, as he would believe, with an ample revenue, and without any other portion than a promise to pay a competent one when he should be able. Without long deliberating on the business, and without considering the weak spirit of the young man, which was in truth contemptible, or so much as examining the value and yearly revenue of the estate, which was not the twelfth part of what he himself gave it out to be; he first persuaded his daughter to renounce her own religion, and become a Roman catholic, which was a condition without which the marriage could not be attained to, and then frankly gave her up to perpetual misery, which she entered into from the day of

of her marriage: which, considering all circumstances, would have brought much grief of mind to another parent, but he was of that rare constitution, that those worldly things never gave him trouble, nor did he more consider the loss of a child, in an adventure which probably might bring some convenience to him (for himself was still first, if not sole in all those considerations) than if it were his neighbour's, being absolutely divested of all troublesome affections which might obstruct or disturb his fortune, and with this kind of providence he made provision for two of his children.

Hitherto he had preserved, as he believed, his own reputation, as to being a protestant, unblemished.— He had resisted the temptations of France without being shaken, and though the Jesuits always courted him with wonderful application and observance, and he them again with the same dexterity, frequently gratifying them with some arguments against the protestants, and acknowledging some defects to be in their church, which he could with supplied; yet after he had lodged six months at Albey, in a college of the jesuits, where he studied very hard, and read all books recommended by them to him, when the superior came to him at his remove towards Italy, and passed many compliments with him of the honour the society had received in entertaining so noble a person and so rarely qualified, he told him, he hoped that the observations he had made of their profession and their course of life, and the reflections which had occurred unto him upon the arguments he had found in such and such books, had by this time confirmed him in

such a reverence towards the catholic church, that, all his former prejudice being removed, he would now throw himself into the arms of it. He parted not with him in debt for any good words, commended the catholic religion as containing most excellent inducements to a pious life, which could not but be attended with salvation; he admired and extolled the institution of the society, and their strict and pious observation of the rules prescribed to them, which in his judgment made them preferable to all other religious orders, and that he would always preserve a particular devotion for them. But he said, whether it were by the difference of their educations, or the inequality of their understandings and judgments, he found that many arguments which appeared to them as infallible demonstrations, seemed in truth to him to carry little weight with them, and so briefly enlarged upon some particular instances with a great sharpness of reason, yet with great modesty, and confession of his own weakness; he concluded, that there was somewhat wanting in their religion which kept him yet from being reconciled to it, and so he took his leave of Albey. But he now found that he must calculate his designs to another meridian, and that the temper which had done him no harm in France would do him no good in Flanders, that the reputation of being a Christian was a title sufficient for many preferments, but that not being a catholic, in Spain took away the advantage of being a Christian. He never had any lively hopes of the king's restoration, at least that he could ever be restored but by catholic arms, and he had just now seen the most



probable design the king had ever had, upon the hope of the affection and power of his own subjects, miscarry in the attempt of Sir George Booth, which was thought to be founded upon so good mediums; that the king had withdrawn privately from Brussels incognito, and attended only with four or five servants, whereof that person was one, to the maritime parts of France, in some assurance that the rebel's army would find so many diversions in other parts of the kingdom, that he should find a competent body of men to receive him in Kent, with which he might march as he should find it most counsellable. But all these high imaginations coming to nothing, by the sudden defeat of Sir George Booth before Chester, and the surprisal of many other parties in several parts of the kingdom before they were well formed, and in a word, the imprisoning of all persons of honour and reputation throughout the whole kingdom, who were in the least degree suspected to wish well to the king, seemed at the same time to discredit and reproach the late too easy imaginations, and to pull up by the roots all the king's future hopes of restitution, and in this melancholy discomposure of mind the king returned again to Brussels, and the other person to his retreat at Ghent, to the admired abbess and to his beloved daughter.

It was the great benefit and happiness of his constitution, that he never continued long irresolute, or remained in suspense; if that door was not open which he would chuse to enter at, the next was welcome to him. His hopes under the king were now blasted, and though he promised himself much encourage-

ment from the favour of Don Juan, yet, as was said before, religion was that which could only make a man shine in the court of Spain, and he had made as much of his as it would yield him throughout his whole course of life, and it was like now to do him no farther service. As soon as he came to Ghent he pretended to be very sick, sent for physicians, described his disease to them, and proposed some reasonable remedies to them; his friend the abbess, who was really a much better casuist than her confessor, did not fail to administer her spiritual remembrances; and Courtsey, the provincial of the English jesuits (a man who could never have been too hard for him, if he had not been reduced to great weakness) was at hand to do all his offices, and he did it very effectually, though in great secret. He sent then to the marquis of Ormond and his other friend at Brussels, upon whose friendship he had ever depended, and had found him always fast and unshaken, to him, notwithstanding his many imbecilities; he conjured them both (who were indeed the two only friends he had in the world) to repair to him at Ghent, for that his condition of health being at that time so very doubtful, he had somewhat to impart to them of the last importance. The enemy had fastened themselves in some places between Brussels and Ghent, and the season of the year was not so pleasant as to invite men to unnecessary journeys; it was therefore agreed between them, that the presence of one of them would serve the turn, let the business be what it would, and so the marquis made a journey to him, the other remaining still with the king. When he came to Ghent

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he found him well recovered of his sickness, of which he made him a large relation; by what degrees it came upon him, and how soon it had deprived him of his strength, how his sleeps forsook him, and that the night yielded him no rest; that in his agony he had made many reflections upon his past condition of life, and principally upon some scruples in religion, which had been long in his mind; that he had sent for a learned jesuit to confer with him, and in a word, that he had received so great satisfaction from him, that he was become catholic, and was reconciled to the church; which he had no sooner submitted to, but that he found so great a tranquillity and serenity of mind, that he had wonderfully recovered in so few days his perfect health, and almost his former strength. That having thus provided for the salvation of his soul, all his other thoughts were for the advancement of his majesty's service, or that at least, that this alteration in him might have no reflection upon the other, and that in this consideration he desired a conference with his two best friends; and since one of them came not, he would desire the same from the other, which he meant to do from both, that he might receive his advice how the same might be communicated to the king; and how, and when, and in what manner it should be made known; and that it was hitherto so great a secret, that it was only known to his confessor and himself; and that it should remain so as long as his majesty should think it requisite; that he had in truth himself endeavoured, as a thing practicable in his own opinion, that it might have remained so entire a secret between his confessor

and himself, that he might not only have deferred making his conversion public, but have performed all his usual offices and services about his majesty as he had used to do, even at his devotions, so that no man should have been able to make the least discovery. But that his confessor, upon great deliberation, and conference with many other very learned men, had declared to him, that what he proposed was so absolutely unlawful, and inconsistent with the catholic religion, that it was not in the power of his holiness himself to dispense with it. This being his case, he had no more to do but to desire that the whole relation might be candidly made to his majesty, and a gracious interpretation obtained from him upon it. The marquis (who was less surprized than his other friend, as having less opinion of his constancy in that particular than the other had) answered him only, that he was sorry for the change, and that he should give his majesty a full relation of it, and so returned to Brussels.

Within a few days he came thither; and having been very careful to be first seen by Don Juan at mass, he attended the king, who received him without any cloudiness, looking upon him of the same religion as he had before understood him to be. His majesty making himself very merry with his other friend for being so weak a man as to imagine that he could be constant to any profession, and made himself no less merry with the person himself upon his scruples of conscience, and the method and circumstances of his conversion, and upon father Courtney's having gained so great an ascendant over his understanding; and he was very glad to compound

for being laughed at, and could bear a better part in it, than in the serious debate of it. He was exceedingly troubled to find his other friend, whose true affection to him had been upon all occasions so manifest, so severe that he could not dissemble it in his countenance with him; and when the other renewed all professions of kindness and friendship to him, against all persons and all pretences in the world, and desired that this alteration in him, which was the effect of conscience, and for his own salvation, might not deprive him of his friendship, or alienate his affections from him, he answered him very roundly, that he could not dissemble the trouble he sustained, nor could bear that reproach which would fall upon himself if he were thought not to be displeased with it; that he knew not how he could hereafter bear any part in the king's councils, or how he could be communicated with; that though the professions he made to him of the constancy of his friendship might be at that time according to his intention, yet that he had no reason to believe that they, who had power to prevail over him in this affair of the highest importance, would ever be contented that he should retain a friendship with a person so opposite to all their practices, and all their principles; against which they would always be able to speak more pertinently, both in reason and religion, than they had done in any other part of his conversion; which he took very heavily, and could not forbear undervaluing and envying, against the whole body of them, with more reproach and contempt, than could have been expected from so young a profelyte. The king had well foreseen that he

could no longer wear the character either of his secretary or counsellor, and it may be, that consideration had made him condescend to be so merry upon the conversion; and he was very well content that his friend should plainly declare to him in his presence the necessity of his declining being present at future councils, and of returning the signet to the king; with which, how much soever he was surpris'd or displeas'd, he presently submitted, and deliver'd the signet the next day.

This was a change he did not expect his conversion would have produced, but had promised himself more advantage from his character in his new religion than in his old; that there was no more hope now of the protestant interest, and therefore that the catholic must be now wholly applied to, and that those transactions could pass through no other hand but his; and that as the confidence of the catholics should be able to advance the king's service, so his so near relation to his royal person and councils would give him great credit with the catholics. Such a crop of imaginations and presumptions was always his first harvest upon any notable new design or enterprize, but this new exclusion demolished all these hopes, and was a greater discovery of the king's dislike of what he had done, than in his calculation of state he thought seasonable for his majesty's service, and upon that ground was the less expected by him; and this he never forgave his old friend, though he continued to make the same professions, and seem'd to take it very unkindly that it should be thought that religion should be able to make any impression on him with reference to the friendships which

which he had contracted. After the first congratulation for the becoming a Christian, which those people do very liberally make for a few days, he found no sunshine from the change of his climate; that no proffer of place or pension came from Spain; and that the pope, to whom he had made an early communication of his sorrow for, and renunciation of his former heresy, had returned him no other exalted expressions, which he expected, than *Tu conversus, converte fratres tuos*; that Don Juan's own countenance was so far from shedding more graces towards him than it had formerly done, that it was in truth more reserved; for the Marquis of Carracina, and especially Don Alonzo, who were not pleased with the frequent admission he had to Don Juan, and his serene countenance towards him, had sent their advertisements into Spain little to his advantage, and the prince had received some reprehension from thence for his conferring those graces. But there happened shortly after another instance, which manifested enough what opinion that court had of him. The treaty between the two crowns being appointed to be at Fontarabia between the cardinal and Don Louis de Haro, Don Louis, who always professed great affection to the king, sent him a private advice by his resident in that court, Sir Henry Bennett, to find himself there, professing that he would do all he could to engage the cardinal, that the two crowns, being once reconciled, might both engage in his majesty's interest, and at the same time advised that his majesty would come with as small a train as he could fitly do, and particularly that by no

means he would bring that person with him; which was a sufficient evidence of prejudice. Notwithstanding which, the cardinal having expressly refused to grant a safe conduct to his majesty to pass through France, and as expressly dissuaded his going to the treaty, as a thing which would prove to his disadvantage, and disenable his eminence, by the noise of it, to do those good offices for his majesty which he was resolved to do in his absence, the king thought fit to follow the advice of the other favourite, and to make a journey thither through France incognito. And to that purpose he made choice of four or five servants to attend him; and though he liked very well that gentleman's company in those jolly journies, yet at this time, the intimation he had from Spain, and the knowledge he had of the cardinal's particular and irreconcilable displeasure towards him, made him plainly discern that it was by no means fit to have him with him. However, the other in the end prevailed so far with him, for the experience he had of the ways and places through which they were to pass, that he was admitted to attend, together with the marquis of Ormond, Daniel O'Neale, and three other servants; and in that manner they went from Brussels with all the secrecy imaginable; nor was it known in many days after whither the king was gone. The king was contented to see as many considerable places as were within any distance of the ways through which they were to pass, and the other, who was the sole conductor, led him so far about, that the treaty was upon the matter concluded before the king came to the borders; and then, upon the  
 general

general intelligence that the treaty was at an end, and Don Louis returned to Madrid, though the king had sent the marquis of Ormond directly to Fontarabia to know the truth, and to inform Don Louis of his majesty's arrival, yet without staying for his return, the other persuaded the king, that he ought to make all possible haste to Madrid; and so far prevailed, that they went as far as Saragosa in the kingdom of Arragon, where they received clear information that Don Louis remained still at the place of the treaty. And within a day after, an express arrived from thence, with all the importunity from the marquis of Ormond and Sir Henry Bennett, that his majesty would make all possible haste thither; signifying further the prejudice he had suffered by the delays he had made in his journey, and the unexpressible displeasure Don Louis had conceived upon his purpose of going to Madrid, which in that conjuncture would have occasioned great disorder in the King of Spain's affairs, all which made deep impressions in his majesty, and made him discern how inconvenient the fanciful humour of his guide had been to him. The king's reception at Fontarabia, and his treatment there, was agreeable to the Spaniard's custom in those occasions, full of respect and application to his majesty; and in the short stay he made there, the other person (who was upon all the disadvantages mentioned before) had, by his pure dexterity and address, wrought himself so far into the good opinion of Don Louis, and the other grandees who accompanied him, that when the king returned through France for Brussels, he found encourage-

ment to go directly for Madrid, where he was well received by the king, and supplied with at least two or three thousand pound sterling, and staid there until he heard of the great change of affairs in England, and of his majesty's reception there, where he found him in the full possession and administration of his regal power.

By this time the king was engaged very far in his treaty with Portugal for the marriage with the queen, all particulars being in the truth upon the matter agreed upon; which no sooner came to this gentleman's knowledge but he expressed a marvellous dislike of it, and (without any capacity which might entitle him to that presumption) suggested all things to the king which the Spanish ambassador could suggest to him, and which were most like to make some impression upon his majesty; such as the deformity of her person, the number of her years, and her incapacity of bearing children; and at the same time made offer of the choice of two young ladies of the house of Medici, of such rare perfection in beauty as his fancy could describe, and (which is very wonderful) prevailed so far privately with the king, to send him incognito into Italy to see those ladies, with a promise not to proceed further in the treaty with Portugal till his return; but upon a short reflection upon the dishonour of this design, his majesty put a quick end to it, renewing his old observations of the humour and presumptions of the man. How many extravagant propositions and designs he afterwards run into, till he so far provoked the king that he gave orders for his apprehension and commitment to the Tower, is known to

to all men; and how many more he is like hereafter to fall into of the same kind, can hardly be foreseen, even by those who best understand his unlimited ambition, and the restlessness of his humour.

I did not intend to have reflected upon so many particulars, much less to have taken any survey of the active life of this very considerable person; but it was hardly possible to give any lively description of his nature and humour, or any character even of his person and composition, without representing some instances of particular actions; which, being so contradictory to themselves, and so different from the same effects which the same causes naturally produce in other men, can only qualify a man to make a conjecture what his true constitution and nature was; and at best it will be but a conjecture, since it is not possible to make a positive conclusion or deduction from the whole or any part of it, but that another conclusion may be as reasonably made from some other action and discovery. It is pity that his whole life should not be exactly and carefully written, and it would be as much pity that any body else should do it but himself, who could only do it to the life, and make the truest descriptions of all his faculties, and passions, and appetites, and the full operation of them; and he would do it with as much ingenuity and integrity as any man could do, and expose himself as much to the censure and reproach of other men, as the malice of his greatest enemy could do; for in truth he does believe many of those particular actions, which severe and rigid men do look upon as disfigurings of the other beautiful part of his life, to

be great lustre and ornament to it; and would rather expose it nakedly to have the indiscretion and unwarrantable part of it censured, than that the fancy and high projection should be concealed, it being an infirmity that he would not part with, to believe that a very ill thing subtilly and warily designed, and well and bravely executed, is much worthier of a great spirit, than a faint acquiescence under any infelicity, merely to contain himself within the bounds of innocence; and yet if any man concludes from hence that he is of a fierce and impetuous disposition, and prepared to undertake the worst enterprize, he will find cause enough to believe himself mistaken, and that he hath softness and tendernefs enough about him to restrain him, not only from ill, but even from unkind and ill-natured actions. No man loves more passionately and violently, at least makes more lively expressions of it: and that his hatred and malice, which sometimes break out from him with great impetuosity, as if he would destroy all he dislikes, is not compounded proportionably out of the same fiery materials, appears in this, that he would not only, upon very short warning and very easy address, trust a man who had done him injury to a very notable degree, but even such a man, as he himself had provoked beyond the common bounds of reconciliation: he doth not believe that any body he loves so well, can be unloved by any body else; and, that whatever prejudice is contracted against him, he could remove it, if he were but admitted to conference with them which own it. No man can judge, hardly guess, by what he hath done formerly, what he

he will do in the time to come; whether his virtues will have the better, and triumph over his vanities, or whether the strength and vigour of his ambition, and other exorbitances, will be able to suppress, and even extinguish his better disposed inclinations and resolutions, the success of which will always depend upon circumstances and contingencies, and from somewhat without, and not within himself. I should not imagine that ever his activity will be attended with success or security; but without doubt, if ever his reflections upon the vanity of the world dispose him to condemn it, and to betake himself to a contemplation of God, and nature, or to a strict and severe devotion, to

which he hath sometimes some temptation, if not inclination; or if a satiety in wrestling and struggling in the world, or a despair of prospering by those strugglings, shall prevail with him to abandon those contests, and retire at a good distance from the court to his books and a contemplative life, he may live to a great and a long age; and will be able to leave such information and advertisements of all kinds to posterity, that he will be looked upon as a great mirror by which well-disposed men may learn to dress themselves in the best ornaments, and to spend their lives to the best advantage of their country.

*Montpelier, April 1669.*

NATURAL

# NATURAL HISTORY.

*The Natural History of the different Serpents in the East-Indies, from the Essays of Mons. F. d'Obsonville, on the nature of various foreign Animals, translated by T. Holcroft.*

THESE animals, which, as they wind and twist themselves, advance silently by a progressive undulation; and when they sleep or rest, form their bodies into a number of circles, of which the head is the centre: which, after they have cast their skins, appear all at once with a renovated brilliancy; these animals, so dangerous if they are irritated, were the symbols of wisdom, prudence, and immortality, among the ancient philosophers. They are divided into a multitude of species, that differ by the intensity of their poison, the size of their bodies, the colours with which their skins are spotted; and, though most common in marshy grounds, are found also in the sea, on rocky mountains, and in barren places. They are all carnivorous, and there are some species that devour the others. I shall speak particularly of some of those only that

are least known in Europe, and which I have had opportunities of observing with considerable attention.

*Serpent Marin, or Sea Serpent\*.*—

The approach of the coasts of India is almost always known by these Serpents, which are met at from twenty to thirty leagues distance. Their bite may be mortal, if not timely counteracted by some of the specifics hereafter mentioned. These reptiles appeared to me to be from three to four feet long; I do not know if there are any larger. I do not believe they are precisely amphibious, that is to say, that they have the power also of living on land. I have often seen them on the shore, but they have always been thrown there by the surges, and were either dead or dying.

*Serpent couronné. The crowned or hooded Serpent.* This species extends from five to six feet in length; the skin is divided in small regular compartments, which being contrasted and separated, more or less, with green, yellow, and brown, have a tolerably beautiful effect. It is called hooded from the Portuguese word *capelo*, because it has a

\* The serpent is called *Mar*, in Persian; *Hai*, and *Laiffa*, in Arabic; *Neab*, or *Pampou*, in Tamoul; and *Samp*, *Kakoutia*, *Boura*, and *Tchilli*, in Indostan. The sea serpent, *Cadel Pampou*, in Tamoul. The hooded serpent, *Nalle Pampou*, in Tamoul; *Cokra*, in Indostan. The javeline, green, or flying serpent, *Pâche Pampou*, in Tamoul; and *Marperende*, in Persian. The viper, *Marafi*, in Persian.



loose skin under its head, which can be extended to both sides; and, when it is so, forms a sort of hood, on which is drawn the resemblance almost of a pair of spectacles. This loose skin never takes that form but when the animal rears itself, agitated by fear, rage, or astonishment; in a word, by some object that affects it forcibly. In which case it raises the fore part of its body to nearly a third of its length; its head is then almost in continual action, it seems to look all around, but remains in the same place, or creeps slowly on its hind parts. Whence this species is in India, more than any other, the emblem of prudence; but when it eats, sleeps, or is pursued, its hood is not extended, because the muscles are then either relaxed or differently employed. This serpent is an object of superstitious veneration among the Gentoo Indians, founded on some traits of legendary mythology: they seldom name it without adding some epithet, such as the royal, the good, the holy. Some of them are happy to see it go and come in their houses; whence many have received irreparable injuries: for it is very possible to hurt it unintentionally, without seeing it, or during sleep, and it immediately revenges itself with fury. Its bite is sometimes mortal in two or three hours, especially if the poison has penetrated the larger vessels or muscles.

This reptile, more than any other, is attentive to the sound of a sort of flageolet or pipe. The Indian jugglers play a certain monotonous air, slow and unharmonious, which at first seems to create astonishment, presently it advances, stops, rears itself, and extends its

hood; sometimes it will remain all hour in that position, and then, by gentle inclinations of the head, indicate that these sounds impress a sense of pleasure on its organs. Of this I have several times been convinced, by proofs made on this kind of serpents, which have never been trained to that exercise, and particularly upon one that I caught in my garden. I do not however deny, that some *are* trained to this exercise: the jugglers, when called to clear a house of them, will sometimes artfully drop one of these, which will immediately appear at the sound of the pipe, to which it has been accustomed.

*Serpent javelot, or green Serpent.*

The green serpent is found, in the Indies and the countries east of the Peninsula, four and five feet long; its bite is held to be at least as dangerous as that of the hooded snake: they generally remain on the tops of trees, watching for birds and insects. Suspended or laid along the branches, which they embrace with the tip of the tail, they appear immoveable, when, presently, with an oscillatory motion, they will reach to another bough, or seize upon their prey. Hence it is probable, that from a superficial view of the manner in which these reptiles obtain their subsistence, some travellers have said, that they have a particular delight to dart upon the eyes of passengers. For my own part, I am well persuaded, that when they dart, or rather when they glide along at the approach of man, it is only to avoid him, except, perhaps, when they have been wounded or irritated; so at least has it happened, for more than ten times that I have seen them. I presume, that this reptile is of the same species with

with one of a darker colour, found also on the coasts of Persia and Arabia, where it is known by the improper name of the flying serpent.

*Serpent amphibæna, or double-headed Serpent.* Some of the reptiles, classed under this name, are found in the Indies; their colour is a deep dirty brown, mixed with a tint of yellow, their spots something darker; their head is narrow, and rounded on the sides; and their body, which is seldom more than a foot long, is nearly, from one end to the other, about the thickness of the thumb. One consequence of this formation is, that at a distance the tail may appear to have been cut off, or may look like another head: I say at a distance, for in fact it has, at this extremity, a pointed bit of flesh that resembles the beginning of a lizard's tail, and which being plucked off, begins to grow again. Besides, as they seldom remove far from the crevices of rocks, or old ruins, it is very possible, that they may have been seen at the entry of their holes retreating backwards. However this may be, and without pretending to deny the possibility of such sports of nature, it is certain, and I am myself a witness of it, that the species to which they have given the name of double-headed serpents, has, in reality, but one head. I never knew any person who had been bit by them, but I have been assured their poison is not more dangerous than that of the hooded serpent.

*Serpent poison, or poison Serpent.*— Among the serpents of India, that which I believe to be most formidable is but about two feet long, and very small. Its skin is freckled with little traits of brown, or a pale

red, and contrasted with a ground of dirty yellow: it is mostly found in dry and rocky places, and its bite mortal in less than one or two minutes. In the year 1759, and in the province of Cadapet, I saw several instances of it; and among others, one very singular, in the midst of a corps of troops, commanded by M. de Buffy. An Indian Gentoo merchant perceived a Mahometan soldier of his acquaintance going to kill one of these reptiles, which he had found sleeping under his packet. The Gentoo flew to beg its life, protesting, that it would do no hurt if it was not first provoked; passing, at the same time, his hand under its belly to carry it out of the camp, when suddenly it twisted round, and bit his little finger; upon which this unfortunate martyr of a fanatic charity gave a shriek, took a few steps, and fell down insensible. They flew to his assistance, applied the serpent-stone, fire, and scarifications, but they were all ineffectual, his blood was already coagulated. About an hour after I saw the body as they were going to burn it, and I thought I perceived some indications of a complete dissolution of the blood.

I do not believe there are many Gentoos enthusiastic enough to become the victims of such absurd benevolence; several, at present, make no great difficulty of killing these serpents, or at least of seeing them killed. It is however certain, that most of them ate unwilling to assist in killing the hooded serpent, and especially those which creep into, and are therefore under the protection of their temples.

*Serpent brulan, or burning Serpent.* This reptile is nearly of the same form

form with the last-mentioned: its skin is not quite so deep a brown, and is speckled with dark green spots; its poison is almost as dangerous, but it is less active, and its effects are very different: in some persons it is a devouring fire, which, as it circulates through the veins, presently occasions death; the blood dissolves into a lymphatic liquor, resembling thin broth, without apparently having passed through the intermediate state of coagulation, and runs from eyes, nose, and ears, and even through the pores. In other subjects, the poison seems to have changed the very nature of the humours in dissolving them; the skin is chapped, and becomes scaly, the hair falls off, the members are tumified, the patient feels all over his body the most racking pains, then numbness, and is not long in perishing. It is said, however, that people have been cured by remedies well and soon applied. Be that as it may, it seems to me, that the poison of these different reptiles is in general more powerful, the more they live in hot and dry places, where they feed upon insects that are full of saline, volatile, and acrimonious particles.

*Serpent nain, or dwarf Serpent.*

One day, as I was removing some stones in the Indies, I found two of these little animals, which at first sight might be taken for worms. I took up the strongest, and amused myself some time in considering it with attention. Its body was near five inches long, and about the sixth part of an inch in diameter; and I afterwards learnt, that it rarely exceeds six inches in length. Its skin was a dirty brown, spotted on the sides with small lengthened points of a darker colour; the belly was

thinly speckled; and of a something lighter colour, like the generality of reptiles. Its eyes, notwithstanding their excessive smallness, were apparently black and sparkling; its mouth was exceedingly wide, inso-much that without the least violence I could introduce a body of more than a line in diameter; its teeth were as fine as the points of needles, but so short and compact, that it did not appear possible for it to bite a man, or at least for it to penetrate beyond the epidermis. The chief of the village where I was, told me, that the only thing to be apprehended from this insect was, lest it should introduce itself into the mouth or nostrils.

*Serpent titan, or giant Serpent.*—

The mountains least frequented in India and other parts of Asia, serve for the retreat of a race of serpents that I call Titan, because they grow to the length of twenty and twenty-five feet, and even, according to some, to half as much more. I never saw but one young one, shut up in a cage, and exceedingly ill at his ease. It was eleven or twelve feet long, and fourteen or fifteen inches in circumference; its skin was a tawny ground, but speckled with colours richly varied, though rather dark. They say this reptile surprizes and feeds upon large animals; but whatever may be said upon this subject, its form seems to indicate, that its strength cannot be compared to that of a crocodile of equal size: and as it is heavy, and not common, it is, in reality, one of the least dangerous of its tribe. I may add, with respect to these animals, that in all the species I have observed, those which were of the two extremes of size, large and small, were fewest in number.

*Natural*

*Natural History of the Ichneumon \* ;  
from the same Work.*

THE ancients have observed, that the *Ichneumon* is one of the most formidable enemies of the crocodile at his birth; for after he has left the egg, he is in daily danger of being devoured by it for the first months. Not that I suppose the *ichneumon* to have any particular and instinctive antipathy to the crocodile: he equally attacks all species of reptiles, and does not spare even rats or poultry. I had one of them very young, and brought it up: I fed it at first with milk, and afterwards with baked meat mixed with rice; and castrated it at four months old. It became tamer than a cat, for it came when called, and followed me, though at liberty, into the country.

One day I brought him a small water-serpent alive, being desirous to know how far his instinct would carry him against a being with which he was hitherto unacquainted. His first emotion seemed to be astonishment mixed with anger, for his hair became erect, but in an instant after he slipped behind the reptile, and with a remarkable swiftness and agility leaped upon its head, seized it, and crushed it between his teeth. This essay and new aliment seemed to have awakened in him his innate and destructive voracity, which, till then, had given way to the gentleness of his education. I had about my house several curious kinds of

fowls, among which he had been brought up, and which, till then, he had suffered to go and come unmolested and unregarded; but a few days after, when he found himself alone, he strangled them every one, eat a little, and, as it seemed to me, had drank the blood of two.

The *Ichneumon* may attain the size of a common cat, but is something longer in the body; and shorter in the legs; its fur contains tints of white, of brown, of fawn-colour, and of a dirty grey silver. These shades, which are on each hair, compose a whole, which, though not soft to the touch, is agreeable to the eye. Its form, and particularly the head, is something like that of the polecat; its eyes are small, but inflamed, and sparkle with a singular vivacity; its nails are not very pointed, nor do they extend and contract like those of the cat, but as its claws are rather long, it seizes between its paws, and retains with force the prey that it devours.

As it is a great destroyer of reptiles, it is very possible that it may sometimes receive a bite, in which case it is pretended, that it has recourse to the plant which is called after its name; but as it subsists, and always with the same inclinations, in many places where this plant is not at hand, and is not even to be found, perhaps it is the flesh of the reptiles which serves for an antidote, or perhaps it is the quality of its blood not to be affected by this kind of poison."

\* The *Ichneumon*, better known by the name of Mangouft among the Indian Europeans, is called *Tkill*, in Malabar; and *Monegouesse*, in Tamoul.

*Natural History of the Thevangua, or Tatonneur \*; from the same.*

“THE Thevangua lives retired among the rocks and woods of the most solitary and southern parts of India, and in the island of Ceylon. Notwithstanding some similarity of organization, he neither appertains to the monkey nor makis species. This race is pure, separate, and distinct, as well in conformation as in faculties and manners; and as he is little known, I shall give some description of his form, and particularly of his characteristic habits.

The Thevangua is quadrumanous, and would be well described by the name of the *pigmy cynocephalus nighruwalker*. In 1755, one of those Indian pioneers, who always wander with their families, fold me one. He was not quite a foot high when erect, though I have heard they are sometimes a little taller: mine was quite formed, and, during a year that I kept him, I could not find that he had increased in height. His ears and the back part of his head resembled those of the monkey, but his front was proportionably

large and more flattened; his nose, as slender and more short than that of the pole-cat, projected just below the eyes, something like the muzzle of a small Spanish dog; his mouth, exceedingly wide and well garnished, was armed with four long and pointed canine teeth; his eyes large, and even with the face, the iris apparently of a brown-grey, mixed with a tint of yellow; his neck short, his body very long, and his size, above his hips, at least three inches in circumference. I had him castrated, and his testicles, though proportionably very large, were absolutely shut up in the belly; his penis was well detached from his body, and covered with a prepuce.

Many other parts, likewise, of these singular animals, appear to be formed in miniature on the model of man. Thus they have no tail, their buttocks are fleshy, and without callosities; their breast large, their hands and arms well turned, and so are their legs, except that their great toes are too much separated, like those of the monkey †: the hair of their head and back is of a dirty

\* The animal I describe by the name of Tatonneur (creeper) on account of his mode of walking, is well characterized in India by the Tamoul word Thevangua. He is called Toigre likewise; that is to say, the sleeper. This is the animal which M. de Buffon has called Loris (after the article Makis) which name was given it by the Dutch, who saw it in the island of Ceylon. I presume, that at a distance they imagined they discovered a resemblance between the cry of this animal and that of a parrot, really called Loris, which is found in the isles to the east of India. Such resemblances naturally occasion misunderstandings.

† The figure of the Thevangua, or Loris, in M. de Buffon, is very correct, except that the bones, and especially the articulations of the hands and feet, do not appear so prominent in the living animal. But such little irregularities are to be found in the features of every subject, as soon as the flesh and muscles become dry, and are deprived of that roundness which gives beauty and proportion.

M. de Buffon, in the short description he has given of this animal, mentions a remarkable circumstance, and perhaps unique, which is, “that the female

a dirty grey, a little inclinable to the fawn; but on the fore-part of their body it is much less deep and thick, and leaves the flesh visible, which is of a soft, fair, and animated colour.

The Thevangua usually goes on all-fours, but with a kind of constraint, inasmuch, that when he wishes to make haste, he scarcely runs four fathoms in a minute, which tardiness originates in his conformation and habits; his legs and thighs, as well as man's, are apparently too long to run after the manner of quadrupedes; and it has always seemed to me, that when the one I had was obliged, by carrying something in his arms, to walk upright, he went with greater freedom.

This animal has a modulation in his voice, a kind of whistling that is not unpleasant. I could easily distinguish the cry of pain or pleasure, or even that of chagrin or impatience: if, for example, I pretended to rob him of his prey, his countenance changed, and he inwardly uttered a tremulous, more acute, and painful tone. The Indian, of whom I bought mine, told me, that their mode of copulation was face to face, close, and crouching on their hams.

The Thevangua differs greatly from the monkey in his exterior form, but more still in his character and manners. He is by nature melancholy, silent, patient, carnivorous, and noctambulous. Retired, and living only with his little family, he remains crouching all day, with his head resting upon his hands, and his elbows between his thighs. But in the midst of this sleep, or state of inertia, though his eyes are closed, his ears remain exceedingly sensible to all impressions from without, and he never neglects to seize whatever prey shall inconsiderately venture within his reach. Though I believe the glare of the sun displeases him, yet I never could find that the pupil of his eye suffered any extraordinary contraction, or was fatigued by day-light. It is, without doubt, this happy conformation which preserves him, though feeble and slow, from other ferocious beasts, and gives him a superiority over the less and nimbler creatures, on which he usually feeds.

I kept mine, during the first month, tied round the waist by a cord, which, without attempting to untie, he sometimes lifted up with an air of grief. I took charge of him myself, and he bit me at the

urines through the clitoris, which has a passage like the penis of the male, and these two parts have a perfect resemblance both in length and thickness.

Having never heard of this singularity in India, I confess I made no enquiries on the subject; and if the remark has been transmitted to Europe by an exact observer, I am wrong to doubt the fact. I will relate, however, what has struck me on this matter, with respect to wild she-apes: many of these have the clitoris so long, that it often projects forward, and, at first sight, appears like the penis of the male; but it is not so situated, has no passage, and is less. If we suppose that the female Thevangua sometimes has this small muscular body, equally projecting, it is not at all impossible, but that a traveller, not very attentive, and perhaps a little in love with the marvellous, may have imagined he has really seen them urinate through that part. However, I should be far from denying a fact, because it was a little more or less out of the common order of nature. I only mention my suspicions.

beginning four or five times, for offering to disturb or take him up; but gentle chastisement having soon corrected these little passions, I afterwards gave him the liberty of my bed-chamber. Towards night he would rub his eyes, then looking attentively round, would walk upon the furniture, or oftener upon ropes that I had placed on purpose.

A little milk, or very juicy fruits, were not disagreeable to him; but this was a last resource, he was only fond of small birds, and all sorts of insects. If he beheld game of this kind, which I used to tie at the part of the chamber opposite to him, or shew him and invite him to me, he would presently approach with a long careful step, like a person walking on tip-toe going to surprise another. When he was within a foot of his prey, he would stop, and raising himself upright, advance gently, stretching out his arm, then at once seizing, would strangle it with remarkable celerity.

This little animal perished by accident. He appeared much attached to me; it was my custom to care for him, especially after feeding: his return of affection consisted in taking the end of my fingers, pressing them to his bosom, and fixing his eyes half open upon mine."

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*Particulars relative to the Nature and Customs of the Indians of North-America. By Mr. Richard M'Causland, Surgeon to the King's or Eighth Regiment of Foot. Communicated by Joseph Planta, Esq. Sec. R. S. From Vol. LXXVI. of the Philosophical Transactions.*

IT has been advanced by several travellers and historians that the

Indians of America differed from other males of the human species in the want of one very characteristic mark of the sex, to wit, that of a beard. From this general observation, the Esquimaux have been excepted; and hence it has been supposed, that they had an origin different from that of the other natives of America. Inferences have also been drawn, not only with respect to the origin, but even relative to the conformation of Indians, as if this was in its nature more imperfect than that of the rest of mankind.

It appears somewhat singular that authors, in deducing the origin both of the Esquimaux and of the other Indians of America from the old world, should never have explained to us how the former came to retain their beards, and the latter to lay them aside: To ascertain the authenticity of this point may perhaps prove of little real utility to mankind; but the singularity of the fact certainly claims the attention of the curious: and as it is impossible to fix any limits to the inferences which may at one time or another be drawn from alledged facts, it must always be of consequence to enquire into the authenticity of those facts, how little interesting soever they may at present appear.

I will not by any means take upon me to say that there are not nations of America destitute of beards; but ten years residence at Niagara, in the midst of the Six-Nations (with frequent opportunities of seeing other nations of Indians) has convinced me, that they do not differ from the rest of men, in this particular, more than one European differs from another; and as this imperfection has been attributed to the Indians of North America, equally

equally with those of the rest of the continent, I am much inclined to think, that this assertion is as void of foundation in one region as it is in the other.

All the Indians of North America (except a very small number, who, from living among white people, have adopted their customs) pluck out the hairs of the beard; and as they begin this from its first appearance, it must naturally be supposed, that to a superficial observer their faces will seem smooth and beardless. As further proof that they have beards, we may observe, first, that they all have an instrument for the purpose of plucking them out. Secondly, that when they neglect this for any time, several hairs sprout up, and are seen upon the chin and face. Thirdly, that many Indians allow tufts of hair to grow upon their chins or upper lips, resembling those we see in different nations of the old world. Fourthly, that several of the Mohocks, Delawares, and others, who live amongst white people, sometimes shave with razors, and sometimes pluck their beards out. These are facts which are notorious amongst the army, Indian traders, &c.; and which are never doubted in that part of the world by any person in the least conversant with Indians: but as it is difficult to transport a matter of belief from one country to another distant one, and as the authors who have maintained the contrary opinion are too respectable to be doubted upon light grounds, I by no means intend to rest the proofs upon what has been said; or upon my single assertion.

I have provided myself with two authorities, which I apprehend may in this case be decisive. One is

colonel Butler, deputy superintendent of Indian affairs, well known in the late American war, whose great and extensive influence amongst the Six-Nations could not have been acquired by any thing less than his long and intimate knowledge of them and their language. The other authority is that of *Thayendanege*, commonly known by the name of captain Joseph Brant, a Mohock Indian of great influence, and much spoken of in the late war. He was in England in 1775, and writes and speaks the English language with tolerable accuracy. I shall therefore only subjoin their opinions upon this matter, the originals of which I have under their own signatures.

#### Colonel BUTLER'S.

The men of the Six-Nation Indians have all beards naturally, as have all the other nations of North America which I have had an opportunity of seeing. Several of the Mohocks shave with razors, as do likewise many of the Panies who are kept as slaves by the Europeans. But in general the Indians pluck out the beard by the roots from its earliest appearance; and as their faces are therefore smooth, it has been supposed that they were destitute of beards. I am even of opinion, that if the Indians were to practise shaving from their youth, many of them would have as strong beards as Europeans.

(Signed)

JOHN BUTLER,

Agent of India Affairs.

*Niagara, April 12, 1784.*

#### Captain BRANT'S.

The men of the Six-Nations have



have all beards by nature; as have likewise all other Indian nations of North America which I have seen. Some Indians allow a part of the beard upon the chin and upper lip to grow, and a few of the Mohocks shave with razors in the same manner as Europeans; but the generality pluck out the hairs of the beard by the roots as soon as they begin to appear; and as they continue this practice all their lives, they appear to have no beard, or at most only a few straggling hairs which they have neglected to pluck out. I am however of opinion, that if the Indians were to shave they would never have beards altogether so thick as the Europeans; and there are some to be met with who have actually very little beard.

(Signed)

JOS. BRANT THAYENDANEGA.  
*Niagara, April 19, 1783.*

Upon this subject I shall only further observe, that it has been supposed by some, that this appearance of beard on Indians arises only from a mixture of European blood; and that an Indian of pure race is entirely destitute of it. But the nations amongst whom this circumstance can have any influence, bear so small a proportion to the multitude who are unaffected by it, that it cannot by any means be considered as the cause; nor is it looked upon as such, either by captain Brant or colonel Butler.

I shall here subjoin a few particulars relative to the Indians of the Six-Nations, which, as they seem not to be well understood even in America, are probably still less known in Europe. My authorities upon this subject, as well as upon the former, are the In-

dian captain Brant and colonel Butler.

Each nation is divided into three or more tribes; the principal of which are called the turtle-tribe, the wolf-tribe, and the bear-tribe.

Each tribe has two, three, or more chiefs, called Sachems; and this distinction is always hereditary in the family, but descends along the female line: for instance, if a chief dies, one of his sister's sons, or one of his own brothers, will be appointed to succeed him. Among these no preference is given to proximity or primogeniture; but the Sachem, during his life-time, pitches upon one whom he supposes to have more abilities than the rest; and in this choice he frequently, though not always, consults the principal men of the tribe. If the successor happens to be a child, the offices of the post are performed by some of his friends until he is of sufficient age to act himself.

Each of these posts of Sachem has a name which is peculiar to it, and which never changes, as it is always adopted by the successor; nor does the order of precedency of each of these names or titles ever vary. Nevertheless, any Sachem, by abilities and activity, may acquire greater power and influence in the nation than those who rank before him in point of precedency; but this is merely temporary, and dies with him.

Each tribe has one or two chief warriors, which dignity is also hereditary, and has a peculiar name attached to it.

These are the only titles of distinction which are fixed and permanent in the nation; for although any Indian may by superior talents, either as a counsellor or as a warrior,

rior, acquire influence in the nation, yet it is not in his power to transmit this to his family.

The Indians have also their *great women* as well as their *great men*, to whose opinions they pay great deference; and this distinction is also hereditary in families. They do not sit in council with the Sachems, but have separate ones of their own.

When war is declared, the Sachems and great women generally give up the management of public affairs into the hands of the warriors. It may however so happen, that a Sachem may at the same time be also a chief warrior.

Friendships seem to have been instituted with a view towards strengthening the union between the several nations of the confederacy; and hence friends are called the *finews* of the Six-Nations. An Indian has therefore generally one or more friends in each nation. Besides the attachment which subsists during the life-time of the two friends, whenever one of them happens to be killed, it is incumbent on the survivor to replace him, by presenting to his family either a scalp, a prisoner, or a belt consisting of some thousands of wampum; and this ceremony is performed by every friend of the deceased.

The purpose and foundation of war parties therefore, is in general, to procure a prisoner or scalp to replace the friend or relation of the Indian who is the head of the party. An Indian who wishes to replace a friend or relation presents a belt to his acquaintance, and as many as chuse to follow him accept this belt, and become his party. After this, it is of no consequence whether he goes on the expedition or remains

at home (as it often happens that he is a child) he is still considered as the head of the party. The belt he presented to his party is returned fixed to the scalp or prisoner, and passes along with them to the friends of the person he replaces. Hence it happens, that a war party, returning with more scalps or prisoners than the original intention of the party required, will often give one of these supernumerary scalps or prisoners to another war party whom they meet going out; upon which this party, having fulfilled the purpose of their expedition, will sometimes return without going to war.

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*Some particulars of the present state of Mount Vesuvius. Extracted from a letter from Sir William Hamilton, K. B. F. R. S. and A. S. to Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. P. R. S. From the same.*

Naples, January 24, 1786.

“ Sir,

THE eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which began in the month of November, 1784, nearly at the moment of my return from England to this capital, and which continued in some degree till about the 20th of last month, has afforded much amusement to travellers unacquainted with this wonderful operation of nature, but no new circumstance that could justify my troubling you with a letter on the subject. The lava either overflowed the rim of the crater, or issued from small fissures on its borders, on that side which faces the mountain of Somma, and ran more or less in one, and at times in three or four channels,

nels, regularly formed, down the flanks of the conical part of the volcano; sometimes descending and spreading itself in the valley between the two mountains; and once, when the eruption was in its greatest force, in the month of November last, the lava descended still lower, and did some damage to the vineyards, and cultivated parts at the foot of Vesuvius, towards the village of St. Sebastiano; but generally the lava, not being abundant, stopped and cooled before it was able to reach the valley. By the accumulation of these lavas on the flanks of Vesuvius, its form has been greatly altered; and by the frequent explosions of scorix and ashes, a considerable mountain has been formed within the crater, which now rising much above its rim, has likewise given that part of the mountain a new appearance. Just before I left Naples, in May 1783, I was at the top of Vesuvius. The crater was certainly then more than 250 feet deep, and was impracticable, its sides being nearly perpendicular. This eruption, however, has been as satisfactory as could be desired by the inhabitants of this city, a prodigious quantity of lava having been disgorged; which matter, confined within the bowels of the earth, would probably have occasioned tremors; and even slight ones might prove fatal to Naples, whose houses are, in general, very high, ill built, and a great number in almost every street supported by props, having suffered by former earth-

quakes, or from the loose volcanic soil's having been washed from under their foundations by the torrents of rain-water from the high grounds which surround Naples, and on which a great part of the town itself is built.

From the time of the last formidable eruption of Mount Vesuvius, in August 1779 (described in one of my former communications to the Royal Society) to this day, I have, with the assistance of the Father Antonio Piagga \*, kept an exact diary of the operations of Vesuvius, with drawings, shewing, by the quantity of smoke, the degrees of fermentation of the volcano; also the course of the lavas during this last eruption, and the changes that have been made in the form of the mountain itself by the lavas and scorix that have been ejected. This journal is becoming very curious and interesting; it is remarkably so with respect to the pointing out a variety of singular effects that different currents of air have upon the smoke that issues from the crater of Vesuvius, elevated (as you know, Sir) more than 3600 feet above the level of the sea; but, except the smoke increasing considerably and constantly when the sea is agitated, and the wind blows from that quarter, the operations of Vesuvius appear to be very capricious and uncertain. One day there will be the appearance of a violent fermentation, and the next all is calmed again: but whenever the smoke has been attended with considerable ejections of scorix and

\* Padre Antonio Piagga is the ingenious monk who invented the method of unfolding and recovering the burnt ancient manuscripts of Herculaneum, and resides constantly at Regina, at the foot, and in full view, of Mount Ve-

cinders,

glinders, I have constantly observed that the lava has soon after made its appearance, either by boiling over the crater, or forcing its passage through crevices in the conical part of the volcano. As long as I remain in this country, and have the necessary assistance of the above-mentioned ingenious Monk (who is as excellent a draughtsman as he is an accurate and diligent observer) the Vesuvian diary shall be continued; and I hope one day to have the honour of presenting these curious manuscripts (which begin now to be voluminous) to the Royal Society, if it should think them worthy of a place in the library of the Society."

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*An Account of a new Electrical Fish.  
In a Letter from Lieutenant William Paterson to Sir Joseph Banks, Bart.  
P. R. S. From the same.*

Sir,

WHILE at the island of Johanna, one of the Comora islands, in my way to the East Indies, with the 98th regiment, I met with an electrical fish, which has hitherto escaped the observation of naturalists, and seems in many respects to differ from the electrical fishes already described; which induces me to send you the following account of it, with a very imperfect drawing, and to beg that, if you think it deserves attention, you will do me the honour of presenting it to the Royal Society. The situation of a subaltern officer, in an army upon foreign service, will, I hope, sufficiently apologize for my sending you so very imperfect a sketch of the fish, which was made in the field, in a hot climate, under every disadvantage.

The fish is seven inches long, two inches and a half broad, has a long projecting mouth, and seems to be of the genus Tetrodon. The back of the fish is a dark brown colour, the belly part of sea-green, the sides yellow, and the fins and tail of a sandy green. The body is interspersed with red, green, and white spots, the white ones particularly bright; the eyes large, the iris red, its outer edge tinged with yellow.

The island of Johanna is situated in latitude  $12^{\circ} 13'$  south. The coast is wholly composed of coral rocks, which are in many places hollowed by the sea. In these cavities I found several of the electrical fishes. The water is about  $56^{\circ}$  or  $60^{\circ}$  of heat of Fahrenheit's thermometer. I caught two of them in a linen bag, closed up at one end, and open at the other. In attempting to take one of them in my hand, it gave me so severe an electrical shock, that I was obliged to quit my hold. I however secured them both in the linen bag, and carried them to the camp, which was about two miles distant. Upon my arrival there, one of them was found to be dead, and the other in a very weak state, which made me anxious to prove, by the evidence of others, that it possessed the powers of electricity, while it was yet alive. I had it put into a tub of water, and desired the surgeon of the regiment to lay hold of it between his hands; upon doing which he received an evident electrical stroke. Afterwards the adjutant touched it with his finger upon the back, and felt a very slight shock, but sufficiently strong to ascertain the fact.

After so very imperfect an account, I will not trouble you with any

any observations of my own upon this singular fish; but beg you will consider this only as a direction to others who may hereafter visit that island, and from their situation, and knowledge in natural history, may be better able to describe the fish, and give an account of its electrical organs.

I have the honour to be, with great esteem, &c.

W. PATERSON,  
Lieutenant 98th regiment.

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*Advertisement of the expected return of the Comet of 1532 and 1661 in the year 1788. By the Rev. Nevil Maskelyne, D. D. F. R. S. and Astronomer Royal. From the same.*

THE comet of 1531, 1607, and 1682, having returned in the year 1759, according to Dr. Halley's prediction in his *Synopsis Astronomiæ Cometicæ*, first published in the Philosophical Transactions in 1705, and re-published with his Astronomical Tables in 1749, there is no reason to doubt that all the other comets will return after their proper periods, according to the remark of the same author.

In the first edition of the *Synopsis* he supposed the comets of 1532 and 1661, from the similarity of the elements of their orbits, to be one and the same; but in the second edition he has seemed to lessen the weight of his first conjecture by not repeating it. Probably he thought it best to establish this new point in astronomy, the doctrine of the revolution of comets in elliptic orbits, as all philosophical matters in the beginning should be, on the most certain grounds; and feared

that the vague observations of the comet, made by Apian in 1532, might rather detract from, than add to, the evidence arising from more certain *data*. Astronomers, however, have generally acquiesced in his first conjecture of the comets of 1532 and 1661 being one and the same, and to expect its return to its perihelium accordingly in 1789.

The interval between the passages of the comet by the perihelium in 1532 and 1661 is 128 years, 89 days, 1 hour, 29 minutes, (32 of the years being bissextile) which, added to the time of the perihelium in 1661, together with 11 days to reduce it from the Julian to the Gregorian stile, which we now use, brings out the expected time of the next perihelium to be April 27th, 1 h. 10' in the year 1789.

The periodic times of the comet, which appeared in 1531, 1607, and 1682, having been of 76 and 75 years alternately, Dr. Halley supposed, that the subsequent period would be of 76 years, and that it would return in the year 1758; but, upon considering its near approach to Jupiter, in its descent towards the sun in the summer of 1681, he found, that the action of Jupiter upon the comet was, for several months together, equal to one-fiftieth part of the sun upon it, tending to increase the inclination of the orbit to the plane of the ecliptic, and lengthen the periodic time. Accordingly, the inclination of the orbit was found by the observations made in the following year 1682 to be 22' greater than in the year 1607. The effect of the augmentation of the periodic time could not be seen till the next return, which he supposed would be protracted by Jupiter's

piter's action to the latter end of the year 1758, or the beginning of 1759. M. Clairaut, previous to its return, took the pains to calculate the actions both of Jupiter and Saturn on it during the whole periods from 1607 to 1682, and from 1682 to 1759, and thence predicted its return to its perihelium by the middle of April; it came about the middle of March, only a month sooner, which was a sufficient approximation to the truth in so delicate a matter, and did honour to this great mathematician, and his laborious calculations.

The comet in question is also, from the position of its orbit, liable to be much disturbed both by Jupiter and Saturn, particularly in its ascent from the sun after passing its perihelium, if they should happen to be near it, when it approaches to or crosses their orbits; because it is very near the plane of them at that time. When it passed the orbit of Jupiter in the beginning of February 1682, O. S. it was  $50^{\circ}$  *in consequentia* of that planet; and when it passed the orbit of Saturn in the beginning of October 1663, it was  $17^{\circ}$  *in consequentia* of it. Hence its motion would be accelerated whilst it was approaching towards the orbit of either planet by its separate action, and retarded when it had passed its orbit; but, as it would be subjected to the effect of retardation through a greater part of its orbit than to that of acceleration, the former would ex-

ceed the latter, and consequently the periodic time would be shortened; but probably not much, on account of the considerable distance of the comet from the planets when it passed by them; and therefore we may still expect it to return to its perihelium in the beginning of the year 1789, or the latter end of the year 1788, and certainly some time before the 27th of April 1789. But of this we shall be better informed after the end of this year, from the answers to the prize question proposed by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, to compute the disturbances of the comet of 1532 and 1661, and thence to predict its return\*.

If it should come to its perihelium on the 1st of January 1789, it might probably be visible, with a good achromatic telescope, in its descent to the sun, the middle of September 1788, and sooner or later, according as its perihelium should be sooner or later. It will approach us from the southern parts of its orbit, and therefore will first appear with considerable south latitude and south declination; so that persons residing nearer the equator than we do, or in south latitude, will have an opportunity of discovering it before us. It is to be wished that it may be first seen by some astronomer in such a situation, and furnished with proper instruments for settling its place in the heavens, the earliest good observations being most valuable for determining its

\* Since this was written, I received the unwelcome news, in a letter from M. Mechain, of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, that the academy had not received satisfactory answers concerning the disturbances of the comet between 1532 and 1661, and 1661 and the approaching return, and that the prize is referred to be adjudged of at Easter 1788, and that it will be 6000 livres. N. M.

elliptic

elliptic orbit, and proving its identity with the comets of 1532 and 1661. The Cape of Good Hope would be an excellent situation for this purpose.

In order to assist astronomers in looking out for this comet, I have here given its heliocentric and geocentric longitudes and latitudes, and correspondent distances from the sun and earth, on supposition that it shall come to its perihelium on January 1, 1789. But if that should happen sooner or later, the heliocentric longitudes and latitudes, and distances from the sun, will stand good if applied to days as much earlier or later, as the time of the perihelium may happen sooner or later; and the geocentric longi-

tudes and latitudes, and distances from the earth, must be re-computed accordingly. The calculations are made for a parabolic orbit from the elements, determined by Dr. Halley from Hevelius's observations in 1661, only allowing for the precession of the equinoxes. The elements made use of were as follows:

Time of perihelium January 1, 1789, at noon.

Perihelium distance, 0,4485,1.

Place of ascending node  $2^{\circ} 24' 18''$ .

Inclination of orbit to the ecliptic  $32^{\circ} 36'$ .

Perihelium forwarder in orbit than the ascending node  $33^{\circ} 28'$ .

Its motion is direct.

*Computed places of the Comet, on supposition that it shall return to its perihelium January 1, 1789, at noon.*

Times.	Dist. from sun.	Dist. from earth.	Heliocentric longitude.			Heliocentric latitude.		Geocentric longitude.			Geocentric latitude.		Product of distances from sun and earth.			
			S.	D.	M.	D.	M.	S.	D.	M.	D.	M.				
1788																
Apr.	23, 7	4, 0	4, 52	11	3	54	30	56	S	11	16	30	27	5	S	18,07
June	4, 1	3, 5	3, 54	11	7	6	31	25		11	26	31	31	4		12,38
July	14, 5	3,	2, 57	11	11	16	31	55		0	3	21	38	11		7,70
Aug.	24, 6	2, 75	2, 15	11	13	47	32	10		0	4	8	42	59		5,90
—	29, 43	2, 5	1, 79	11	16	39	32	22		0	2	0	48	16		4,48
Sept.	7, 3	2, 25	1, 51	11	20	9	32	32		11	25	6	53	28		3,39
—	24, 0	2,	1, 29	11	24	16	32	36		11	13	12	56	45		2,58
Oct.	10, 26	1, 75	1, 13	11	29	24	32	30		10	28	22	56	36		1,75
—	26, 64	1, 50	1, 01	0	5	51	32	4		10	15	59	52	6		1,51
Nov.	9, 34	1, 25	0, 88	0	14	19	31	0		10	8	36	46	47		1,10
—	23, 39	1, 0	0, 76	0	26	4	28	32		10	4	10	39	0		0,76
Dec.	7, 21	0, 75	0, 62	1	13	58	22	29		9	29	18	27	45		0,46
—	23, 32	0, 50	0, 50	2	20	58	2	8		9	14	31	2	7	S	0,25
—	24, 35	0, 49	0, 51	2	24	18	0	0		9	12	58	0	0		0,25
1789																
Jan.	1, 0	0, 45	0, 59	3	23	25	17	17	N	9	2	50	13	8	N	0,26

The

The last observation made by Hevelius on the comet in 1661 was when its distance from the earth was 0,986, and from the sun 1,37, with what he calls a very long and good telescope; at which time it appeared faint and small with it, though still sufficiently visible. Let us suppose this to have been a telescope of 9-feet focal length, with an aperture of 1,65 inch; then, because the diameter of the aperture of a telescope sufficient to render the comet equally visible should be as the product of its distances from the sun and earth, and the product of the numbers above-mentioned 0,986 and 1,37 is 1,35, we shall have the following analogy to find the aperture of a refracting telescope sufficient to shew the comet as it appeared to Hevelius. As 1,35 : 1,65 inch :: 9 : 11 inches, so is the product of distances from the sun and earth to the diameter of the aperture required in inches.

*Observations on Longevity. By Anthony Fothergill, M. D. F. R. S. Communicated in a Letter to Dr. Percival. From Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester.*

Dear Sir,

I Have often thought, it would be an useful undertaking to collect

into one point of view the memorable instances of long-lived persons, whose ages are recorded by monumental inscriptions, biographical writings, or even by the public prints. The only judicious attempt I have yet seen of this kind, was by the ingenious Mr. Whitehurst, a few years ago, in his Inquiry into the Origin and Formation of the Earth. To the examples of longevity mentioned by him, as collected by a person of veracity from the above sources, I have now added sundry remarkable instances of a similar kind, as they have occurred to me in the course of reading; and have annexed the authorities, (so far as was practicable) that you may be enabled to judge of the degree of credibility, that may seem due to the respective facts, and of the allowance which it may appear necessary to make, for that natural propensity, which mankind have ever betrayed for the marvellous. Now, admitting that many of the ages may have been somewhat exaggerated, yet still there can be no possible doubt, that even these have extended far beyond the ordinary period of life, and may therefore be entitled to a place in the following tables, which I submit to your consideration, as a small specimen of what might be more worthy your attention, if conducted hereafter on a larger scale, and pursued with chronological accuracy.

TABLE I.  
OF LONGEVITY.

Names of the Persons.	Ages	Places of Abode.	Living or Dead.
Thomas Parre	152	Shropshire	Died Nov. 16, 1635. Phil. Transf. No. 44.
Henry Jenkins	169	Yorkshire	Died Dec. 8, 1670. Phil. Transf. No. 22.
Robert Montgomery	126	Ditto	Died in 1670. James



James Sands	140	Staffordshire	} Died 1770. Fuller's Worthies, p. 47.
His Wife	120	Ditto	
Countess of Desmond	140	Ireland	Raleigh's Hist. p. 166.
----- Ecleston	143	Ditto	Died - - 1691 (a)
J. Sagar	112	Lancaashire	- - - 1668 (b)
— Laurence	140	Scotland	Living - - (c)
Simon Sack	141	Trionia	Died May 30, 1764
Col. Thomas Winflow	146	Ireland	— Aug. 26, 1766
Francis Confiit	150	Yorkshire	— Jan. - 1768
Christ. J. Drakenberg	146	Norway	— June 24, 1770 (d)
Margaret Forster	136	Cumberland	} Both living 1771
— her Daughter	104	Ditto	
Francis Bons	121	France	Died Feb. 6, 1769
John Brookey	134	Devonshire	Living - - 1777 (e)
James Bowels	152	Killingworth	Died Aug. 15, 1656 (f)
John Tice	125	Worcestershire	— March 1774 (g)
John Mount	136	Scotland	— Feb. 27, 1776 (h)
A. Goldsmith	140	France	— June 1776 (i)
Mary Yates	128	Shropshire	- - - - 1776 (k)
John Bales	126	Northampton	— April 5, 1706 (l)
William Ellis	130	Liverpool	— Aug. 16, 1780 (m)
Louisa Truxo, a Negroes in S. America	175	Tucuman, S. America	Living Oct. 5, 1780 (n)
Margaret Patten	138	Lockneugh near Paisley	Lynche's Guide to Health
Janet Taylor	108	Fintray, Scotland	Died Oct. 10, 1780
Richard Loyd	133	Montgomery	Lynche's Guide to Health
Sufannah Hilliar	100	Piddington, Northamptonshire	Died Feb. 19, 1781 (o)
James Hayley	112	Middlewich, Cheshire	— Mar. 17, 1781 (p)
Ann Cockbolt	105	Stoke Bruerne, Northamptonshire	— April 5, 1775 (q)

William Walker, aged 112, not mentioned above, who was a foldier at the battle of Edge-hill.

(a) Fuller's Worthies, p. 140.  
 (b) Phil. Trans. abridged by Lowthorp, Vol. III. p. 306.  
 (c) Derliam's Physico Theology, p. 173.  
 (d) Annual Register.  
 (e) Daily Advertiser, Nov. 18, 1777.  
 (f) Warwickshire.  
 (g) Daily Advertiser, March 1774.  
 (h) Morning Post, Feb. 29, 1776.  
 (i) Daily Advertiser, June 24, 1776.  
 (k) Ibidem, Aug. 22, 1776.  
 (l) See Inscription in the Portico of All-Saints Church.  
 (m) London Even. Post, Aug. 22, 1780.  
 (n) London Chronicle, Oct. 5, 1780.  
 (o) Northamp. Mercury, Feb. 19, 1781.  
 (p) General Evening Post, March 24, 1781.  
 (q) Well known to Persons of Credit at Northampton.

If we look back to an early period of the Christian æra, we shall find that Italy has been, at least about that time, peculiarly propitious to longevity. Lord Bacon observes, that the year of our Lord 76, in the reign of Vespasian, was memorable; for in that year was a **taxing**, which afforded the most au-

thentic method of knowing the ages of men. From it, there were found in that part of Italy, lying between the Apennine mountains and the river Po, one hundred and twenty-four persons who either equalled or exceeded one hundred years of age, namely :

T A B L E II.

	54	Persons	of	100	Years each.
	57	- -	of	110	
	2	- -	of	125	
	4	- -	of	130	
	4	- -	of	136	
	3	- -	of	140	
In Parma	3	- -	of	120	Years each.
	2	- -	of	150	
In Brussels	1	- -	of	125	
In Placentia	1	- -	of	131	
In Faventia	1	- -	of	132	
	6	- -	of	110	
	4	- -	of	120	
In Rimino	1	- -	of	150	Years, viz. Marcus Aponius.

Mr. Carew, in his survey of Cornwall, assures us, that it is no unusual thing, with the inhabitants of that county, to reach ninety years of age and upwards, and even to retain their strength of body, and perfect use of their senses. Besides Brown, the Cornish beggar, who lived to one hundred and twenty, and one Polezew to one hundred and thirty years of age, he remembered the decease of four persons in his own

parish, the sum of whose years, taken collectively, amounted to three hundred and forty. Now, although longevity evidently prevails more in certain districts than in others, yet it is by no means confined to any particular nation or climate; nor are there wanting instances of it, in almost every quarter of the globe, as appears from the preceding, as well as the subsequent table.

TABLE

TABLE III.  
OF LONGEVITY.

Names of the Persons.	Age:	Places of Abode.	Where recorded.
Hippocrates, Physician	104	Island of Cbs	Lynche on Health, Ch. 3.
Democritus, Philosopher	109	Abdera	Bacon's History, 1095.
Galen, Physician	140	Pergamus	Voff. Inst. or Lib. 3.
Albuna Marc	150	Ethiopia	Hawkewell's ap. Lib. 1.
Dumitur Raduly	140	Haromszeck, Transilvania	Died Jan. 18, 1782, Gen. Gazetteer, April 18th.
Titus Fullonius	150	Bononia	Fulgofus, Lib. 8.
Abraham Paiba	142	Charles-town, S. Carolina	General Gazetteer.
L. Tertulla	137	Arminium	Fulgofus, Lib. 8.
Lewis Cornaro	100	Venice	Bacon's Hist. of Life, &c. p. 134.
Robert Blakeney, Esq.	114	Armagh, Ireland	General Gazetteer.
Margaret Scott	125	Dalkeith, Scotland	See Inscip. on her Tomb in Dalkeith Ch. Yard.
W. Gulfone	140	Ireland	Fuller's Worthies.
J. Bright	105	Ludlow	Lynche on Health.
William Postell	120	France	Bacon's Hist. p. 134.
Jane Reeves	103	Effex	St. J. Chron. June 14, 1781
W. Paulet, Marquis of Winchester	106	Hampshire	Baker's Chron. p. 502.
John Wilson	116	Suffolk	Gen. Gaz. Oct. 29, 1782.
Patrick Wian	115	Letbury, Northumberland	Plempius Fundammed. Sec. 4, Chap. 8.
M. Laurence	140	Orcades	Buchanan's Hist. of Scot.
Evan Williams	145	Carmarthen Workhouse, still alive	Gen. Gazetteer, Oct. 12, 1782.

The antediluvians are purposely omitted, as bearing too little reference to the present race of mortals, to afford any satisfactory conclusions; and the improbable stories of some persons, who have almost rivalled them in modern times, border too much upon the marvellous, to find a place in these tables. The present examples are abundantly sufficient to prove, that longevity does not depend so much, as has been supposed, on any particular

climate, situation, or occupation in life. For we see, that it often prevails in places where all these are extremely dissimilar; and it would, moreover, be very difficult, in the histories of the several persons above-mentioned, to find any circumstance common to them all, except, perhaps, that of being born of healthy parents, and of being inured to daily labour, temperance, and simplicity of diet. Among the inferior ranks of mankind, there-

fore,

fore, rather than amongst the sons of ease, and luxury, shall we find the most numerous instances of longevity; even frequently, when other external circumstances seem extremely unfavourable: as in the case of the poor sexton of Peterborough, who, notwithstanding his unpromising occupation among dead bodies, lived long enough to bury two crowned heads, and to survive two compleat generations\*. The livelihood of Henry Jenkins, and old Parr, is said to have consisted chiefly of the coarsest fare, as they depended on precarious alms. To which may be added, the remarkable instance of Agnes Milburne, who, after bringing forth a numerous offspring, and being obliged, through extreme indigence, to pass the latter part of her life in St. Luke's workhouse, yet reached her hundred and sixth year, in that fordid, unfriendly situation †: The plain diet, and invigorating employments of a country life, are acknowledged, on all hands, to be highly conducive to health and longevity, while the luxury and refinements of large cities are allowed to be equally destructive to the human species: and this consideration alone, perhaps, more than counterbalances all the boasted privileges, of superior elegance and civilization, resulting from a city life.

From country villages, and not from crowded cities, have the preceding instances of longevity been chiefly supplied. Accordingly it appears from the London bills of mortality, during a period of thirty

years, viz. from the year 1728 to 1758, the sum of the deaths amounted to 750,322, and that, in all this prodigious number, only two hundred and forty-two persons survived the hundredth year of their age! This overgrown metropolis is computed, by my learned friend Dr. Price, to contain a ninth part of the inhabitants of England, and to consume annually seven thousand persons, who remove into it from the country every year, without increasing it. He moreover observes, that the number of inhabitants in England and Wales has diminished, about one fourth part, since the revolution, and so rapidly of late, that, in eleven years, near 200,000 of our common people have been lost †! If the calculation be just, however alarming it may appear in a national view, there is this consolation, when considered in a philosophical light, that without partial evil, there can be no general good; and that, what a nation loses in the scale of population at one period, it gains at another; and thus, probably, the average number of inhabitants on the surface of the globe continues, at all times, nearly the same. By this medium the world is neither overstocked with inhabitants, nor kept too thin, but life and death keep a tolerably equal pace. The inhabitants of this island, comparatively speaking, are but as the dust of the balance; yet, instead of being diminished, we are assured by other writers, that within these thirty years, they are greatly increased ||.

\* Fuller's Worthies, p. 293, from a memorial in the cathedral at Peterborough.

† Lynche's Guide to Health, C: III.

‡ Observations on Population, &c. p. 305.

|| The Rev. Mr. Howlet, Mr. Wales, and others.

The desire of self-preservation, and of protracting the short span of life, is so intimately interwoven with our constitution, that it is justly esteemed one of the first principles of our nature, and in spite even of pain and misery, seldom quits us to the last moments of our existence. It seems, therefore, to be no less our duty than our interest, to examine minutely into the various means that have been considered as conducive to health and long life; and, if possible, to distinguish such circumstances as are essential to that great end, from those which are merely accidental. But here, it is much to be regretted, that an accurate history of the lives of all the remarkable persons in the above table, so far as relates to the diet, regimen, and the use of the *non-natural*, has not been faithfully handed down to us; without which, it is impossible to draw the necessary inferences. Is it not then a matter of astonishment, that historians and philosophers have hitherto paid so little attention to longevity? If the present imperfect list should excite others, of more leisure and better abilities, to undertake a full investigation of so interesting a subject, the enquiry might prove not only curious, but highly useful to mankind. In order to furnish materials for a future history of longevity, the bills of mortality, throughout the kingdom, ought first to be revised, and put on a better footing; agreeably to the scheme which you pointed out some time ago, and of which Manchester and Chester have already given a specimen, highly worthy of imitation. The plan, however, might be further improved, with very little trouble, by adding a particular account of

the diet and regimen of every person who dies at eighty years of age or upwards, and mentioning whether his parents were healthy, long-lived people, &c. &c. An accurate register thus established throughout the British dominions, would be productive of many important advantages to society, not only in a medical and philosophical, but also in a political and moral view. It is therefore to be hoped, that the legislature will not long delay taking an object of such great utility into their serious consideration.

All the circumstances that are most essentially necessary to life, may be comprised under the six following heads:

1. Air and climate.
2. Meat and drink.
3. Motion and rest.
4. Sleep and watching.
5. The secretions and excretions.
6. Affections of the mind.

These, though all perfectly natural to the constitution, have by writers been styled *non-natural*, by a strange perversion of language; and have been all copiously handled under that improper term. However, it may not be amiss to offer a few short observations on each; as they are so immediately connected with the present subject.

1. Air, &c.—It has long been known, that fresh air is more immediately necessary to life than food; for a man may live two or three days without the latter, but not many minutes without the former. The vivifying principle contained in the atmosphere, so essential to the support of flame, as well as animal life, concerning which

authors

authors have proposed so many conjectures, appears now to be nothing else but that pure dephlogisticated fluid lately discovered by that ingenious philosopher, Dr. Priestley. The common atmosphere may well be supposed to be more or less healthy, in proportion as it abounds with this animating principle. As this exhales, in copious streams, from the green leaves of all kinds of vegetables, even from those of the most poisonous kind, may we not, in some measure, account why instances of longevity are so much more frequent in the country than in great cities, where the air, instead of partaking so largely of this salutary impregnation, is daily contaminated with noxious animal effluvia, and phlogiston?

With respect to climate, various observations conspire to prove, that those regions, which lie within the temperate zones, are best calculated to promote long life. Hence, perhaps, may be explained, why Italy has produced so many long lives, and why islands in general are more salutary than continents; of which Bermudas, and some others, afford examples. And it is a pleasing circumstance, that our own island appears from the above table, (notwithstanding the sudden vicissitudes to which it is liable) to contain far more instances of longevity than could well be imagined. The ingenious Mr. Whitehurst assures us, from certain facts, that Englishmen are, in general, longer lived than North Americans; and, that a British constitution will last longer,

even in that climate, than a native one\*. But it must be allowed in general, that the human constitution is adapted to the peculiar state and temperature of each respective climate; so that no part of the habitable globe can be pronounced too hot, or too cold, for its inhabitants. Yet, in order to promote a friendly intercourse between the most remote regions, the Author of Nature has wisely enabled the inhabitants to endure great and surprising changes of temperature with impunity †.

2. Foods and drink. — Though foods and drink of the most simple kinds are allowed to be the best calculated for the supporting the body in health, yet it can hardly be doubted, but variety may be safely indulged occasionally, provided men would restrain their appetites within the bounds of temperance. For bountiful nature cannot be supposed to have poured forth such a rich profusion of provisions, merely to tantalize the human species, without attributing to her the part of a cruel step-dame, instead of that of the kind and indulgent parent. Besides, we find, that by the wonderful powers of the digestive organs, a variety of animal and vegetable substances, of very discordant principles, are happily assimilated into one bland homogeneous chyle; therefore, it seems natural to distrust those cynical writers, who would rigidly confine mankind to one simple dish, and their drink to the mere water of the brook. Nature, it is true, has

\* Enquiry into the Original State and Formation of the Earth.

† See remarkable instances of this, in the account of experiments in a heated room, by Dr. George Fordyce, and others.

pointed out that mild, insipid fluid, as the universal diluent; and, therefore, most admirably adapted for our daily beverage. But experience has equally proved, that vinous and spiritous liquors, on certain occasions, are no less salutary and beneficial, whether it be to support strength against sickness, or bodily fatigue, or to exhilarate the mind under the pressure of heavy misfortunes. But alas! what nature meant for innocent and useful cordials, to be used only occasionally, and according to the direction of reason; custom and caprice have, by degrees, rendered habitual to the human frame, and liable to the most enormous and destructive abuses? Hence it may be justly doubted, whether gluttony and intemperance have not depopulated the world, more than even sword, pestilence, and famine. True, therefore, is the old maxim, "*Modus utendi ex veneno facit Medicamentum, ex Medicamento, venenum.*"

3. and 4. Motion and rest, sleep and watching.—It is allowed, on all hands, that alternate motion and rest, and sleep and watching, are necessary conditions to health and longevity; and that they ought to be adapted to age, temperament, constitution, temperature of the climate, &c. but the errors which mankind daily commit in these respects become a fruitful source of diseases. While some are bloated and relaxed with ease and indolence, others are emaciated, and become rigid, through hard labour, watching, and fatigue.

5. Secretions and excretions.—Where the animal functions are duly performed, the secretions go on so regularly; and the different evacuations so exactly correspond to the

quantity of aliment taken in, in a given time. that the body is found to return daily to nearly the same weight. If any particular evacuation happen to be preternaturally diminished, some other evacuation is proportionally augmented, and the equilibrium is commonly preserved; but continued irregularities in these important functions cannot but terminate in disease.

6. Affections of the mind.—The due regulation of the passions, perhaps, contributes more to health and longevity, than that of any other of the *non-naturals*. The animating passions, such as joy, hope, love, &c. when kept within proper bounds, gently excite the nervous influence, promote an equable circulation, and are highly conducive to health; while the depressing affections, such as fear, grief, and despair, produce the contrary effect, and lay the foundation of the most formidable diseases.

From the light which history affords us, as well as from some instances in the above table, there is great reason to believe, that longevity is, in a great measure, hereditary; and that healthy, long-lived parents would commonly transmit the same to their children, were it not for the frequent errors in the *non-naturals*, which so evidently tend to the abbreviation of human life.

Whence is it, but from these causes, and the unnatural modes of living, that, of all the children which are born in the capital cities of Europe, nearly one half die in early infancy? To what else can we attribute this extraordinary mortality? Such an amazing proportion of premature deaths is a circumstance unheard of among savage nations,

nations, or among the young of other animals! In the earliest ages, we are informed, that human life was protracted to a very extraordinary length; yet how few persons, in these latter times, arrive at that period which nature seems to have designed! Man is, by nature, a field-animal, and seems destined to rise with the sun, and to spend a large portion of his time in the open air, to inure his body to robust exercises, and the inclemency of the seasons, and to make a plain homely repast, only when hunger dictates. But art has studiously defeated the kind intentions of nature; and by enslaving him to all the blandishments of sense, has left him, alas! an easy victim to folly and caprice! To enumerate the various abuses, which take place from the earliest infancy, and which are continued through the succeeding stages of modish life, would carry me far beyond my present intention. Suffice it to observe, that they prevail more particularly among people, who are the most highly polished and refined.—To compare their artificial mode of life, with that of nature, or even with the long livers in the list, would, probably, afford a very striking contrast; and, at the same time, supply an additional reason why, in very large cities, instances of longevity are so very rare. Of late years, the increasing luxury and

dissipation of the age, no longer confined to the metropolis, have spread their contagion far and wide into the country, so as to afford the sage divine, and speculative moralist, a more melancholy prospect of the apparent degeneracy of the human race, than perhaps was ever before exhibited\*!

That so complicated a machine, as the human body, so delicate in its texture, and so exquisitely formed in all its parts, should continue, for so many years, to perform its various functions, even under the most prudent conduct, is not a little surprizing: but that it should ever hold out to any advanced period, under all the rude shocks it so often meets with from riot and intemperance, which lay it open to all the various "ills that flesh is heir to," is still more truly miraculous! But here, perhaps, it may be alledged, that it never can be supposed, all the long livers pursued one uniform, regular course of life, since it is well known, that some of the most noted ones were sometimes guilty of great deviations from strict temperance and regularity. Let not this, however, encourage the giddy libertines of the present age to hope to render their continued scenes of intemperance and debauchery compatible with health and longevity. The duties and occupations of life will not, indeed, permit the generality of mankind to live by rule,

\* I say *apparently*, because mankind, in reality, have been equally prone to vice and folly in all ages; only these have assumed different appearances, according to the taste and manners of the times: not that the human heart has been successively growing more and more depraved, as the poet satirically exclaims,

*Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit  
Nos nequiores; mox daturos  
Progeniem vitiosorem!*

HOR. Lib. III. Ode 6.



and subject themselves to a precise regimen. Fortunately, this is not necessary: for the divine Architect has, with infinite wisdom, rendered the human frame so ductile, as to admit of a very considerable latitude of health; yet this has its bounds, which none can long transgress with impunity. For if old Parr, notwithstanding some excesses and irregularities, arrived at so astonishing an age, yet we have reason to suppose that these were far from being habitual; and may also conclude, that had it not been for these abuses, his life might have been still considerably protracted.

On the whole, though some few exceptions may occur to what has been already advanced, yet it will be found, in general, that all extremes are unfriendly to health and longevity. Excessive heat enervates the body; extreme cold renders it torpid: sloth and inactivity clog the necessary movements of the machine; incessant labour soon wears it out. On the other hand, a temperate climate, moderate exercise, pure country air, and strict temperance, together with a prudent regulation of the passions, will prove the most efficacious means of protracting life to its utmost limits.— Now if any of these require more peculiar attention than the rest, it is, undoubtedly, the last: for the social passions, like gentle gales, fan the brittle vessel calmly along the ocean of life, while, on the other hand, rough turbulent ones dash it upon rocks and quicksands. Hence, perhaps, it may be explained, why the cultivation of philosophy, music, and the fine arts, all which manifestly tend to humanize

the soul, and to calm the rougher passions, are so highly conducive to longevity. And, finally, why there is no sure method of securing that habitual calmness and serenity of mind, which constitute true happiness, and which are, at the same time, so essential to health and long life, without virtue.

“Æquanimitas sola, atque unica felicitas.”

I hope you will excuse the prolixity of this letter, and believe me to be, with the highest esteem.

Dear sir, your sincere friend,  
and faithful humble servant,

A. FOTHERGILL.

London, Nov., 23, 1782.

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*Result of some Observations relative to Army Diseases, made by Benjamin Rush, M. D. Professor of Chemistry in the University of Philadelphia, during his attendance as Physician General of the Military Hospitals of the United States of America, in the late War. Communicated by Mr. Thomas Henry, F. R. S. &c.*

To Mr. THOMAS HENRY.

Dear Sir,

THE inclosed observations are at your service. Instead of dilating them with theories and cases, which would add only to the number of books, but not to the stock of facts, I send them to you in as short a compass as possible. They are not so fit for the public eye as I could wish; but if you think them worthy of a place in your Transactions, you are welcome to them.

Be

Be assured, Dear sir, of the great regard of your friend and humble servant,

BENJAMIN RUSH...

Philadelphia, July 22, 1785.

Result of Observations, &c.

1. The principal diseases were putrid fevers. Men, who came into the hospitals with pleuritis, rheumatism, &c. soon lost the types of their original diseases, and suffered, or died, with the putrid fever.

2. This putrid fever was often artificial, produced by the want of sufficient room and cleanliness.

3. It always prevailed most, and with the worst symptoms, in winter: a free air, which could only be obtained in summer, always prevented or checked it.

4. Soldiers, billeted in private houses, escaped it, and generally recovered soonest from all their diseases.

5. Convalescents, and drunken soldiers, were most exposed to putrid fevers.

6. The remedies that appeared to do most service in this disease, were tartar emetic in the beginning, gentle doses of laxative salts, bark, wine, (two or three bottles a day in many cases) and sal volatile.

7. In all those cases where the contagion was received, cold seldom failed to render it active. Whenever an hospital was removed in winter, one half of the patients generally sickened in the way, or soon after their arrival at the place to which they were sent.

8. The army, when it lay in tents, was always more sickly than when it lay in the open air: it was

always more healthy when kept in motion, than when it lay in an encampment.

9. Militia officers, and soldiers, who enjoyed health during a campaign, were often seized with fevers upon their return to the *vita mollis*, at their respective homes. There was one instance of a militia captain, who was seized with convulsions the first night he lay on a feather-bed, after lying several months on a mattress and on the ground. The fever was produced by the sudden change in the manner of sleeping, living, &c. It was prevented, in many cases, by the person lying, for a few nights after his return to his family, on a blanket before the fire.

10. I met with several instances of buboes, and ulcers in the throat, as described by Dr. Don. Monro: they were mistaken by some of the junior surgeons for venereal sores, but they yielded to the common remedies of putrid fevers.

11. Those patients in putrid fevers, who had large ulcers, and even mortifications on their backs or limbs, generally recovered.

12. There were many instances of patients in putrid fevers, who, without any apparent symptoms of dissolution, suddenly fell down dead, upon being moved; this was more especially the case, when they arose to go to stool.

13. Those officers, who wore flannel shirts or waistcoats next to their skin, in general escaped fevers, and diseases of all kinds.

14. Lads under twenty years of age were subject to the greatest number of camp diseases.

15. The southern troops were more sickly, than the northern or eastern troops.

16. The native Americans were more sickly than the Europeans.

17. Men above thirty and thirty-five years of age, were the hardiest soldiers in the army. Perhaps this was the reason, why the Europeans were more healthy than the native Americans; they were more advanced in life.

18. The troops from Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, sickened for the *want* of salt provisions. Their strength and spirits were only to be restored to them by means of salt bacon. I once saw a private

in a Virginia regiment throw away his ration of choice fresh beef, and give seven shillings and six pence specie for a pound of salt meat.

19. Most of the sufferings, and mortality in our hospitals, were occasioned not so much by actual want or scarcity of any thing, as by the ignorance, negligence, &c. in providing necessaries for them. After the *purveying*, and *directing* apartments were separated (agreeably to the advice of Dr. Monro) in the year 1778, very few of the American army died in our hospitals.

USEFUL

## USEFUL PROJECTS.

*Observations on the use of Acids in bleaching of Linen. By Dr. Eason. From the foregoing work.*

**T**HE use of acids in bleaching of linen, has been long known. Formerly milk was chiefly employed; but it had several inconveniences. The quantity requisite could scarcely be obtained; its effect was slow; and, containing animal matter, it was apt to rot and spoil the cloth.

About thirty years ago it was discovered, that the fossil acids, when properly diluted with water, answered much better, and would do more in a few hours, than animal acids could do in a week, in facilitating the whitening of cloth.

At first it was imagined that the mineral acids would be apt to burn or corrode linen substances, when immersed in them. But experience soon dispelled such fears, and convinced bleachers, that, by proper management, the danger was next to none.

According to the strength of the acids, they must be mixed with water, sometimes to seven hundred times their bulk.

The nitrous acid, being the most corrosive, and most expensive, has not been used.

The vitriolic acid is that which has universally been employed; not because it is preferable to the muriatic acid, but because it was to be bought in large quantities, and at a small expence.

The muriatic acid being now sold nearly as cheap as the vitriolic, and answering in a superior degree, will, in a short time, I am convinced, be generally adopted by bleachers.

As I must confess my ignorance in the art of bleaching, it may seem presumptuous in me to hazard a conjecture concerning the manner in which acids act in whitening cloth; but it seems probable, that alkaline salts, which are used in washing out the oil and glutinous parts of flax, on which the green colour depends, deposit an earth in the pores of the cloth. As it is known that acids will also dissolve the earthy parts of vegetables, that acid should be preferred which will keep earthy particles suspended in water. The vitriolic, therefore, is not so proper; because, with earthy substances, it forms immediately a selenite, a substance only soluble in a very large quantity of water. This selenitic matter, adhering to the threads of the cloth, will injure it, and make it feel hard to the touch.

touch, and probably is the reason why some linens wear so badly.

When the muriatic acid is used, no selenite is formed. Whatever quantity of earthy matter is dissolved by it, is easily washed out by pure soft water, and the cloth having a soft silky feel, seems to strengthen this conjecture.

As the muriatic acid is now sold at three-pence per pound, and the common vitriolic acid at four-pence half-penny; and as the muriatic acid will, in proportion, acidulate a larger quantity of water than the vitriolic, besides the great probability of its answering better in whitening of cloth, the bleachers in this part of the world would do well to give it a fair trial.

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*Experiments and Observations on Ferments and Fermentation; by which a Mode of exciting Fermentation in Malt Liquors, without the aid of Yeast, is pointed out; with an Attempt to form a new Theory of that Process. By Thomas Henry, F. R. S. From the same.*

Nec manet ulla sui similis res; omnia migrant;  
Omnia commutat Natura et vertere cogit.

LUCRATIUS.

OF all the processes of chemistry, there is, perhaps, none, the phenomena of which have been less satisfactorily explained, than those of fermentation. The writers on chemistry have been content to describe the several appearances, the progress and result of fermentation, and have declined any inquiry into its primary causes, or into the mode

by which the changes, induced by it, are effected in bodies, which are the objects of its action.

Within these few years, great changes have taken place in the theory of chemistry. The important discoveries of Black and Priestley, and of several other philosophical chemists, who have endeavoured to emulate their examples, have happily explained many of the operations of chemistry, which were, before, wholly unintelligible: and the present time forms one of the most distinguished eras in the history of that science. We now understand the nature of lime and of alkalis; the difference between a metal and its calx; the cause of the increase of weight in the latter, and of its decrease when returned to a metallic form. The constitution of atmospheric air has been demonstrated.—

Various gases, resembling air in many points, but differing from it in others, have been discovered; and, among these, an æthereal fluid, superior in its properties to common air, and capable of supporting life and combustion more vigorously and durably. Our acquaintance with this pure fluid, which forms the vital part of common air, seems to promise much enlargement to our chemical knowledge, in the investigation of its various combinations; and we have already derived much information, relative to the constitution of the acids, and of water, from the researches of philosophers into the nature of pure air.

Of the gases which have so much engaged the attention of the pneumatic chemists, fixed air, or, as it has more properly been denominated by Sir Torbern Bergman, *ærial acid*,

acid, was that which first attracted their notice. This gas, which had been remarked, even by Van Helmont, to be discharged in great quantities from liquors, in the vinous fermentation, was found by Dr. Priestley to be again miscible with them; and he proved that, on the presence of this gas, the briskness and pleasantness of these liquors depended, and that, when deprived of it, they became vapid and flat.

But though the hon. Mr. Cavendish had proved the separation, and ascertained the quantity of this gas, discharged in fermentation, and though Dr. Priestley had early made the above-mentioned observations, it does not appear to have occurred to these philosophers, that this gas was the exciting cause, as well as the product, of fermentation.

It is a fact well known to brewers of malt-liquors, that wort, contrary to what takes place in liquors more purely saccharine, as the juice of the grape, cannot be brought into the vinous fermentation, without the addition of a *ferment*; for which purpose yeast or barm, which is a viscid frothy substance, taken from the surface of other masses of fermenting liquor, has been commonly used.

But the nature of this substance, much less its mode of action, has not been considered with that degree of attention, which one would have expected should have been excited by so extraordinary an agent. We are told indeed, that a vinous ferment induces the vinous, that a ferment of an acetous kind brings on the acetous fermentation, and a putrid one, that fermentation which ends in putrefaction. But we re-

ceive no more information relative to the manner in which they produce these effects, than we do with regard to fermentation itself.

Before I endeavour to deliver any theory of ferments or of fermentation, I shall relate a number of facts which have led to a few thoughts on the subject; and having mentioned the phenomena attendant on the process, as described by other chemists, shall then proceed to offer an hypothesis, with the greatest diffidence—a diffidence which nothing could enable me to surmount, but the kind indulgence I have so often experienced in this society. And on no occasion have I stood more in need of their candour than on the present one; as the obscurity and intricacy of the path, on which I am entering, the almost total want of guides, and my inadequate abilities to clear away the obstacles, throw light on the dark parts, and point out those that may be traversed with ease and certainty, place me in a situation truly difficult. Indeed I was in hopes to have rendered what I have to offer less imperfect, but my son's unfortunate accident has so engaged my thoughts, and added so much to my necessary avocations, that I have been able to devote but a small portion of my time to scientific pursuits.

Soon after Dr. Priestley had published his method of impregnating water with fixed air, I began to prepare artificial Pymont water, by that means; and early observed that water, so impregnated, though it at first shewed no sparkling when poured into a glass, yet after it had been kept in a bottle, closely corked, for some days, exhibited, when opened, the sparkling appearance of the true Pymont water.

ter\*. This I attributed, and perhaps not unjustly, to the gas, which had been more intimately combined with the water, and reduced to a kind of latent state, recovering its elasticity, and endeavouring to escape.

Having one day made some punch with this water, and having about a pint of it remaining, after my friends had retired I put it into a bottle, capable of containing a quart, and corked the bottle. On opening it, at the distance of three or four days, the liquor, when poured out, creamed and mantled, like the briskest bottled cyder. An old gentleman, to whom I gave a half pint glass full of it, called out in raptures to know what delicious liquor he had been drinking, and earnestly desired that, if I had any more of the same, I would give him another glass.

Dr. Priestley, as has been already mentioned, had informed us that fixed air, thrown into wine or malt liquor, grown vapid, restored to them their briskness and pleasant taste. On impregnating some vapid ale with fixed air, I was disappointed in not finding the effect immediately produced. But after bottling the ale, and keeping it closely stopped for four or five days, it was become as brisk as ale which, in the common way, has been bottled several months.

In the year 1778, I impregnated with fixed air a quantity of milk whey, which I had clarified for the purpose of preparing some sugar of milk, and bottled it. In about a week, the whey in one of the bot-

ties, which had been so loosely corked, that the liquor had partly coozed out, was remarkably brisk and sparkling. Another bottle, which was not opened till the summer of 1782, contained the liquor not in so brisk a state, but become evidently vinous, and without the least acidity, perceptible to the taste.

I now began to suspect that fixed air is the efficient cause of fermentation; or, in other words, that the properties of yeast, as a ferment, depend on the fixed air it contains; and that yeast is little else than fixed air, enveloped in the mucilaginous parts of the fermenting liquor. I therefore determined to attempt the making of artificial yeast.

For this purpose, I boiled wheat-flour and water to the consistence of a thin jelly, and, putting the mixture into the middle part of Nooth's machine, impregnated it with fixed air, of which it imbibed a considerable quantity. The mixture was then put into a bottle, loosely stopped, and placed in a moderate heat.

The next day the mixture was in a state of fermentation, and, by the third day, had acquired so much of the appearance of yeast, that I added to it a proper quantity of flour, kneaded the paste, and after suffering it to stand, during five or six hours, baked it, and the product was bread, tolerably well fermented.

I now determined to make a more satisfactory experiment. The wort, obtained from malt, it is known cannot be brought into a state of fermentation, without the aid of a

\* Various methods have since been devised of forcing such a quantity of gas to combine, or, at least, to mix, with water, as immediately to communicate to it this appearance.

ferment;

ferment; for which purpose yeast is always used. If, therefore, by impregnating wort with fixed air, I could bring on the vinous fermentation, if I could carry on this fermentation so as to produce ale, and, from the ale, procure ardent spirit, I imagined that I should be able to announce to the world a mode of procuring newly-fermented liquors, in most climates and in most situations.

I accordingly procured from a public-house two gallons of strong wort. It had a disagreeable bitter taste, owing either to bad hops, or to some substitute for hops. A large part of the liquor was impregnated, in Nouth's machine, with fixed air, which it seemed to absorb very rapidly and in large quantity. When it was thus impregnated, it was mixed with the other part, and poured into a large earthen jug, the mouth of which was stopped with a cloth, and placed in a degree of heat, varying from 70 deg. to 80 deg. In twenty-four hours the liquor was in brisk fermentation, a strong head of yeast began to collect on its surface; and, on the third day, it appeared to be in a state fit for tuning. It was therefore put into an earthen vessel, such as is used in this country by the common people as a substitute for a barrel, for containing their small brewings of fermented liquors. During the space of near a week, previous to the stopping up of this vessel, much yeast was collected on its surface, and occasionally taken off; and by means of this yeast, I fermented wheat-flour, and procured as good bread as I could have obtained by using an equal quantity of any other yeast.

The vessel was now stopped up;

and in about a month tapped. The liquor was well fermented, had a head or cream on its surface; and though, as might be expected from the description of the wort, not very pleasant, yet as much so, as the generality of the ale brewed at public-houses.

A part of the ale was submitted to distillation; and, from it, a quantity of vinous spirit was produced, which is submitted to the examination of the society. But the vessel being broken before the distillation was finished, the quantity it would have yielded was not ascertained. However, that which was obtained, appeared not to differ much in quantity from what an equal portion of common ale would have afforded.

As I had lost my notes, and was obliged to make out the preceding account from memory, I designed to repeat the experiments again; but various engagements prevented me, till the latter end of August 1784. Of these experiments the following notes are taken from my journal:

August 30, I procured two gallons of common ale wort, two quarts of which were, in the evening, impregnated, but not saturated, with fixed air. The impregnated liquor was then added to the other part, and, about midnight, placed in a large jug, within the air of the kitchen fire, where it remained during the night. In the morning no signs of fermentation. At five o'clock P. M. only a slight mantling on the surface. Apprehending the quantity of gas to have been too small, a bottle, with a perforated stopper and valve, containing an effervescing mixture of chalk and vitriolic acid, was let down into  
the



the wort. At nine o'clock, the discharge of air, from the bottle, was going on briskly, and the wort seemed to be fermenting. At eleven o'clock the bottle was withdrawn, the fermentation being commenced beyond a doubt; the surface of the liquor having a pretty strong head. Temperature of the wort  $80^{\circ}$ —at the outside of the vessel  $78^{\circ}$ .

September 1st, seven o'clock, A. M. the fire having been low during the night, the fermentation was less brisk—temperature of the wort reduced to  $72$ , and probably had been lower during the night, as the fire was now increased. The liquor was stirred up, placed in a situation where the thermometer pointed to  $82^{\circ}$ , and the effervescing mixture was again immersed. It was withdrawn at noon, and the thermometer standing at  $92^{\circ}$ , the wort was removed farther from the fire—At four o'clock, P. M. the head of yeast was strong, and at eleven o'clock was increased.

September 2d, nine o'clock, A. M. the liquor was judged to be in a proper state for turning. It was accordingly removed into the vessel before described, and carried into the cellar at eleven—at noon, a high head of yeast was running over the top of the vessel—some of it was taken off, and in two hours the head was equally strong.

September 3d, the fermentation proceeded regularly this day; and on the 4th I had collected so much yeast as to make a loaf with it, which, when baked, weighed about two pounds. The loaf was well fermented, good bread, having no peculiar taste, except a slight bitterness, proceeding from the wort having had too large a proportion of hops. Though, from the time

in which the yeast had been collected from so small a quantity of liquor, its fermenting power might have been expected to have been impaired.

September 5th, the liquor was again covered with a plentiful head of yeast; and the fermentation was suffered to proceed to the 12th, when the vessel was closed, in the usual manner.

I intended, in a few weeks, to have committed the liquor to distillation; but my thoughts were unfortunately directed to an object which engaged my most anxious attention; and my wort was neglected till the latter end of February; when, on tapping the vessel, the liquor, from having been kept so long, under such disadvantageous circumstances, and, perhaps, from too great heat in the fermentation, and the too long continuance of it, had passed from the vinous to the acetous state, and was become excellent allegar.

As I had obtained a vinous spirit from the former parcel of wort, I was not sorry for this event, as it was going a step farther than I expected. For I had now obtained yeast, bread, ale, ardent spirit, and acetous acid. A specimen of the last is now produced to the society.

I flatter myself that these experiments may be of extensive utility, and contribute to the accommodation, the pleasure, and the health of men, in various situations, who have hitherto, in a great degree, been precluded from the use of fermented liquors; and be the means of furnishing important articles of diet, and of medicine. Not only at sea, but in many situations in the country, and at particular seasons, yeast is not to be procured.

By

By the means I have suggested, in these experiments, fresh bread and newly fermented malt or saccharine liquors may at any time be procured; and of how much importance this may be, and how great the improvement to the malt decoctions recommended by the late Dr. Macbride, I shall not at present stay to expatiate on; as the subject may be too much connected with the practical part of physic, to come within the limitations drawn by the society. But, in domestic œconomy, its uses are very obvious; and perhaps none more so than the ready mode which the preceding experiments teach, of reviving fermentation when too languid—the sinking of a bottle, such as I have described in my essay on the preservation of water at sea, &c.\* with an efferveſcing mixture of chalk and vitriolic acid, appearing to be fully adequate to the purpose, and would, I believe, be sufficient for impregnating the wort, without any other contrivance. This discovery therefore may, perhaps, be of no small utility in public breweries, and I would recommend it to the attention of persons concerned in the brewing trade.

Let us now proceed to describe the circumstances necessary to, and the phenomena attending fermentation, as described by chemical writers; and then endeavour to form some theory which may account for them.

Sugar, the juices of ripe fruit, and malt, are all more or less disposed to run into fermentation. But before this can take place, it is necessary they should be diluted with water, so as to bring them to

a liquid state. A due degree of heat is also requisite, as the fermentation succeeds best when the temperature varies from 70 to 80 degrees.

When the fermentation takes place, a brisk intestine motion is observable in the liquor; it becomes turbid, some fœculæ subside, while a frothy scum arises to the surface. A hissing noise is observed, and a quantity of gas is discharged, which has been proved to be fixed air. The liquor acquires a vinous smell and taste; and, from being heavier, becomes specifically lighter than water. During the progress of the process, the temperature of the liquor is higher than that of the surrounding atmosphere, with which it is necessary that a communication be preserved. After some days, these appearances begin to decline. If the process be rightly conducted, and stopped at a proper period, a liquor, capable of yielding vinous or ardent spirit, is the result. If the process has been too slow, and the degree of heat insufficient, the liquor will be flat and spiritless; but if these have been too rapid and excessive, it will pass into the acetous fermentation, to which indeed it is continually tending. But the more ardent spirit is generated, the less speedy will be the change to the acetous state.

During the progress of the acetous fermentation, which will even proceed in closely stopped vessels, no separation of air is observable, nor any striking phenomena. The liquor gradually loses its vinous taste, and becomes sour, and a gross sediment falls to the bottom; while a quantity of viscid matter still re-

\* London, 1781.

mains, enveloping the acid, which may be separated from much of the impurity by distillation.

The progress of these processes is accelerated by the addition of ferments, to the action of which it has been supposed necessary, that they should have passed through the state of fermentation into which they are intended to bring the liquor to which they are added; and that it was not possible to bring the farinaceous infusions into the vinous fermentation without the aid of matter already in that state. This the preceding experiments have proved to be an ill-founded notion, as it appears that fixed air, obtained from calcareous earth by means of acids, produces the effect, as perfectly as when the ferment has been taken from a fermenting liquor.

In fermentation, it is said, new arrangements take place in the particles of the liquor, and the properties of the substance become different from what it before possessed. But what these arrangements are, or how these properties are changed, we are not told. Dr. Black, I am informed, declares he is unacquainted with any satisfactory theory.

But perhaps facts, especially some late chemical discoveries, may throw light on the matter, and enable us to advance some conjectures that may tend, at least, to lay the *foundation* of a theory.

1. Sugar is an essential salt, containing much oily, viscid matter. During its combustion it repeatedly explodes; a proof that it contains not only much inflammable matter, but also a quantity of air. Malt is

saccharine, united to much viscid mucilaginous matter.

2. If nitrous acid be added to sugar; the inflammable principle of the latter is seized by the acid; the whole, or at least one of the constituent parts of which, is thereby converted into nitrous gas, and flies off in that form. By repeated affusions of this acid, more gas is formed, and the remainder of the sugar is changed into crystals, having the properties of an acid, *sui generis*, and which has been denominated, by Bergman, saccharine acid\*.

3. Saccharine acid is resolvable by heat into some phlegm, a large quantity of inflammable and fixed air (both of which contain latent heat) and into a brownish residuum, amounting to  $\frac{1}{10}$  of the weight of the acid. Fixed air is supposed to consist of pure air united to phlogiston; and inflammable air, to be almost pure phlogiston.

4. Water is found to be formed by the union of pure air, and inflammable gas, deprived of their latent heat; for, if these two elastic fluids be exploded together, in a close vessel, over mercury, the whole is converted into water of the same weight as that of the air and gas jointly. In the process much heat is evolved. Again, if water, in the form of steam, be forced to pass through a tube, containing iron shavings, strongly heated, the water, according to Messrs. Watt and Lavoisier, is decomposed; the phlogiston passes off, united with heat, in the form of inflammable gas, while the *humour*, or dephlogisticated water, unites to the calx of the

\* Bergmani Opuscula Chemica, Vol. I. Art. de Acido Sacchari.

metal, from which it may be again obtained, in the form of pure air, or of aerial acid, according to the degree in which the calx has been dephlogisticated. It has been already observed, that saccharine matter cannot be brought to ferment without water.

5. A vinous liquor, on distillation, yields an ardent spirit.

6. Spirit of wine has had the whole of its inflammable part diffipated by combustion; after which, Mr. Lavoisier found the watery part increased in weight, from sixteen to eighteen ounces, by the absorption of the air, decomposed by the combustion.

7. The residuum, after the distillation of ardent spirit from fermented liquors, is *acid*.

8. Mr. Lavoisier has supposed pure air to be the acidifying principle of all the acids; and that their difference from each other consists in the basis united to this pure air.

As our experiments were made with an infusion of malt, and with fixed air, employed as a ferment; let us endeavour to account for the several phenomena and results of fermentation, as appearing in these experiments.

The wort being impregnated with fixed air, and placed in such a situation as to bring it to the degree of heat, at which wort is commonly mixed with yeast, the gas for some time remains in a latent or quiescent state; but, from its tendency to recover its elastic form, aided by heat, it presently begins to burst from the bonds in which it was confined. By this effort the mucilaginous parts of the infusion are attenuated; the saccharine matter is developed; and, the same cause continuing to act, the constituent

parts of the matter are separated, and the particles of the component principles being by this means placed beyond the sphere of their mutual attraction, begin to repel each other. A large quantity of phlogiston is discharged, together with some pure air. The greatest part of the inflammable principle enters into a new combination, joining the phlogistic part of the water, and, in proportion, separating from it the pure air, while another, but much smaller portion, uniting in its nascent state with this pure air, forms fixed air; which, in its attempt to escape, carries up with it much of its viscid confinement. In the conversion of the pure into fixed air, a considerable portion of heat is rendered sensible. And this heat contributes to the farther decomposition of the saccharine substance. The viscid matter collecting on the surface, prevents the escape of too much of the gas, and promotes its re-absorption, that thereby the brisk and agreeable taste of the liquor may be formed; while the inflammable principle, accumulating and becoming condensed in it, forms the ardent spirit.

Thus a decomposition of the water takes place, somewhat similar to what Mr. Watt has supposed in the production of pure air from nitre. The nitrous acid, seizing on the phlogiston of the water, dephlogisticates the humor or other part of the water, which, combining with the matter of heat, passes off in the form of pure air.

The vessel being stopped, some of the saccharine matter being not decomposed, the liquor will continue to have a sweetish taste. But, the fermentation still going on, in

a more gradual manner, the liquor will become less sweet, and, proportionably, more impregnated with ardent spirit; and the *faculæ* subsiding in the form of lees, it will be now fully fermented, mellow, and pellucid\*.

But if the saccharine matter be too much diluted, or the vessel be placed in a warm situation, the liquor will then pass from the vinous to the acetous fermentation.

In the formation of the saccharine acid, by means of nitrous acid, the last is supposed, by carrying off the phlogiston of the sugar, to develope the saccharine acid. Or, according to Mr. Lavoisier's hypothesis, one of the constituent parts of the nitrous acid performs this office, while the other, or pure air, uniting to the peculiar basis, contained in the sugar, forms saccharine acid.

So in the acetous fermentation, if it happen that the phlogiston is not in sufficient quantity, or the force with which it is combined in the liquor be weakened, by a long application of heat or other causes, it will begin to separate from the other constituent parts of the liquor. The ardent spirit, thus decomposed, disappears gradually, the humor or dephlogisticated water, or, in other words, the basis of pure air, predominates; and this, combining with the saccharine basis, but still retaining some portion of phlogiston, forms the acetous acid.

Thus the acetous fermentation acts in a manner, in some respects, analogous to the action of nitrous acid on sugar. In the latter case, the phlogiston is separated more rapidly; and the acid, resulting from the process, is that called saccharine acid. In the former, the changes are more slowly produced; the phlogiston flies off more gradually; and from a different modification, in consequence of these varieties, the product is not saccharine acid, but vinegar. And perhaps it may serve to give some appearance of probability to the above theory, to recollect, that the residuum of fermented liquors, after the separation of the ardent spirit, which appears to be water superaturated with phlogiston, is acid.

I have avoided carrying these reflections to the phenomena which appear in the putrid fermentation, as not so immediately connected with saccharine substances; and from a conviction that I have already engrossed too much of the society's time.—If I have contributed any thing to their entertainment, or that may tend to enlarge the bounds of science, I shall esteem myself happy; and, more so, if what has been advanced may prove useful and advantageous to my fellow-creatures.—Sensible that one such fact is of more real worth than the most ingenious and well-wrought hypothesis.

\* In the fermentation of wine, a substance is deposited at the sides and bottom of the cask, called tartar; which is lately discovered to consist of pure vegetable alkali, united to a superabundant quantity of a peculiar acid. But as this is not produced by malt liquors, it has not been noticed in the essay.

*A System of Kentish Agriculture, transmitted by the Rev. Mr. Hill, of East Malling, near Maidstone, Kent; being his answers to the queries proposed to him by the Bath Agriculture Society. Extracted from vol. iii. of their Letters and Papers.*

Gentlemen,

**I**N reply to the queries sent to me by your secretary, I send you the following answers. Permit me to repeat my best wishes for the prosperity of your society, and the success of their very laudable endeavours to promote the advancement of agriculture; and to assure you that I am, with great sincerity,

Your most obedient servant,

DANIEL HILL.

*East Malling, July 16, 1785,*

*Query 1st.* What are the kinds of soil from which you generally obtain the best crops of wheat, barley, pease, oats, beans, vetches, turnips, carrots, and cabbages; and what are the usual quantities of seed sown, and the average produce per statute acre, Winchester measure?

*Answer.* Our best crops are generally obtained from hazel loams; and if they are somewhat stiff and inclining to clay, the better. On such lands, the use of heavy large harrows and rollers in the spring, to break and pulverize the soil, cannot be too much recommended.

On such lands so pulverized, we frequently get of wheat from four to five quarters, beans from five to seven quarters, barley and oats six, and often seven quarters per acre.

The quantity of seed generally sown per acre, is, of beans, pease, wheat\*, and barley, three bushels; of oats, from four to five bushels.

*Q. 2d.* What is the usual course of crops adopted by your best farmers on the different soils?

*A.* Our best lands never lie fallow; and the order of our crops is,

1. Wheat.

2. Barley or oats.

3. Pease or beans;—the latter always in rows, hand-hoed twice with a two inch hoe near and between the beans; horse-hoed twice, and lastly earthed with a horse-hoe. After the beans are off, we plough shallow with a broad share, and harrow up, and burn the weeds if any remain, thus preparing a good tilth for wheat.

On our ordinary, sandy, or stone shattery [stone brash] land, our course of crops is different.

1. Wheat.

After that (before Michaelmas) sow winter vetches or rye, and eat them off with sheep and bullocks in the spring.

Then plough for turnips three or four times, each time harrowing off and burning the weeds; then lay on forty cart-loads of dung per acre. We always carefully hand-hoe the turnips, as the charge is amply repaid by the crop. Sometimes, in a kindly season, we get a good crop of turnips after early pease.

Oats and barley will produce (especially oats) from five to seven quarters per acre, after a good turnip season, and the crop well fed off with sheep, especially if good

\* Is it not surprising, that in a county where agriculture is arrived to such perfection, farmers should sow three bushels of wheat per acre? Certainly two bushels, sown in the broad cast way, would be fully sufficient.

hay and oil-cake be given them at the same time.

With barley and oats we sow clover; next year wheat, and lastly turnips.

*Q. 3d.* What manure now generally in use, do you find most serviceable, on the following soils respectively, viz. stiff clays, light sand, gravelly, moory, cold and wet, or what is called stone brash land? — In what quantities are the several manures laid on per acre; at what season; and how long will each last without renewal?

*A.* On stiff clays or sand, or gravelly cold wet land, lay marle or chalk early in the winter, at the rate of eighty cart-loads per acre, which will last twenty years; beside this, dung and lime is sometimes added.

*Q. 4th.* Have you discovered any *new* manure more efficacious than those generally used, and which may easily be obtained in large quantities? If so, what is it, when and how applied?

*A.* Dung made by fat bullocks fed on hay and oil-cakes, and of sheep fed on the same on turnip lands. Large oxen will eat twenty pounds of oil-cake per day, but Welch heifers will thrive well with half the quantity.

*Q. 5th.* What is the best top-dressing for cold wet pastures which cannot easily be drained?

*A.* Wood-ashes, coal-ashes, with fowls or pigeons dung spread thin.

*Q. 6th.* What materials do you find best and most lasting for covered drains or land ditches?

*A.* Ragged stones or brickbats, or rather flat stones, two set on edge eight or ten inches asunder, and a third over; and where these cannot be had, black-thorn or other bushes. Some persons use turf with the grass side downwards, leaving a hollow below for the water.

*Q. 7th.* What are the kinds of wood which you have found from experience to thrive best on bleak barren soils, cold swampy bogs, and black moory ground?

*A.* Scotch firs on bleak barren soils, especially in a northern aspect. On cold swampy bogs, the Dutch willow will do great things; but ash will succeed better, and is far more useful and profitable.

*Q. 8th.* What are your methods of raising lucern, saintfoin, and burnet; on what lands do you find them to answer best; and what the average produce?

*A.* Lucern succeeds best in drills one foot asunder\*, and kept clean by a small plough drawn by one horse. Saintfoin flourishes most on chalky, and dry stone shattery land, on which it will produce two tons per acre on an average, for fourteen or fifteen years. Burnet is in disgrace with us, and generally laid aside as useless.

*Q. 9th.* How is your turnip husbandry conducted; and what is the best method of preventing or stopping the ravages of the fly on the young plants?

*A.* The first part of this query is answered in the second. To prevent the ravages of the fly, some good is sometimes done by running

\* We apprehend a distance of at least eighteen inches would be better; and occasion less damage to the plants by the horse going between the rows. From various experiments made to ascertain the best distance between the rows of lucern, the finest and heaviest crops have been from rows two feet apart.

a light roller over them with a bundle of black-thorn fastened behind it.

*Q. 10th.* Do you prefer the drill to the broad-cast method of sowing grain; in what instances, and on what soils?

*A.* When lands are foul and weedy, the drill is certainly preferable to the broad-cast; as by that means, the horse-hoe may be used.

*Q. 11th.* What is the comparative advantage of using oxen instead of horses in husbandry?

*A.* Where a farm consists of arable land and good pasture, the use of oxen is deemed preferable to that of horses, where men can be procured to drive them.

*Q. 12th.* Omitted.

*Q. 13th.* What new improvements have you made, or adopted in implements of husbandry?

*A.* Our improvements in implements of husbandry have of late years been great and various, particularly in drill ploughs, which by dropping the seed regularly, and depositing it at a proper depth, save a great deal of grain. Of carts we have a great variety, some for dung, made strong with two wheels for two horses, and three wheels for one horse; and others of lighter kinds.

I submitted your queries to a very skilful farmer, from whom I received the following answers for land of a middling kind:

*To the first query.*—We have most wheat, beans, and vetches, if in proper tilth, from stiff land. The most

barley, pease, and oats, from a lighter soil. Wheat on an average twenty-eight bushels per acre. We sow three bushels.

One sack of barley sown per acre produces five quarters after turnips. Five bushels of pease per acre, produce from three to four quarters.—Four bushels of beans, and five bushels of oats per acre, produce from five to six quarters.

Vetches, &c. fed off, make a good wheat season.

*2d query.*—A clean fallow, and sowed with clover; after clover, wheat or beans the ensuing spring on one earth. Turnips on four ploughings and dunged; hand-hoeing twice. Then barley and clover; next wheat.

*3d query.*—Our best manure is dung from beasts fatted with oil-cakes, and fit for all soils. We lay on sixty cart-loads per acre, (each cart holding thirty bushels of coal) which for turnips or wheat, will last six years.

*5th query.*—Wood-ashes are the best, and will kill rushes.

*6th query.*—Green alder poles, such as we use for hops, sixteen or eighteen feet long, two at the bottom and one at top; or green black-thorn covered with heath, or loose stones will do.

*7th and 8th queries.*—The same answer as from Mr. Hill.

*9th query.*—Four ploughings, sixty cart-loads of dung, and hoe twice.

*10th query.*—Same answer as from Mr. Hill.

*12th query.*—Kill your sheep as soon as the rot appears.



# 86 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1786.

*Culture, expences, and produce of six acres of Potatoes, being a fair part of near seventy acres, raised by John Billingsley, Esq. of and for which the premium was granted him by the Bath Society, in the year 1784. From the same.*

<i>Expences.</i>	<i>£. s. d.</i>	<i>Produce.</i>	<i>£. s. d.</i>
<b>P</b> LOWING an oat stubble in October 1783, at 4s. per acre	1 4 0	600 sacks of best potatoes, at 4s.	120 0 0
Cross - ploughing, in March 1784 —	1 4 0	120 sacks middle sized, 3s. 6d.	21 0 0
Harrowing, 2s. per acre	0 12 0	50 of small, 2s.	5 0 0
180 cart-loads of compost manure, 3l. per acre —	18 0 0	N. B. Each sack 240 lb.	
42 sacks of seed potatoes (each sack weighing 240 lb.) of the white sort —	10 10 0	Some persons may object to the above price, as being too high; but I can assure them, that they are worth more as a food for hogs; beside, I have sold potatoes within the last two years at 12s. per sack, but I never before knew them at so low a price as the present.	
Cutting the sets, 6d. per sack —	1 1 0	At 6s. per sack, the profit would be more than 24l. per acre, and at 8s. per sack, 36l.	
Setting on ridges 8 feet wide (leaving an interval of 2 feet for an alley) 6d. for every 20 yards —	10 12 0		
Hoeing, at 5s. per acre	1 10 0		
Digging up the two feet interval, and throwing the earth on the plants, at 10s. per acre	3 0 0		
Digging up the crop, at 8d. for every twenty yards in length, the breadth being 8 feet	4 6 0		
Labour and expence of securing in pits, wear and tear of baskets, straw, reed, spikes, &c. 10s. per acre —	3 0 0		
Bent — —	6 0 0		
Tithe — —	1 10 0		
	72 9 0		
Profit — —	73 11 0		
	£. 146 0 0		£. 146 0 0

Gentlemen,

Gentlemen,

It may be proper to remark, that the field on which the above experiment was made, was an oat stubble in the autumn of 1783. In October it was ploughed, and left in a rough state during the winter. In April it was cross-ploughed and harrowed.

On the 8th of May I began planting, by marking out the field into beds or ridges eight feet wide, leaving a space of two feet wide for an alley between every two ridges. The manure (a compost of stable dung, virgin earth, and scrapings of a turnpike rode) was then brought on the land, and deposited in small heaps on the centre of each ridge, in the proportion of about thirty cart-loads to each acre. A trench was then opened with a spade, breadthway of the ridge, about four inches deep; in this trench the potato sets were placed, at the distance of nine inches from each other; the dung was then spread in a trench on the sets, and a space or pit of fourteen inches in breadth, dug in upon them.

When the plants were about six inches high, they were carefully hoed, and soon after the two-foot intervals between the ridges were dug, and the contents thrown around the young plants. This refreshment, added to the ample manuring previously bestowed, produced such a luxuriance and rapidity of growth, that no weed could shew its head. I need not add, that the land is now in a state of the highest fertility, perfectly clean, and in most excellent preparation either for wheat or spring corn.

It may be also remarked, that in this mode of planting, a very small space of ground is left unoccupied,

and the crop more abundant, than any I ever before experienced.

If this experiment be thought worthy of imitation, and the culture of this excellent root be thereby in any degree extended, it will afford great satisfaction to the society's well-wisher,

And most obedient servant,

J. BILLINGSLEY.

*Abwick-Grove, Nov. 5, 1784.*

P. S. I did not think it necessary to send particulars of my whole potatoe crop, as it would be in a great measure a recapitulation of the foregoing account.

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*An Account of the Origin, Progress, and Regulations, with a Description of the new-established Bridewell, or Penitentiary House, at Wymondham, in Norfolk. By Sir Thomas Beevor, Bart. addressed to the Secretary of the Bath Society; extracted from the same Work.*

Sir,

ONE avocation in which I have lately been engaged, I will relate to you. Having read Mr. Howard's book describing the state and condition of our prisons, it naturally led my thoughts to that subject. The idea that *as many prisoners died yearly in England by the gaol distemper; as by all the executions put together;* and the accounts of the dissoluteness and profligacy, which by the intermixture of them were learnt and practised in those places of confinement; determined me to attempt, at least, a reformation of those crying evils in this county.

Happily-my wishes met the ideas of the other gentlemen acting in

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the

the commission of the peace here; and to their great honour, by their unanimous concurrence and assistance, I have been able to get erected a new bridewell and penitentiary house at Wymondham, built upon such a plan as enables the governor to keep the sexes and degrees of offenders entirely separate from each other, and under such regulations and discipline, as promise (with God's blessing) to work a thorough reformation in their manners, whereby they may, and many probably will again become useful members of society. The house is constructed agreeable to the directions of the late act of parliament, and so contrived, that there are separate cells for each prisoner, airy, neat, and healthy, in which they sleep, and, when necessary, work the whole day alone. This solitude is found to affect the most unfeeling and hardened among them, beyond fetters or stripes; and is that part of their punishment from which reformation is chiefly expected. Their cells are all arched, so that no fire can reach beyond the cell in which it begins. The rules and orders for the government of the house were, at the desire of the justices at the quarter sessions, drawn up from, and according to the directions of the said act, by myself, and have met with their approbation.

Lord Loughborough, who came this circuit at our last assizes, expressed himself so well pleased with the plan and regulations, that he told me he would send thither every convict sentenced to confinement, and accordingly sent six from the assizes. As this attention to the lives and morals of those unhappy members of society should be extended, I will by the first oppor-

tunity (if you desire it) send you a copy of the rules and orders of the house, together with the returns constantly made by the governor to each quarter sessions, by which you will see effected, what Mr. Howard despaired of, viz. "that the prisoners' earnings in the house have uniformly exceeded the sum expended for their maintenance." I wish and hope this example may excite a like attention in other counties.

I am, &c.

THOMAS BEEVOR.

*Hebel Hall, Norfolk,*

*Dec. 21, 1784.*

## LETTER II,

*Hebel, Jan. 20, 1785.*

Sir,

I herewith transmit you a copy of the rules, orders, and regulations, to be observed and enforced at the house of correction at Wymondham; and which are also now extended to the other houses of correction in this county. If they appear severe, let it be understood they are the severities of the legislature, not of the compiler. The first seven rules are inserted verbatim from the schedule to the act of the 22d of his present majesty.—The rest are either included in the body of the same act, or required by the act of the 19th, called *The Penitentiary Act*. But I will make no apology for them, nor can I with any propriety deem them too harsh, since they have met with the entire approbation of the gentlemen of this county, as well as that of the judges of the assize, who have perused them.

Prisons surely should be places of real punishment, and even carry terror

terror in their name. I am certain they ought not to afford either indulgencies or amusements to the persons consigned to them. However I must observe, that persons committed for small offences, or on light suspicion, are under less restraint. They are allowed to work in some sort of society, two, three, or four together; and if the house be full, they sometimes lodge two in a cell, and are never fettered. All the prisoners, when sick, are attended by a surgeon or apothecary, with as much assiduity and tenderness as the greatest humanity can require.

I have sent you likewise a table of the prisoner's fare or diet in the house, by which you will see, that although not *pampered*, they are *wholesomely* fed. Experience justifies me in saying this; for, except such as were diseased when they entered the house, I have not known one prisoner who has been sick in it for these twelve months past. Included is also the form of a return made by the keeper of the house, to every quarter sessions of the peace, whereby the state of the prison is constantly known to the justices, and all abuses obviated or speedily remedied.

I am, &c.

THOMAS BREVOR.

*Rules, orders, and regulations, to be observed and enforced at the Houses of Correction in the county of Norfolk.*

I. That the several persons committed to the houses of correction, to be kept to hard labour, shall be employed (unless prevented by ill health) every day (except Sundays, Christmas-day, and Good-Friday)

for so many hours as the day-light in the different seasons of the year will admit, not exceeding twelve hours, being allowed to rest half an hour at breakfast, an hour at dinner, and half an hour at supper, and that the intervals shall be noticed by the ringing of a bell.

II. That the governor of each house of correction shall adapt the various employment directed by the justices, at their quarter sessions, to each person, in such manner as shall be best suited to his or her strength and ability, regard being had to age and sex.

III. That the males and females shall be employed, and shall eat and be lodged in separate apartments, and shall have no intercourse or communication with each other.

IV. That every person so committed shall be sustained with bread, and any coarse, but wholesome food, and water; but persons under the care of the physician, surgeon, or apothecary, shall have such food and liquor as he shall direct.

V. That the governor, and such other persons (if any) employed by the justices to assist the governor, shall be very watchful and attentive in seeing that the persons so committed are constantly employed during the hours of work; and if any person shall be found remiss or negligent in performing what is required to be done by such person, to the best of his or her power and ability, or shall wilfully waste, spoil, or damage the goods committed to his or her care, the governor shall punish every such person in the manner hereafter directed.

VI. That if any person so committed shall refuse to obey the orders given by the governor, or shall be guilty of profane cursing or swearing,

swearing, or of any indecent behaviour or expression, or of any assault, quarrel, or abusive words, to or with any other person, he or she shall be punished for the same in the manner hereafter directed.

VII. That the governor shall have power to punish the several offenders, for the offences herein before described, by closer confinement, and shall enter in a book (to be kept by him for the inspection of the justices, at the quarter sessions, and the visiting justice or justices) the name of every person who shall be so punished, expressing the offence, and the duration of the punishment inflicted.

VIII. That the governor shall prevent all communication between the persons committed upon charges of felony, or convicted of any theft or larceny, and the other prisoners.

IX. That the governor shall employ in some work or labour (which is not severe) all such prisoners as are kept and maintained by the county, though by the warrant of commitment such prisoner was not ordered to be kept to hard labour; and he shall keep a separate account of the work done by prisoners of this description, and shall pay half of the net profits to them on their discharge, and not before.

X. That the governor, nor any one under him, shall sell any thing used in the house, nor have any benefit or advantage whatsoever, directly or indirectly, from the sale of any thing, under the penalty of ten pounds, and dismissal from his employment; neither shall he suffer any wine, ale, spirituous or other liquors, to be brought into the house, unless for a *medical* purpose, by a written order from the surgeon

or apothecary usually attending there.

XI. That clean straw to lodge upon, shall be allowed to each prisoner weekly, or oftener if necessary, and that the prisoners be obliged to sweep out and clean their rooms every day, and the dirt and dust be conveyed out of the prison daily.

XII. That no person, without permission of a visiting justice, shall go into the lodging-rooms, or see or converse with any prisoner committed upon a charge of felony, or convicted of any theft or larceny; and all the prisoners shall every night in the year be locked up, and all lights extinguished, at or before the hour of nine, and shall, during rest, be kept entirely separate, if rooms sufficient can be found for that purpose, and during their labour as much separate as their employment will admit of.

XIII. That the governor may put handcuffs or fetters upon any prisoner who is refractory, or shews a disposition to break out of prison, but he shall give notice thereof to one of the visiting justices, within forty-eight hours after the prisoner shall be so fettered, and he shall not continue such fettering longer than six days, without an order in writing from one of the visiting justices.

XIV. That every prisoner be obliged to wash his face and hands once, at least, every day, before his bread be given to him.

XV. That each prisoner be allowed a clean shirt once in a week.

XVI. That the three prohibitory clauses of the 24th Geo. II. chap. 40, be painted on a board, and hung up in some conspicuous part of the prison, together with a printed copy of these rules, orders, and regulations.

*A Table*

*A Table of Diet.*

	<i>Breakfast.</i>	<i>Dinner.</i>
<i>Sunday,</i>	A penny loaf	Hanway's soups of ox cheek, &c.
<i>Monday,</i>	Ditto	A penny loaf
<i>Tuesday,</i>	Ditto	Potatoes
<i>Wednesday,</i>	Ditto	Boiled pease
<i>Thursday,</i>	Ditto	A penny loaf
<i>Friday,</i>	Ditto	Potatoes
<i>Saturday,</i>	Ditto	Boiled pease

## LETTER III.

*Description of the Prison.**Methel, Feb. 12, 1786.*

Sir,

In compliance with your request, I now transmit to you a description of the prison which has been erected at Wymondham, in this county; the success of which having so much exceeded the expectations, and so fully answered the wishes of the gentlemen here, as to encourage them to alter, and make additions to all the other bridewells within their jurisdiction, and to put each of them under the same regulations.

The new buildings of the Wymondham Bridewell, added to the former old house (which is now appropriated to the use of the governor) consist of two wings, which are attached to the old house, and joined by a building in front, containing a large room, in which is placed a mill for cutting logwood, or any other wood for the use of dyers, and beating hemp; together with a stable, and store-rooms for lodging the materials used by the prisoners in their work. The whole of these buildings form a quadrangle, inclosing an area or

yard, of about eighty feet by seventy feet; in which some of the prisoners are allowed occasionally to take the air. In the two wings only (to both which there is a passage from the governor's house) are the offenders confined; and in each of them there are on the ground-floor seven separate rooms, or cells, for the *men* prisoners, of fourteen feet eight inches by seven feet four inches, with a work-room of twenty feet six inches by ten feet.

On the floor above, which is chiefly used for the women and less dangerous prisoners, are, in each wing, four separate rooms or cells, of the same dimensions with those below; with a work-room to each wing, the same as on the ground-floor; together with an infirmary of ten feet six inches by fourteen feet eight inches, and a scullery, closet, and necessary to each. The cells, both above and below, are all arched, to prevent the possibility of fire, or any probable communication of infectious disorders. They are all ten feet high; and the windows of these rooms looking into the quadrangle, and being grated inside and outside with iron, and seven feet high from the floor of the rooms, afford the prisoners no possibility of looking out, or having the least intercourse with any other person.

person. The cells are airy, having only wooden shutters to the windows; and by a slip or wicket in the doors, a thorough air is admitted, whereby they are always free from any ill scent. This is however with an exception to *one* cell on the upper floor in each wing, and to the infirmaries; for the windows of these are glazed, and have casements to open occasionally; being mostly kept for the use of women having infant children with them, and for the weak and convalescent prisoners. But as the construction of this building would little answer the purpose of its erection, without a correspondent management and conduct in the interior government of it, good care has been taken to enforce the rules, orders, and regulations established; and returns are regularly made by the governor to the justices at every quarter sessions.

The manufactory established here at present, is that of cutting log-wood for the dyers at Norwich, and beating, heckling, and spinning hemp. In the labour of heckling, a tolerable workman will earn from eight shillings to ten shillings per week. The women and girls spin it by a wheel so contrived as to draw a thread with each hand; by which means, *two* of them can earn at least equal wages with *three* women spinning with one hand only. If the building should be enlarged, and the number of prisoners increase, some of them will then be instructed in the art of weaving the yarn made in the house. At present, both the tow and the yarn is sold to the different houses of industry established in this county, and at Norwich. In the last return of the governor to the quarter sessions,

we had the satisfaction to find, that the money arising from the earnings of the prisoners, was one pound eight shillings and ten-pence more than *double* the sum expended for their maintenance.

This, though it cannot be deemed more than a *secondary* consideration, is surely no trifling one to derive a *profit* from the labour of such persons as were heretofore lost to, or become a burden upon the public; and it strongly marks the impolicy of sending these unhappy objects out of the kingdom. This sum indeed was further increased about five guineas, by adding to it the profit from the trade account; but as to have this become the general result, must depend greatly, perhaps chiefly, upon the choice of the governor, and somewhat on the activity of the magistrates, too much care cannot be taken in the first, especially as it will be the probable means of exciting the latter. We have been so fortunate as to meet with a governor who relieves us from a great part of our attention to, and direction of him.

The silence and peaceable demeanour, the cleanliness and industry, of those unhappy persons who are the inhabitants of this house, are really admirable; and such as greatly encourages the pleasing expectation, that their punishment will have that effect upon their future lives and conduct, which every humane benevolent mind must sincerely wish for. And they leave *me* without a doubt, that bridewells, with proper attention paid to them, may in future be made seminaries of industry and reformation, instead of receptacles of idleness and corruption. To effect these purposes, it will be necessary to provide the prisoners

prisoners with suitable and constant work. This in most counties will necessarily vary, but may be easily obtained, especially if, by an allowance to the governor out of their earnings, it be made his *interest* as well as his *duty* to look carefully to the performance of it. The allowance given at this house, is *three-pence* in every shilling of the *nett* earnings, and this is considered as a part of his salary.

I must not omit to inform you, that in this solitary confinement, and thus employed, it has not yet been found necessary to punish any of the prisoners with irons; and that, since the new erection and regulation of this prison, the magistrates in the vicinity, as well as the keeper of it, have observed, that in no one equal period of time has there been so few commitments to it.

This *preventive* justice, so preferable to *punitive* justice, most fully evinces the propriety and humanity of the undertaking, and must naturally excite a hope, that similar plans will be adopted in every county. This indeed I am strongly induced to believe will soon be the case, as I have already received letters from different gentlemen in Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Wilts, Hertfordshire, Hampshire, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Suffolk, Wales, and Scotland, requesting the plan, rules, orders, table of diet, and returns; informing me, that in their respective counties they had determined upon building, and putting their houses of correction under similar regulations. The gentlemen of the city of Norwich have also sent a deputation of their magistrates to view the prison; upon whose report, they mean instantly to enter upon a reformation of their own prisons.

If in this letter I may appear to have been either prolix, or frivolous, but should notwithstanding have been able to convey any useful hints to the public, I shall be satisfied in having sacrificed the reputation of ability at the shrine of duty, and with pleasure subscribe myself, &c.

THOMAS BEEVOR.

[N. B. In another letter, dated Feb. 18th, Sir Thomas Beevor has added the following remarks:—

“In proof of the cleanliness, and healthiness of this prison, no person who entered it in health has hitherto fallen sick in it. I have never had any complaint against any one for immorality or prophaneness. The effect of the solitariness and mechanical regularity of the place is such, as to render them so contrite and subdued, that it not only promises fair for a lasting reformation in these poor unfortunate wretches, but, what is a still better and more pleasing consideration, that it may prove a preventive of crimes in others. For, from an examination of the commitments to this house, before and since the present regulation took place, it appears, that one-third fewer have been confined in it since the latter period; and it is somewhat remarkable; that, except in one instance, no prisoner has been a second time committed to it.”]

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*On the use of sleeping Seed-Barley in a dry season. By Mr. James Chapple, addressed to the secretary of the Bath Society. From the same work.*

Sir,

MY great success in making the following experiment, occasions my communicating an account of



of it to you, for the benefit of the public, if thought worthy a place in the third volume of the Bath Society's experimental papers.

The last spring being remarkably dry, I soaked my seed-barley in the black water taken from a reservoir which constantly receives the draining of my dung heap and stables. As the light corn floated on the top I skimmed it off, and let the rest stand twenty-four hours. On taking it from the water, I mixed the seed grain with a sufficient quantity of sifted wood ashes to make it spread regularly, and sowed three fields with it. I began sowing the 16th, and finished the 23d of April. The produce was sixty bushels per acre, of good clean barley, without any *small* or *green* corn, or weeds at harvest. No person in this country had better grain.

I sowed also several other fields with the same seed dry, and without any preparation; but the crop, like those of my neighbours, was very poor; not more than twenty bushels per acre, and much mixed with *green* corn and weeds when harvested. I also sowed some of the seed dry on one ridge in each of my former fields, but the produce was very poor in comparison of the other parts of the field.

I am, &c.

JAMES CHAPPLE.

Bodmin, March 12, 1784.

[We consider this experiment as a very interesting one, and recommend general trials to be made, both in wet and dry spring seasons.]

*An Account of a new kind of Cement, peculiarly hard and lasting, made from some Red Earth or Puzzo-*

*lana, found in Jamaica. Extracted from Transactions of the Society instituted at London for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.*

**I**N the year 1774, the society received from one of their corresponding members in Jamaica a cask of red earth, a proper quantity of which was sent to several architects, for trial.

The gentleman from whom it came thought it a kind of *Puzzolana*, and described his method of using it as follows: "To one measure of the red earth, add two of the same measure of well slacked lime, and one of sand, and then let them be well mixed and wrought like common mortar, with fair water, and so made up in a heap, but in about eight hours it will begin to acquire a hardness, and the heap must be cut down, and well wet with water, and smartly worked and mixed over again, and so smartly worked and wet morning and evening, for a whole week, before it is fit for use; and after it is laid on, it must be strictly attended while it dries and hardens, to close any crack that may appear in the drying, for about forty-eight hours, and then it is generally out of danger.

But if any cracks, &c. should appear after it is quite dry, as suppose the covering of a building, cistern, &c. a labourer, with a little sand or brick-dust, and a little common white-wash, thrown over the crack and smartly rubbed in with a brick-bat, or sandy stone, the crack will soon disappear, and the work will be as good as ever.

Cisterns, reservoirs, canals, and all manner of conveniencies to collect rain-water and retain it, of any reasonable

reasonable dimensions, may at a very small expence be made, and completely finished with this composition, to contain and secure rain-water.

By means of this composition, a mortar may be made (far exceeding any other) wherewith to lay the foundation, and raise the superstructure of any dam, bridge, or guttering; and in short, any kind of building where water, or any kind of liquid, is to be concerned, because the soft new-made mortar will harden, and soon become like a stone totally immersed in water.

Of this composition may be made the best coverings for all manner of buildings, witness my own house; that has been covered with this composition (though not at that time brought to its present perfection) these twenty years, and is not a pin the worse.

In regard to matters of pleasure, terrace-walks, canals, flower-pots, urns, obelisks, statues, and even colossal statues, and other ornaments for gardens, may be made of or with this composition, as it resists rain, and every sort of moisture, and nothing but violence will make the least impression, so that the five orders of architecture, with their various ornaments, may be most elegantly expressed on the outside or inside of buildings, in the plaisterers way, and last for ages, if no violence is used to them.

In covering a building, I would choose to lay it on six inches thick, upon a flat strong-framed well-lathed roof, as it will shrink in drying, and is the best and cheapest covering I know of, as I have experienced ever since 1747."

*The following are two letters from Mr. Mylne, addressed to the secretary of the above-mentioned society, relative to his experiments on the Red Earth.*

Sir,

"I have made a fair trial of the Puzzolana earth, received some years since from the society for encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, and although it has lain long by me, it turns out a very good substitute to Dutch terras, or Italian Puzzolana, for works immersed in water. As you have informed me, there still remains a quantity of it in the society's possession, I shall be glad of some to make further trials in other situations, and shall be glad to know the particular place in Jamaica from whence it came, and the christian name of Mr. Brown, by whom it was sent. It was tried against some British materials, and proved far better than any of them.

I am, sir,

Your very humble servant,  
ROBERT MYLNE."

*New River Head,*

*Nov. 30, 1784.*

Mr. MORE.

"Sir,

"I have it now in my power to write you decidedly on the red earth, of which I received a specimen for trial in water-works.

"I have put it to very severe trials, and have found it answer extremely well, as a substitute for Dutch terras, or Puzzolana earth from Italy; they are all three volcanic substances, and have the same peculiar qualities. Besides what I received from you, I obtained by means

means of a friend, a quantity from Jamaica, which on comparative trials proved the same as that you sent me; it is found in vast quantities on the estate of Mr. Brown, in the parish of St. Elizabeth in Jamaica. There are many acres of it, for it lies on the surface of the ground; in this it is different from Puzzolana, which lies in strata under ground, like coal. Dutch terras is a *tufa* stone, found on the rocky banks of the Rhine, and reduced to powder by mills in Holland.

“ Mr. Brown, who sent this Jamaica terras to the society, is now dead, and the estate on which it is found is called Dettingen, and is

now the property of his son, a very intelligent gentleman.

“ On enquiry into the means of bringing it into this country, I find the expence of carriage to the water side there, and freight to this country, will prevent the use of it here. I wish it however to be made as public as possible. It may be of use to the inhabitants of the West India islands and some other of our colonies.

I am, sir,

Your very humble servant,  
ROBERT MYLNE.”

*New River Head,*  
*Feb. 28, 1786.*

# ANTIQUITIES.

*A description of Thebes, from Diodorus Siculus and Strabo. State of that city under the Persians, Roman, and Turkish Emperors. The porticos, sphinx-avenues, edifices, and ruins of the great temple, near Carnac, in the eastern part of Thebes, which building and ruins are half a league in circumference. The plain of Carnac, leading to Luxor, which formerly was covered with houses, cultivated at present. The remains of the temple of Luxor, and the magnificent obelisks, which are the most beautiful in Egypt, or the whole world, described: Extracted from the translation of Mons. Savary's Letters on Egypt, Vol. II.*

Grand Cairo.

“ **G**OING from Cous towards Assouan, we leave the town of Nequada on the right. The Mahometans have several mosques, and a Coptic bishop resides there. The island of Matara is very near it, and two leagues further we discover the ruins of Thebes, the magnificence of which poets and historians have alike been eager to describe. Citations from the ancients, who saw this city, will give you, Sir, an idea of what it formerly was; and an exact account of the monuments

still in being, will enable you to judge what degree of credit those recitals deserve. The dotted line in the map, passing by Carnac, Luxor, Medinet-Abou, and Gournou, will indicate what the extent was of this once famous city.

“ The great Diospolis,” says Diodorus Siculus\*, “ which the Greeks have named Thebes, was six leagues in circumference. Buphris, who founded it, adorned it with magnificent edifices and presents. The fame of its power and wealth, celebrated by Homer, has filled the world. Its gates, and the numerous vestibules of its temples, occasioned this poet to give it the name of Hecatompylis. Never was there a city that received so many offerings, in silver, gold, ivory, colossal statues, and obelisks, each cut from a single stone. Four principal temples are especially admired there, the most ancient of which was surprisingly grand and sumptuous. It was thirteen stadia in circumference †, and surrounded by walls twenty-four feet in thickness, and forty-five cubits high. The riches and workmanship of its ornaments were correspondent to the majesty of the building, which many kings contributed to embel-

\* Lib. I.

† Diodorus Siculus includes the sphinx-avenues, and the porticos, edifices, and courts which are built round the temple, properly so called; and we shall find he was very near the truth.

lish. The temple still is standing, but it was stripped of its silver, gold, ivory, and precious stones, when Cambyfes set fire to all the temples of Egypt."

I have only quoted the principal facts which that historian writes concerning the flourishing state of Thebes, they being sufficient to convey an idea of its beauty; what I shall cite from Strabo will give a picture of its decline, such as it was eighteen centuries ago.

"Thebes, or Diospolis, presents only remains of its former grandeur, dispersed over a space eighty stadia in length. Here are found a great number of temples, in part destroyed by Cambyfes: its inhabitants have retired to small towns, east of the Nile, where the present city is built; and to the western shore, near Memnonium\*, at which place we admire two colossal stone figures, standing on each side; the one entire, the other in part thrown down, it has been said, by an earthquake†. There is a popular opinion, that the remaining part of this statue, towards the base, utters a sound once a day. Curiosity leading me to examine the fact, I went thither with Ælius Gallus, who was accompanied by his numerous friends, and an escort of soldiers. I heard a sound, about six o'clock in the morning, but dare not affirm whether it proceeded from the base, from the colossus, or had been produced by some person present; for one is rather inclined to suppose a thousand different causes, than that it should be the effect of a certain

assemblage of stones. Beyond Memnonium are the tombs of the kings, hewn out of the rock. There are about forty, made after a marvellous manner, and worthy the attention of travellers; near them are obelisks, bearing various inscriptions, descriptive of the wealth, power, and extensive empire of those sovereigns, who reigned over Scythia, Bactriana, India, and what is now called Ionia. They also recount the various tributes those kings had exacted, and the number of their troops, which amounted to a million of men."

Before I tell you, Sir, how many of the monuments described by these historians still exist, it is necessary to inform you of the distribution of the ornaments, vestibules, courts, and edifices of the Egyptian temples, lest we should lose ourselves amidst their ruins.

"In front of each of the temples of Egypt is a paved avenue, a hundred feet wide, and three or four hundred in length. Two rows of sphinxes, twenty cubits or more distant from each other, adorned the sides of these avenues, at the end of which porticos were built, but not in any fixed number. These porticos lead to a magnificent open space, which fronts the temple. Beyond is the sanctuary, which is smaller, and in which no human figures are ever sculptured, and very seldom those of animals.— Walls, of an equal height with the temple, form the sides of this open space. These walls run in diverging lines, and are widest at the end

\* Strabo calls the temple, near which was the statue of Memnon, Memnonium.

† Strabo is the only ancient writer who attributes the fall of this colossus to an earthquake; the rest all say it was thrown down by order of Cambyfes.

farther

farthest from the temple by fifty or sixty cubits. They abound in sculptured figures, after the manner of the ancient Greek and Etruscan works. There is usually a spacious edifice, supported by a prodigious number of columns, beside these temples\*." Having nothing to consult but monuments mutilated by men or by time, I hope the above description will supply the imperfection of mine. Thus guided, let us advance to the south of Carnac, where we find the remains of one of the four principal temples mentioned by Diodorus Siculus. Here are eight entrances, three of which have each a sphinx of enormous size standing in front; with two colossal statues, on each side the sphinx, which are each cut from a single block of marble, in the antique taste. Crossing these majestic avenues, we come to four porticos, each thirty feet wide, fifty-two in height, and one hundred and fifty in length. The entrance to these is through pyramidal gates, and the ceiling is formed of stones of an astonishing size, supported by the two walls.

The first of these porticos is entirely of red granite, perfectly polished. Without are four rows of hieroglyphics, within only three. On each of the latter I remarked two human figures, larger than life, and sculptured with great art. Colossal figures, rising fifteen feet above the bottom of the door, decorate its sides; without are two statues, thirty-three feet high, the one of red granite, the other spotted with black and grey; and within is another, of a single block of marble, wanting the head, each bearing a kind of cross in its hand,

that is to say, a *phallus*, which, among the Egyptians, was the symbol of fertility.

The second portico is half destroyed; the gate has only two rows of hieroglyphics, of gigantic size, one towards the south, the other towards the north. Each front of the third portico is covered with hieroglyphics of colossal figures, and at the entrance of the gate are the remains of a statue of white marble, the trunk of which is fifteen feet in circumference, and wearing a helmet, round which a serpent is twined. The fourth portico is little more than walls, almost entirely destroyed, and heaps of rubbish, among which are parts of a colossus, of red granite, the body of which is thirty feet round.

Beyond these porticos the high walls, which form the first court of the temple, began. The people entered at twelve gates; several are destroyed, and others very ruinous. That which has suffered least from time, and the outrages of barbarians, faces the west. Before it is a long sphinx-avenue. The dimensions of this gate are forty feet in width, sixty high, and forty-eight thick at the foundation. In the front are two rows of small windows, and the remains of steps in its sides, leading to its summit. This gate, so massy as to appear indestructible, is in the rustic stile, without hieroglyphics, and magnificent in simplicity. Through this we enter the great court, on two of the sides of which are terraces, eighty feet in width, and raised six feet above the ground. Along these run two beautiful colonades. Beyond is the second court, which leads to the temple, and, by its

H 2

extent,

\* Strabo, lib. 17.

extent, equals the majesty of the building. It is likewise embellished by a double colonnade; each column is above fifty feet high, and eighteen in circumference at the base. Their capitals are in the form of a vase, over which a square stone is laid, which probably served as a pedestal for statues. Two prodigious colossal figures, mutilated by violence, terminate these colonnades. Standing at this place, the astonished eye surveys the temple, the height of which is most surprising, in all its immensity. Its walls of marble appear everlasting. Its roof, which rises in the centre, is sustained by eighteen rows of columns. Those standing under the most lofty part are thirty feet in circumference, and eighty in height; the others are one third less. The world does not contain a building the character and grandeur of which more forcibly impress awe and majesty: it seems adequate to the high idea the Egyptians had formed of the Supreme Being; nor can it be entered or beheld but with reverence. Its sides, both within and without, are loaded with hieroglyphics, and extraordinary figures. On the northern wall are representations of battles, with horses and chariots, one of which is drawn by stags. On the southern are two barks, with canopies, at the end of which the sun appears; the mariners guide them with poles; two men, seated at the stern, seem to direct their proceedings, and re-

ceive their homage. These are allegoric designs. In the poetic language of the Greeks, the sun was painted in a car, drawn by horses, guided by Apollo. The Egyptians represent it on board a ship conducted by Osiris, and seven mariners, who represent the planets\*.

The entrance, which fronted the temple of Luxor, is greatly decayed; but, if we may judge by the obelisks that remain, it must have been most sumptuous. There are two of sixty feet high, and twenty-one in circumference at the base; and, a little farther, two others, of seven-two feet in height, and thirty in circumference. Each of these superb monuments is formed from a single block of red granite, and does honour to the genius and science of the antient Egyptians. There are hieroglyphics, in various divisions, engraved on these obelisks, three of which remain standing, and the other is thrown down.

Proceeding eastward from the great temple, after crossing heaps of rubbish, we come to a building called by Strabo the sanctuary, which is small. The gate is ornamented with columns, three of which are grouped and united under one sole capital. Within are various apartments of granite. Here the virgin consecrated to Jupiter was kept, and who offered herself in sacrifice after a very extraordinary manner †.

I have only described those parts

\* Macrobius Somn. Scipionis. Mart. Capella, lib. 2.

† Jovi quem præcipuè colunt (Thebani) virgo quædam genere clarissima et specie pulcherrima sacratur; quales Græci Pallacas vocant. Ea pellicis more cum quibus vult coit usque ad naturalem corporis purificationem. Post purificationem, vero, viro datur; sed priusquam nubat, post pellicatus tempus, in mortuæ morem lugetur. Strabo, lib. 17.

of the temple, fir, which are in best preservation. Within its vast limits are several edifices, almost destroyed, which, no doubt, appertained to the priests and sacred animals. Near the ruins is a large expanse of water; and we meet at every step with remains of columns, sphinxes, statues, colossal figures, and ruins, so magnificent that the imagination is kept in continual admiration and amazement. Were the ground occupied by the various entrances, porticos, and courts, appertaining to the temple measured, we should find the whole was at least half a league in circumference; and that Diodorus Siculus was not deceived when he allowed it that extent.

The plain lying between Carnac and Luxor is not less than a league in length, and was once covered with the houses of the Egyptians, who lived in that eastern part of Thebes. Though, according to Diodorus Siculus\*, they were five stories high, and solidly built, they have not been able to resist the ravages of time and conquerors, but are totally destroyed†. The ground is at present much raised by the annual floodings of the river, which has covered it with several feet of mud, and the ruins are below the surface. Corn, flax, and vegetables, grow in the very places where, three thousand years ago, public squares, palaces, and numerous edifices, were the admiration of the enlightened people who inhabited them. At the farther end of this plain is the village of Luxor, near

which are the avenues and remains of another temple, still more ruinous than the first. Its extent is spacious, and so are its courts, which are entered under porticos supported by columns forty feet high, without estimating the base, buried under the sand. Pyramidal majestic gates, abounding in hieroglyphics; the remains of walls built with flags of granite, and which the barbarity of men only could overturn; rows of colossal marble figures, forty feet high, one third buried in the ground; all declare what the magnificence of the principal edifice, the site of which is known by a hill of ruins, must have been. But nothing can give a more sublime idea of its grandeur than the two obelisks by which it was embellished, and which seem to have been placed there by giants, or the genii of fable. They are each a solid block of granite, seventy-two feet high above the surface, and thirty-two in circumference; but, being sunk deep in the sand and mud, they may well be supposed ninety feet from the base to the summit. The one is split towards the middle; the other perfectly preserved. The hieroglyphics they contain, divided into columns, and cut in bas-relief projecting an inch and a half, do honour to the sculptor; the hardness of the stone has preserved them from being injured by the air. Nothing can be more majestic than these obelisks. Egypt is the sole country in the world where men have performed works like these; yet there is not a city on the face of the globe

\* Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1.

† Pocock, deceived by this total destruction, imagined Thebes formerly contained no great buildings except the temples, and that the inhabitants there lived in huts or tents, &c. The testimony of Diodorus Siculus refutes this assertion.



where they would not become its grandest ornament.

Such, sir, are the most remarkable monuments found at present on the eastern side of Thebes. Their very aspect would awaken the genius of a polished nation, but the Turks and Copts, crushed to dust beneath an iron sceptre, behold them without astonishment, and build huts, which scarcely can screen them from the sun, in their neighbourhood. These barbarians, if they want a mill-stone, do not blush to overturn a column, the support of a temple or portico, and saw it in pieces. Thus abject does despotism render men!"

*A Visit to the Tombs of the Kings of Thebes, dug in the Mountain, through subterranean Passages. Sarcophagi, Galleries, and Hieroglyphics described. Observations on the grand Temple, the Roof of which was supported by Square Pillars, bearing Statues. Parts of a prodigious Colossal Figure found among these Ruins. The Ruins of Memnonium, denoted by Heaps of Marble and Rows of Statues, either mutilated or sunk a Third of their Height in the Earth, and particularly by the celebrated Colossal Figure of Memnon, famous among the Ancients for the Sounds it articulated at Sun-rising. From the same Work.*

Grand Cairo.

THE villages of Gournou and Medinet-Abou, built where the western part of Thebes once stood, are surrounded by grand ruins. One league westward of the first are the grottos named *Biban Elmelouk*, the gates of the kings, where are seen the tombs of the ancient monarchs

of the Thebais. The road to them is strewn with marbles and fragments, and we arrive at them by a winding narrow pass, the sides of which, in various places, have been hollowed out. Large excavations have been made in the rock, which were antecedent to the building of houses and palaces. The valley widens at the farther end about two hundred fathoms, and here, at the foot of the mountain, are the passages which lead to the tombs. Strabo counts forty of them\*, Diodorus Siculus forty-seven†; but he adds, that in the time of Augustus seventeen only remained, some of which were very much damaged. At present most of them are closed up, and nine of them only can be entered. The subterranean galleries leading to them are in general ten feet high, and as many in breadth. The walls and roofs, cut in a white rock, preserve the brilliant polish of stucco. At the far end of four principal alleys, longer and higher than the rest, is the door of a large hall, in the centre of which a marble tomb is seen, on the top of which a figure is sculptured in basso-relievo, and another holding a sceptre in one hand on the wall; a third also on the ceiling, bearing a sceptre, with wings descending as low as his heels.

The second grotto is spacious and much embellished, containing on the ceiling numerous golden stars; birds painted in colours which seem to have lost nothing of their freshness and brilliancy; and hieroglyphics divided in columns, and engraved in the walls. Two men are seated beside the gate, the passage to which is a long gentle

\* Strabo, lib. 17.

† Diod. Siculus.

declivity,

declivity. A block of red granite sixteen feet high, ten long, and six wide, forms the sarcophagus of the king, who is sculptured in basso-relievo on the top of the tomb, and surrounded by a hieroglyphical inscription. Niches cut out of the rock probably served as repositories for the mummies of the royal family. The tombs erected in other apartments have been carried away by force, as their fragments attest. There is one exceedingly fine grotto which contains only a marble lid ten feet long and six wide; and in the farther part of the most distant cavern is a human figure in basso-relievo, with the arms crossing the breast, and two others kneeling, one on each side.

These galleries and subterranean apartments, which go very far under the mountains, and a very small part only of which I have described, are embellished by marble figures of men, birds, and various animals; some sculptured in basso-relievo, others cut hollow, and some painted in colours which are not to be effaced. These unintelligible characters, which contain the history of the times, conceal beneath their impenetrable veil most interesting discoveries, and the most remarkable facts relative to the monarchs of the Thebais, whose power extended as far as India. Torches are necessary in examining these labyrinths, into which the light of day cannot penetrate.—Such, Sir, are the caverns where the bodies of kings repose, surrounded by silence and shades. A kind of religious terror is felt while wandering through them, as if the presence of the living disturbed the

dead, in the asylums where they have retired to rest in peaceful sleep.

Returning from these dark abodes, and proceeding south-east, the traveller soon meets with the remains of a temple, on the square pillars of which are the statues that all have had their heads broken off, holding a sceptre in one hand and a whip in the other. This edifice is little more than a mountain of ruins.—On the south side is a pyramidal gate, which was the entrance to a portico. The extent of the courts round the temple is denoted by fragments of columns, and stones of an incredible grandeur. In one of these courts are parts of two statues of black marble, which were thirty feet high; in the other, one stands in stupid amazement, at beholding a colossal figure extended on the ground, and broken near the middle. The space between the shoulders is one and twenty feet, the head eleven feet in length and eighteen in circumference. This gigantic statue is only inferior in size to that of Memnon. The remains of the buildings appertaining to this temple cover a mile of ground, and leave a high idea of its magnificence in the mind.

Proceeding onward about half a league, we come to the ruins of Memnonium, near Medinet-Abou, where is the largest colossus of Egypt, which marks the situation of the tomb of Osymandyas, for so Diodorus Siculus indicates. Before I describe the ruins of this famous place, permit me to cite what Diodorus has written on the subject: “Ten stadia from the tombs of the kings of Thebes\*, says this historian,

\* Diod. Siculus, lib. 1. The great caverns, where the tombs of the kings of Thebes

torian, " is the admirable one of Ofymandyas. The entrance to it is by a vestibule of various coloured stones, two hundred feet long and sixty-eight high. Leaving this we enter a square peristyle, each side of which is four hundred feet in length. Animals twenty-four feet high, cut from the blocks of granite, serve as columns, and support the ceiling, which is composed of marble slabs twenty-seven feet square, and embellished throughout by golden stars, glittering on a ground of azure. Beyond this peristyle is another entrance, and after that a vestibule, built like the first, but containing more sculptures of all-kinds. At the entrance are three statues, formed from a single stone by Memnon Syncrite, the principal of which, representing the king, is seated, and is the largest in Egypt. One of its feet exactly measured is above seven cubits. The other two figures supported on his knees, the one on the right, the other on the left, are those of his mother and daughter. The whole work is less valuable for its enormous grandeur than for the beauty of the sculpture, and the choice of the granite, which, tho' so extensive, has neither flaw nor blemish on its surface. The colossus bears this inscription, *I am Ofymandyas, king of kings: he who would comprehend my greatness, and where I rest, let him destroy some one*

*of these works* \*. Besides this is another statue of his mother, cut from a single block of granite thirty feet high. Three queens are sculptured on her head, intimating that she was daughter, wife, and mother of a king.

" After this portico is a peristyle still more beautiful than the first, on the stones of which is engraved the history of the war of Ofymandyas against the rebels of Bactriana. The façade of the front wall exhibits this prince attacking ramparts, at the foot of which the river flows; he is combating advanced troops, and by his side is a terrible lion, ardent in his defence. On the right wall are captives in chains, with their hands and genitals cut off, as marks of reproach for their cowardice. The wall on the left contains symbolical figures, of exceedingly good sculpture, descriptive of the triumphs and sacrifice of Ofymandyas returning from this war. In the centre of the peristyle, where the roof is open, an altar was erected of a single stone of marvellous bulk and exquisite workmanship; and at the farther wall are two colossal figures, each hewn from a single block of marble forty feet high, seated on their pedestals. This admirable peristyle has three gates, one between the two statues, and the others on each side. These lead to an edifice two hundred feet square, the roof of which is sup-

Thebes may be seen, are only three quarters of a league from Medinet-Abou; therefore Diodorus is tolerably exact, since, at most, he is not deceived above a quarter of a league. Pocock has committed a more considerable error, in placing the tomb of Ofymandyas at Luxor, on the other side the Nile.

\* I believe this inscription was fatal to the colossus, and occasioned Cambyfes to break it in two.

The French reads, *que l'on detruise*; the Greek, *νικᾶτω τὸ τ' ἐμὸν ἔργον*, let him conquer, i. e. exceed, some of my works. T.

ported by high columns. It resembles a magnificent theatre. Several figures carved in wood represent a tribunal administering justice. Thirty judges are seen on one of the walls, and in the midst of them the chief justice, with a pile of books at his feet, and a figure of Truth, with her eyes shut, suspended from his neck.

“ Beyond is a walk surrounded by edifices of various forms, in which were tables stored with all kinds of most delicious viands. In one of these Osymandyas, clothed in magnificent robes, offers up the gold and silver which he annually drew from the mines of Egypt to the gods. Beneath, the amount of this revenue, which was thirty-two million minas of silver, was inscribed. Another building contained the sacred library, at the entrance of which these words were read, *PHYSIC FOR THE SOUL*. A fourth contained all the deities of Egypt, with the king offering suitable presents to each, and calling Osiris and the surrounding divinities to witness he had exercised piety towards the gods, and justice toward men. Beside the library stood one of the finest of these edifices, and in it twenty couches to recline on while feasting; also the statues of Jupiter, Juno, and Osymandyas, whose body it is supposed was deposited here. Various adjoining apartments contained representations of all the consecrated animals of Egypt. Hence was the ascent to the sepulchre of the king, on the summit

of which was placed a circle of gold in thickness one cubit, and three hundred and sixty-five in circumference; each cubit corresponded to a day in the year, and on it were engraved the rising and setting of the stars for that day, with such astrological indications as the superstition of the Egyptians had affixed to them. Cambyfes is said to have carried off this circle when he ravaged Egypt. Such, according to historians, was the tomb of Osymandyas, which surpassed all others, as well by its wealth as by the workmanship of the skilful artists employed\*.”

I dare not, Sir, warrant all that Diodorus Siculus advances on the faith of preceding writers; for in his time the greatest part of these edifices were no longer in existence. Nay, I confess that, in any other country, such marvellous edifices would pass for mere chimeras; but in this land of fecundity, which seems to have been first honoured by the creative genius of the arts, they acquire probability. Let us examine the remains of those monuments, and our eyes will oblige us to believe in miracles. These remains are heaped together near Medinet-Abou †, in the circumference of about half a league. The temple, vestibules, and peristyles, present only piles of ruins, among which some pyramidal gates rear their heads, whose solidity has rendered them indestructible; but the numerous colossal figures described by Diodorus, though mutilated, still subsist. That nearest the

\* Some very slight deviations from the French text have been made on the authority of Diodorus. T.

† Medinet-Abou signifies the city of the father. That Memnonium stood here cannot be doubted, since it is also called, in the Itinerary, Papa, or father.

ruins,

ruins, which is of yellow marble, is sunk in the earth one third of its height. On a line with it is another of spotted marble, black and white, thirty feet long, with many hieroglyphics sculptured on its back. In the space between them, the ground is covered with fragments of columns, and broken statues, denoting the arrangement of the vestibules. Beyond are two other colossal statues, totally disfigured; and a hundred fathom still further the traveller is struck with astonishment at the sight of two gigantic figures, which seem like rocks, and are seated beside each other. Their pedestals are nearly equal, and formed from blocks of granite thirty feet long, and eighteen wide. The smallest of these statues is also one sole stone; the other, the largest in Egypt, is formed of five different pieces of granite, and broken in the middle. This should seem to be the statue of Osymandyas\*, for we find two figures, sculptured in basso-relievo, the length of his legs, and rising one third as high as himself. These were the mother and daughter of this prince. The other colossus, of one single stone, corresponding to the dimensions Diodorus Siculus gives, also represented the mother of the king. You will form some idea of the gigantic size of the grand colossus, when you are told that its foot alone is near eleven feet long, which answers to the seven cubits of Diodorus. This statue, the half of which remains on

its base, and which Strabo calls the statue of Memnon, uttered a sound at sun-rising. Its fame formerly was very great. Several writers have spoken of it with enthusiasm, regarding it as one of the seven wonders of the world. A crowd of Greek and Latin inscriptions, which are still legible on the base and legs of the colossus, attest that princes, generals, governors, and men of all conditions, have heard this miraculous sound. You know, Sir, what the judicious Strabo thought, and, I hope, you will be of his opinion. Such, Sir, are the remains of Thebes, and her hundred gates, the antiquity of which is lost in the obscurity of ages, and which still contains proofs of the perfection of the arts in those most distant times. All here is sublime, all majestic. Its kings seem to have acquired the glory of never dying, while their obelisks and colossal statues exist, and to have only laboured for immortality. They could preserve their memory against the efforts of time, but not against the barbarism of conquerors; those most dreadful scourges of science and nations, which, in their pride, they have too often erased from the face of the earth."

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*Dr. Glass's letter to William Marsden, Esq. on the affinity of certain words in the language of the Sandwich and Friendly Isles in the Pa-*

\* The only objection to this opinion is that, according to Diodorus Siculus, the statue of Osymandyas, with those of his mother and daughter, were all formed from one sole block; and this colossus is composed of several pieces: but the first of these pieces, reaching from the sole of the foot to the elbows, comprehends the two other figures, which, perhaps, is what the historian means to say. The remainder is conformable to his description.

cific Ocean, *with the Hebrew.*--  
From the 8th volume of the Archæologia.

My dear Friend,

YOU know my opinion as to the originality of the Hebrew language: to this you must attribute the trouble I am now giving you.

If there was a time when all the inhabitants of the world spoke Hebrew, then we are justified in our attempts at tracing to that primary source any word in any language spoken on the habitable globe: and an argument connected with these data, though it may not carry conviction with it, will not, I hope, be considered, *primâ facie*, as absurd and impossible.

It is my opinion, then, that the word *taboo*, which is so common in all the islands of the Pacific Ocean, and which occurs so very frequently in the journals of our circumnavigators, is, *possibly*, of Hebrew origin.

At least thus much is certain, that the Hebrew word תעוּבָה *Taoba*, from תעב, has the same precise signification with the word *Taboo*, as used in the Sandwich and Friendly isles, &c.

The word תעב as a verb signifies transitively, to loath, nauseate, abominate, both in a natural and mental sense. From hence is derived תעוּבָה *Taob-a*, and תעוּבַת *Taob-ath*, an abomination.

It occurs in several places of the sacred writings; but the three following instances are sufficiently in point for my purpose, viz. to shew that the effect of that abomination we speak of, was *interdictory*, and that to a very high degree, which is

exactly the sense in which it seems to occur in the journals of captain Cook, &c. with the slight transposition of one vowel.

I.

Genesis lxiil. 32.

“ And they set on (meat) for him (Joseph) by himself, and for them (the sons of Jacob) by themselves; and for the Egyptians which did eat with him (in his presence) by themselves, because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, for that is תעוּבָה, *taoba*, to the Egyptians.”

An inhabitant of O-whi-hee would have given the very same reason for such a separation at his meal.

II.

Genesis xlvi. 33, 34.

“ And it shall come to pass when Pharaoh shall call you, and shall say, ‘ What is your occupation ?’ “ That ye shall say, ‘ Thy servants trade hath been about cattle, from our youth even until now, both we and our fathers :’ “ that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen, for every shepherd is תעוּבַת *Taob-ath*, to the Egyptians.”

III.

Exodus viii. 25, 26.

And Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron, and said: “ Go ye, sacrifice to your God in the land.”

And Moses said: “ It is not meet so to do, for we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the Lord our God (*אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִצְרַיִם*), Lo, shall we sacrifice תעוּבַת - מִצְרַיִם, that which the Egyptians are forbid-  
“ den

“den to use, before their eyes, and  
“will they not stone us?”

There is little doubt, that Moses in this place alludes to the well-known Egyptian histories of Isis and Osiris, and that the cow was the *taboo'd* animal which it was so hazardous to sacrifice in Egypt.

Herodotus gives us the reason in his Euterpe :

Τὰς μὴ ἔν καθαροῦ βῆς τὰς ἑσυνας, καὶ τὰς μοσχῆς οἱ παῖδες Αἰγύπτιοι θύουσιν· τὰς δὲ θηλείας οὐ σφί ἔξιςι θύουσιν· ἀλλὰ ἑκαὶ ἰσοὶ τῆς Ἰσίου. Τὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἰσίου ἀγάλμα, ἰὸν γυναικίον, βυκίρων ἴσι, καθάπερ Ἕλληνας τὴν ἰὸν γράφουσιν· καὶ τὰς βῆς τὰς θηλείας Αἰγύπτιοι παῖδες θμώϊως σέβονται, περιβάτων παῖδων μάλιστ᾽ αὐμακρῶν.

“All the Egyptians sacrifice bulls. and bull-calves which are free from blemish ; but cows they are forbidden to offer up, for they are holy to Isis. For the representation of Isis is that of a female with a cow's horns, as the Greeks paint Iō, and all the Egyptians do thus venerate cows (boves fœminas) far more than all other cattle.”

In consequence of this, their behaviour to persons coming from a country not so scrupulous gives us a most perfect idea of the *taboo*.

Τῶν ἰσικα, ἔτ' ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος, ἔτι γυνὴ ἄνδρα Ἕλληνα φιλήσονται τῷ στόματι. ἔδὲ μαχαίρῃ ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος χρεΐσται, ἔδὲ ὀπίσται, ἔδὲ λίθῃτι, ἔδὲ κρείως καθαροῦ βῆος διατεμμένῃ Ἑλληνικῇ μαχαίρῃ γέσται.

“On this account no Egyptian man or woman will kiss a Greek, nor use the sword of a Greek, nor Grecian spits, or caldrons; nor will they even taste the flesh of a clean beast, which is carved with a Grecian knife.”

This was the *Tacob-a-Mixraim* in

its effects, which are exactly analogous to those of the *taboo*.

The tenor of these observations is supported by the Jewish Rabbinical Comment, called Targum Onkelos, on Genesis xliiii. 32. quoted by the ingenious and learned Mr. Parkhurst in his Lexicon, on the word *צנה*, where it is said, “For the Egyptians could not eat bread with the Hebrews, because the beasts which the Egyptians worshipped the Hebrews eat.”

If I mistake not, the *taboo* of the islands has some connection, not accurately understood, with their religious tenets.

This conjecture will receive additional strength, if in the course of future enquiry there should appear, as I cannot but suspect will be the case, as marked an affinity between other words in the two languages expressive of the same ideas; *Mattee*, from *מט*, seems to be here in point.

I wish I had leisure and abilities to enter more deeply into such an investigation.

The subject viewed in any light whatever is not uninteresting; and no argument in favour of the primævity of the Hebrew language is unimportant. Researches of this nature, we understand, are now making, under the direction of a great princefs, as well as by the assiduous care of learned individuals. I am fully persuaded, that these researches will terminate in some new discoveries of the connection between the language of every kingdom upon earth, with that presumed to have been spoken by Adam and Noah.

Yours most affectionately,

G. H. GLASS.

*Observations*

*Observations on a Picture by Zuccaro, from Lord Falkland's Collection, supposed to represent the Game of Primero. By the Hon. Daines Barrington. Inscribed to the Rev. Mr. Bowle. From the same work.*

Inner Temple, May 4, 1785.

I Conceive that the following account of a picture, which was sold last week at Greenwood's auction-room in Leicester-fields, may be interesting to the society.

It originally belonged to the great and good lord Falkland; from whom it descended to the late viscount of that title, who died not long since.

According to tradition in the family it was painted by Zuccaro; and represented lord Burleigh playing at cards with three other persons, who, from their dress, appear to be of distinction, each of them having two rings on the same fingers of both their hands.

The cards are marked as at present, and differ from those of more modern times only by being narrower and longer; eight of these lie upon the table, with the blank side uppermost, whilst four remain in each of their hands.

Other particulars deserving notice are, that one of the players exhibits his cards, which are, to the best of my recollection, the knave of hearts, with the ace, 7 and 6 of clubs. There are also considerable heaps of gold and silver on the table, so that these dignified personages seem to have played for what would not at present be called a *chicken stake*.

It should seem, that the game is

a Spanish one, called *Primero*, which probably might have been introduced by Philip the Second, or some of his suite, whilst he was in England, and was much in vogue during the reign of queen Elizabeth, as appears by the following passage from Shakespeare:

“ — I left him at *Primero*  
“ With the duke of Suffolk.”

Henry VIII. Act V. Sc. 1.

I have taken some pains to find out how this formerly favourite game was played, and find the following account of it in Duchat's notes on the twenty-second chapter of the first book of Rabelais, in which all the games, with which Gargantua amused himself, are mentioned, amounting to nearly two hundred, and the second of which is *Primero*.

I shall subjoin a translation of Duchat's note on this word, which seems most clearly to prove, that *Primero* is the game described in this picture of Lord Falkland's.

“ Each player hath four cards,  
“ which are dealt one by one; a  
“ seven is the highest in point of  
“ number, [which he can avail  
“ himself of,] and counts for twenty-one; the next is the six, and  
“ counts for sixteen; the next is  
“ the five, and counts for fifteen;  
“ the ace reckons for the same  
“ number, but the duce, trois, and  
“ quatre, count only for their respective number of points.”

Duchat adds, that the knave of hearts most commonly is pitched upon for the *quinola*, which the player may make what card, and of what colour he pleases\*; if the cards are

\* Hence the Spanish phrase, “*estar de quinola*,” which signifies the joining different colours. See the Dictionary of the Royal Academy at Madrid, voce *Quinola*.



all of different colours, the player wins *primero*, and if they are all of the *same* colour, he wins the flush\*.

From this outline of *Primero*, there seems to be little doubt but that it is the game which the painter means to describe; and that the person exhibiting his cards to the spectators hath won the *flus*, flux, or flush; for his three clubs are the best cards for counting, and his knave of hearts may double the best of these, whilst it also becomes a club, and thus wins by the number of points, as well as by the four cards becoming a flush of clubs.

Whilst I have thus been endeavouring to explain this picture of Zuccaro, some other observations have occurred, with regard to cards in the more early centuries, which with the indulgence of the society I may possibly lay before them hereafter.

DAINES BARRINGTON.

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*Observations on the Antiquity of Card-playing in England, by the Hon. Daines Barrington. Inscribed to the Rev. Mr. Bowle. From the same work.*

SINCE the last paper which I had the honour to lay before the society, giving some account of a picture representing lord Bur-

\* The Spanish term is "flux," which signifies the same with our word *flush*, and which, when applied to cards, imports that they are all of the same colour: *x* in that language, moreover, hath the power of *sb*, or nearly so.

† See the preceding article.

‡ This ancient game is sometimes written *Primera*.

§ Sydney Papers, vol. I. p. 154.

|| Vol. II. p. 307.

¶ This entry seems to have been communicated to Mr. Anstis by some other person.

leigh with three others playing at cards †, I have found some confirmation that those exhibited in the hand of one of these players relate to *Primero* ‡, because the Sydney papers mention § that queen Elizabeth formed a party at this game with the Lord Treasurer, Mr. Secretary, and the lord North.

I am since informed likewise, that this picture was purchased by Mr. Bird of Hanover-square.

I proceed to give the best account I am able of the first introduction of this pastime now become so general.

The earliest mention of cards that I have yet stumbled upon, is in Mr. Anstis's History of the Garter ||, where he cites the following passage from the Wardrobe Rolls, in the sixth year of Edward the First.

"Waltero Sturton ad opus regis ad ludendum ad quatuor reges VIII s. vd. ¶" from which entry Mr. Anstis with some probability conjectures, that *playing-cards* were not unknown at the latter end of the thirteenth century; and perhaps what I shall add may carry with it some small confirmation of what he thus supposes.

Edward the First (when prince of Wales) served nearly five years in Syria, and therefore, whilst military operations were suspended, must naturally have wished some sedentary amusements. Now the Asiatics scarcely ever change their

customs;

customs; and, as they play at cards (though in many respects different from ours \*) it is not improbable that Edward might have been taught the game, *ad quatuor reges*, whilst he continued so long in this part of the globe.

If, however, this article in the wardrobe account is not allowed to allude to *playing cards*, the next writer who mentions the more early introduction of them is P. Menestrier †, who, from such another article in the privy purse expences of the kings of France, says, that they were provided for Charles the Sixth by his limner, after that king was deprived of his senses in 1392.—The entry is the following, “Donné a Jacquemin Gringonneur, Peintre, pour trois jeux de Cartes, de a or et a diverses couleurs, de plusieurs devises, pour porter vers le dit Seigneur Roi pour son abatement, cinquante six sols Parisis.”

I must own, that I have some doubts whether this entry really relates to *playing cards*, though it is admitted that *trois jeux de cartes* would now signify *three packs* of cards. The word *jeu* however had anciently a more extensive import than at present, and Cotgrave in his dictionary applies it to a *chest* of violins, *jeu de violons*. I there-

fore rather conceive that the *trois jeux de cartes*, in this article, means three sets of illuminations upon paper; *carte* originally signifying no more ‡.

If this be the right interpretation of the terms, we see the reason why Gringonneur, limner to Charles VI. was employed, and these three sets of illuminations would entertain the king during his insanity by their variety, as three sets of wooden prints would now amuse a child better than one; whilst on the other hand one pack of cards would have been sufficient for a mad king, who probably would tear them in pieces upon the first run of bad luck.

How this same king moreover was to be taught or could play a game at cards whilst he was out of his senses is not very apparent; and the physician, who permitted such amusement to his majesty, seems not to have considered the ill consequence to his health by losses at play, which so much inflame the passions. Some strefs likewise may be laid upon this entry not being followed by another || of money issued to the winners, as there seems to be little doubt, but that his majesty in this state of mind must have been, in modern terms, a *pigeon* to his *hawks* of courtiers.

\* For their pastimes within doors they have cards differing from ours in the “figures and number of suits.” Pietro della Valle.

Niebur (in his Travels) also mentions the use of Chinese cards, p. 139, and says, that the Arabians call this amusement *Lab-el-kamer*. We have cheis likewise from the Asiatics.

† Bibliotheque Instruative et Curieuse.

‡ Paper also in the fourteenth century was a modern invention.

|| Our worthy member Mr. Orde hath lately favoured me with the perusal of Henry the Seventh's private expences, by which it appears that money was issued at three several times for his losses at cards.

Another

Another observation to be made upon this entry is, that the year 1392 cannot be justly fixed upon as the date of this invention, for though Charles the Sixth lost his senses at that time, yet he lived thirty years afterward, so it will not be fair to suppose these cards were made the first year of his phrensy, but to take the middle year of these thirty, which would bring it to 1407. At that time, indeed, this amusement seems to have become more general, as in 1426\* no person was permitted to have in their house "tabliers, "eschiquiers, quarters," &c. which last word I conclude to be the same with *cartes* or *cards* †.

It seems moreover to afford a strong presumption against Mr. Antis's explanation of the game *ad quatuor reges* (known to our Edward the First,) that cards are not alluded to by such an article in the wardrobe rolls, because we hear nothing about them, either in Rymer's *Fœdera*, or our statute book, till towards the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII ‡.

This sort of amusement, however, was not unknown to the court at least of Henry VII. for in the year 1502, when the daughter of

that king was married to James the Fourth of Scotland, she played at cards soon after her arrival at Edinburgh ‖.

Cards had also found their way into Spain about the same time; for Herrera mentions §, that upon the conquest of Mexico (which happened in 1519,) Montezuma took great pleasure in seeing the Spaniards thus amusing themselves.

And here it may not be improper to observe, that if the Spaniards were not the first inventors of cards (which at least I conceive them to have been,) we owe to them undoubtedly the game of *ombre* (with its imitations of *quadrille*, &c.) which obtained so long throughout Europe till the introduction of *whisk* ¶\*.

The very name of this game is Spanish, as *ombre* signifies a man; and when we now say *I am the ombre*, the meaning is, that I am the man who defy the other players, and will win the stake. The terms for the principal cards are also Spanish, viz. *Spadill*, *Manill*, *Basto*, *Punta*, *Matadors*, &c. ††.

"The four suits are named from what is chiefly represented upon them, viz. *spades*; from *espad*, a

\* Montrelet in anno—Meneffrier is also quoted for a synod held at Langres, in which the clergy are forbid the use of cards so early as 1404.

† Ludus chartaceus *quartarum* seu chartarum. Junius in Etymologico.

‡ Whilst I am correcting this page for the press, Mr. Nichols (printer to the society) hath referred me to 4 Edw. IV. Rot. Parl. Membr. VI. where *pleyinge cards* are enumerated amongst several other articles, which are not to be imported. In 1540, Henry VIII. grants the office custodis *ludorum* in Calestia; amongst which games *cards* are enumerated. Rymer in anno.

They are first forbid in Scotland by an act only of James the Sixth.

‖ Appendix to the third volume of Leland's *Collectanea*, p. 284.

§ Dec. 2. c. 8.

\*\* This word indeed is most commonly written *whisk*.

†† To these I may add many others—as the being *codill'd* from *codillo*—The winning the *pool* from *polla*, which signifies the stake—The term of *trumps* from the Spanish *triumfo*—as also the term of the *ace*, which pervades most European languages, the Spanish word for this card being *as*.

sword; *hearts* are called *oros*\*, from a piece of money being on each card; *clubs*, *bastos*, from a stick or club; and *diamonds*, *copas*, from the *cups* painted on them.

The Spanish *packs* consist but of forty-eight, having no *ten*, which probably hath been added by the French, or perhaps Italians†.

The king is a man crowned as in our cards; but the next in degree is a person on horseback named *el caballo*, nor have they any *queen*.—The third (or knave with us) is termed *foto* (or the footman) being inferior to the horseman.

Another capital game on the cards (*piquet*) we seem to have adopted from Spain, as well as *ombre*, it having been thence introduced into France about 140 years ago. The French term of *piquet* hath no signification but that of a *little axe*, and therefore is not taken from any thing which is remarkable in this game; whereas the Spanish name of *cientos* (or a *hundred*) al-

ludes to the number of points which win the stake †.

Upon the whole, the Spaniards having given significant terms to their cards, the figures of which they still retain, as well as being the acknowledged introducers of *ombre*, seem to give them the best pretensions of being the original inventors of this amusement. If they had borrowed cards from the French, surely they would at the same time have adopted their names and figures, as well as their principal games from that nation †, which on the contrary, (in *ombre* and *piquet* at least) have been introduced from Spain.

Nor do other reasons seem wanting why the Spaniards should have excelled in card-playing before the other nations of Europe.

I have already proved by a citation from Herrera, that in 1519 Montezuma was much entertained in seeing the Spanish soldiers play at cards when they were first in pos-

\* The Venetians still use the Spanish cards, retaining the Spanish terms, except that of *oros*, which they render *denari*, signifying equally *pieces of money*.

† Our learned member (Dr. Douglas) hath been so obliging as to refer me to a miscellaneous work of Mr. Du Four, entitled *Longueruana*; in which the writer says, he had seen some ancient Italian cards seven or eight inches long, in which the pope was represented, and from thence (though a Frenchman) ascribes the invention of cards to the Italians. This is, however, a mere *ipse dixit*, without any other fact or argument.

Another of our learned members (Dr. Woide) refers me to a German publication by Mr. Breithoff, in which he cites an authority, that cards were used in Germany so early as A. D. 1300, having been brought from Arabia or India.

Our late worthy member (Mr. Tutet) hath also been so obliging as to shew me some ancient cards which belonged to Dr. Stukeley, and which were nearly of an equal length to those described by Mr. Du Four. The pack, however, was far from complete, and therefore little could be inferred from them. This was also the case with the pack of Italian cards mentioned by Mr. Du Four.

‡ See Du Chat's notes on that chapter of Rabelais, in which Pantagruel is said to have played at so many games.

Saintfoix (in his *Essays on the Antiquities of Paris*) informs us, that a dance was performed on the French theatre in 1676, taken from the game of *piquet*.

§ The old Spanish term for cards is *narpe*; which Covarruvias suspects to be of Arabic origin: certainly it hath not the most distant affinity to the French *carte*.

session of Mexico, which shews that this amusement must have for some time previous been rather common in Old Spain.\* Now Charles the Fifth succeeded to the crown of that kingdom in 1518, as well as to the new conquests and treasures of the Western India, whilst his other most extensive dominions made his monarchy nearly universal. France at the same time was at the lowest ebb, their king having been taken prisoner at the battle of Pavia in 1524. It is not therefore extraordinary, that the country in which so great riches and such extensive territories were united, should have produced the greatest number of games and gamesters.

It should seem that England hath no pretence to enter the lists with Spain or France for the invention of cards, unless Edward the First having played at *quatuor reges* should be so considered; and I have already suggested, that the finding nothing further relative to this pastime till 1502 † affords a strong presumption that the *quatuor reges* were not playing cards ‡.

During the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. this amusement seems not to have been very common in England, as scarcely any

mention of it occurs either in Rymer's *Fœdera* or the statute-book ||. It is not improbable, however, that Philip the Second, with his suite, coming from the court of Charles the Fifth, made the use of cards much more general than it had been, of which some presumptive proofs are not wanting.

We name two of the suits *clubs* and *spades*, when neither of those suits in the common cards answer at all such appellation. If the Spanish cards, however, are examined (which I have the honour of presenting to the society,) it will be found that each card hath a real *club* in the first of these suits, and a real sword, *espada* (rendered by us *spade*), in the second.

There seems to be little doubt, therefore, but that the cards used during the reign of Philip and Mary, and probably the more early part of queen Elizabeth, were Spanish §, though they were afterwards changed for the French, being of a more simple figure, and more easily imported. It appears indeed by a proclamation of this queen, as also of her successor ¶, that we did not then make many cards in England, though the amusement had become so general in the reign of

\* 1584 a book was published at Salamanca, entitled, *Remedio de Jugadores*.

† When James the Fourth played with his destined consort at Edinburgh.

‡ The figured cards, as king, queen, and knave, were sometimes called *coats*, and not *court* cards as at present. The *knave* probably was the prince their son, as Chaucer twice applies the term *knave child* to the son of a sovereign prince. The same may be observed with regard to *vales* in French. See De la Royné's noblesse, and Du Fresne, in voce *vallitus*.

|| See however ante, p. 112, note †.

§ Philip also introduced the Spanish dress and music, at least there is a sonnet of Sir Philip Sydney's, which is to the air of "Se tu Senora no dueles demi," and which therefore must have been a tune in vogue.

¶ See a Collection of Proclamations in the library of the society, vol. III. p. 5; and vol. IV. p. 31.

king James, that the audience at the play-houses used thus to divert themselves before the play began\*.

But I have been furnished by our worthy and learned member (Mr. Afle) with a still more decisive proof that cards were originally made in Spain, which I send herewith for the inspection of the society.

[This was an impression from a block of wood, and undoubtedly the cover of a pack of cards. The inscription upon it is as follows:]

“Cartas finnas faictes par Je (supposed contraction for Jean or John) Hauvola y (Edward Warman) the last name having been inserted in a new piece of wood, laid into the original block.”

The first words of this inscription, viz. *cartas finnas* (*superfine cards*) are Spanish, which are followed by two of French, viz. *faictes par, or made by* Jean Hauvola, y (*y* is generally used in Spanish for the conjunction *and*), and the two last words, viz. *Edward Warman*, were not in the block of wood, when first cut into.

The whole of this inscription, being rendered into English, runs thus:

“Superfine cards made by John Hauvola, and (Edward Warman),” the last name being an addition in the room of John Hauvola’s first partner.

Now I conceive that this advertisement was used by a card-maker resident in France, who notified the wares he had to sell in the Spanish terms of *cartas finnas*, or *superfine cards*, because those which had been

made in Spain at that time were in the greatest vogue.

The two words which follow are French, (*faictes par, or made by*), which were probably in that language, that the French reader might more readily understand the advertisement, than if the whole was in Spanish. Thus a London shop-keeper would write on his shop in English that he sold *vermicelli*, though he retains the Italian term of *vermicelli* (or *little worms*) for the ware he wants to dispose of.

But this is not the whole that may be inferred from this curious cover, for at each corner are the figures from which the four suits of cards are denominated in Spain, viz. *cups, swords, clubs, and pieces of money*, whilst at the top are the arms of Castille and Leon.

It seems fairly therefore to be inferred from the superscription on this cover, that cards could not be then disposed of to advantage in France, unless there was some appearance of their having been originally brought from Spain, where being first invented they were probably made in greater perfection.

I begin to be sensible, that what I have thus ventured to lay before the society on the first invention of cards is rather become of an unreasonable length; from their wonted goodness to me, however, I will trespass a little longer upon their time, by adding some few observations, which have occurred with regard to some of the games which formerly had obtained the greatest vogue.

Primero † (undoubtedly a Spanish game) seems to have been

\* Mr. Malon’s Supplemental Observations on Shakespeare, p. 31.

† Falstaff complains that he never had any luck since he forswore *Primero*.

chiefly played by our gentry till perhaps as late as the Restoration. Many other games, however, are mentioned in Doddsley's Collection of Old Plays, as "Gleek, Crimp, Mount-Saint, Noddy, Knave out of Doors, Saint Lodam, Post and Pair, Wide Ruff, and Game of Trumps."

To Primero the game of Ombre succeeded, and was probably introduced by Catharine of Portugal, the queen of Charles the Second, as Waller hath a poem

"On a card torn at Ombre by the queen."

It likewise continued to be in vogue for some time in the present century, for it is Belinda's game in the *Rape of the Lock*, where every incident in the whole deal is so described, that when ombre is forgotten (and it is almost so already) it may be revived with posterity from that most admirable poem\*.

I remember moreover to have seen three-cornered tables in houses which had old furniture, and which were made purposely for this game, the number of players being only three.

Quadrille (a species of ombre) obtained a vogue upon the disuse of the latter, which it maintained till

Whisk was introduced, which now prevails not only in England, but in most of the civilised parts of Europe.

If it may not be possibly supposed that *the game of trumps* (which I have before taken notice of, as alluded to in one of the old plays contained in Doddsley's Collection) is Whisk, I rather conceive that the first mention of that game is to be found in Farquhar's *Beaux Stratagem*, which was written in the very beginning † of the present century. It was then played with what were called *swabbers* ‡, which were possibly so termed, because they, who had certain cards in their hand, were entitled to take up a share of the stake, independent of the general event of the game ||. The fortunate, therefore, clearing the board of this extraordinary stake, might be compared by seamen to the *swabbers* (or cleaners of the deck) in which sense the term is still used.

Be this as it may, *whisk* seems never to have been played upon principles till about fifty years ago, when it was much studied by a set of gentlemen who frequented the Crown coffee-house in Bedford-row §: before that time it was

\* As for the game at chess in Vida's Latin poems, I never could follow it, after line 220, when several pawns are taken on each side without being particularised. The Latin however cannot be too much admired of this elegant poem, nor the description of many moves.

† In 1664 a book was published, entitled, *The Compleat Gamester*, which takes no notice of *whisk*, though it does of *ombre* and *piquet*.

‡ "The clergyman used to play at *whisk* and *swabbers*." Swift.

|| *Swabbers* therefore much resemble the taking up part of the stake for the ace at quadrille, and are properly banished from a game of so much skill as *whisk*, because they are apt to divert the player's attention.

§ I have this information from a gentleman who is now eighty-six years of age. The first lord Folkestone was another of this set.

They laid down the following rules:

To play from the strongest suit, to study your partner's hand as much as your own, never to force your partner unnecessarily, and to attend to the score.

chiefly confined to the servants' hall with *all-fours* and *put*.

Perhaps, as games are subject to revolutions, which may be as much forgot in the next century as *Primero* is at present: in such case,

what I have thus laid before the society may interest future antiquaries. If it should, my trouble in compiling this dissertation will be fully answered.



## MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

*The hot baths used over all Egypt, and the manner of bathing described; with observations on the benefits arising from them; on the practice of the women who bathe once or twice a week; and comparisons between these baths and those of the ancient Greeks. — From Monsieur Savary's Letters on Egypt.*

Grand Caire.

“THE hot baths, known in the remotest ages, and celebrated by Homer, who paints the manners of his times, have here preserved all their allurements and falubrity; necessity has rendered them common in a country where perspiration is abundant; and pleasure has preserved the practice. Mahomet, who knew their utility, has made the use of them a religious precept. They have been superficially described by most travellers; but as the habit I am in of frequenting them has given me leisure to examine them attentively, I shall endeavour to be more particular and satisfactory\*.

The first apartment at enter-

ing the bath is a great chamber, in the form of a rotunda, with an open roof, to let the pure air circulate freely. A spacious alcove carpeted is carried round, and divided into compartments, in which the bathers leave their clothes. In the centre is a fountain, which plays into a reservoir, and has a pleasing effect.

When undressed a napkin is tied round the middle; sandals are put on, and a narrow passage is entered, where the heat first begins to be felt; the door shuts, and twenty paces further a second opens, which is the entrance to a passage at right angles with the first. Here the heat augments, and those who fear to expose themselves too suddenly to its effects stop some time in a marble hall before they enter. The bath itself is a spacious vaulted chamber, paved and lined with marble; beside it are four small rooms: a vapour continually rises from a fountain and cistern of hot water, with which the burnt perfumes mingle †.

The bathers are not, as in France,

\* I have seen the baths of the principal cities of Egypt; they are all made on the same plan, seldom differing, except in size; thus an exact description of one will include the others.

† Perfumes are only burnt when it is the desire of the persons bathing. By mingling with the vapour they produce a most agreeable effect.

imprisoned

imprisoned in a kind of tub, where the body cannot rest at its ease; but, reclining on a spread sheet, and the head supported on a small pillow, they freely take what posture they please, while clouds of odoriferous vapours envelope and penetrate every pore.

Having reposed thus some time, a gentle moisture diffuses itself over the body; a servant comes, gently presses and turns the bather, and when the limbs are flexible, makes the joints crack without trouble; then *masses*\*, and seems to knead the body without giving the slightest sensation of pain.

This done he puts on a stuff glove and continues rubbing long, and freeing the skin of the patient, which is quite wet, from every kind of scaly obstruction, and all imperceptible particles that clog the pores, till it becomes as smooth as satin; he then conducts the bather into a cabinet, pours a lather of perfumed soap on the head, and retires.

The ancients honoured their guests still more, and treated them after a more voluptuous manner. While Telemachus was at the court of Nestor †, “the beauteous Poly-

caste, youngest of the daughters of the king of Pylos, led the son of Ulysses to the bath, washed him with her own hands, and, having rubbed his body with precious ointments, clothed him in rich garments and a shining mantle.” Nor were Pisistratus and Telemachus worse treated in the palace of Menelaus ‡, the beauties of which having admired, “they were conducted to marble bathtubs, in which the bath was prepared, where beauteous slaves washed them, rubbed them with odorous oils, and clothed them in fine garments, and magnificent furred robes§.”

The room into which the bather retires has two water cocks, one for cold, the other for hot water; and he washes himself. The attendant presently returns with a depilatory pomatum||, which instantly eradicates hair wherever applied. It is in general use both with men and women in Egypt.

Being well washed and purified, the bather is wrapped up in hot linen, and follows his guide through various windings which lead to the outward apartment, while this insensible transition from heat to cold prevents all inconvenience¶. Be-

\* *Masser* comes from the Arabic verb *masses*, which signifies to touch lightly.

† *Odysses*, Book III.

‡ *Odysses*, Book IV.

§ I translate the words *χλαινας ουλας* (shaggy mantles) furred robes, though I am sensible no translator has so rendered them, because it seems to me the poet intended to describe a custom which still remains in the East, of covering the bather with furred garments when he leaves the hot bath, to prevent a stoppage of perspiration, at a time when the pores are exceedingly open.

|| Made from a mineral called *rufma*, of a dark brown colour. The Egyptians give it a slight burning, then add an equal quantity of slack lime, and knead them up with water. This grey paste will make the hair fall off in three minutes, without giving the slightest pain.

¶ Delicate people stop some time in the chamber next the bath, that they may feel no inconvenience by going too suddenly into the air. The pores being exceedingly open, they keep themselves warm all day, and in winter stay within doors.

ing come to the alcove, a bed is ready prepared, on which the person no sooner lies down than a boy comes, and begins to press with his delicate hands all parts of the body, in order to dry them perfectly: the linen is once more changed, and the boy gently rubs the callous skin of the feet with pumice-stone, then brings a pipe and Moka coffee\*.

Coming from a bath filled with hot vapour, in which excessive perspiration bedewed every limb, into a spacious apartment and the open air, the lungs expand and respire pleasure: well kneaded, and as it were regenerated, the blood circulates freely, the body feels a voluptuous ease, a flexibility till then unknown, a lightness as if relieved from some enormous weight, and the man almost fancies himself newly born, and beginning first to live. A glowing consciousness of existence diffuses itself to the very extremities; and, while thus yielding to the most delightful sensations, ideas of the most pleasing kind pervade and fill the soul; the imagination wanders through worlds which itself embellishes, every where drawing pictures of happiness and delight. If life be only a succession of ideas, the vigour, the rapidity, with which the memory then retraces all the knowledge of the man,

would lead us to believe that the two hours of delicious calm which succeed bathing are an age.

Such, Sir, are these baths, the use of which was so strongly recommended by the ancients, and the pleasures of which the Egyptians still enjoy. Here they prevent or exterminate rheumatisms, catarrhs, and those diseases of the skin which the want of perspiration occasions. Here they find a radical cure for that fatal disease which attacks the powers of generation, and the remedies for which are so dangerous in Europe†. Here they rid themselves of those uncomfortable sensations so common among other nations, who have not the same regard to cleanliness.

The women are passionately fond of these baths, whither they go at least once a week, taking with them slaves accustomed to the office. More sensual than men, after the usual process they wash the body, and particularly the head, with rose-water. There their attendants braid their long black hair, with which, instead of powder and pomatum, they mingle precious essences.— There they blacken the rim of the eye-lid, arch the brows with *cobel*‡, and stain the nails of their hands and feet of a golden yellow with *benna* ||. Their linen and their

\* The whole expence of bathing thus to me was half a crown; but the common people go simply to perspire in the bath, wash themselves, and give three half-pence or two-pence at departing.

† Tournefort, who had taken the vapour bath at Constantinople, where they are much less careful than at Grand Cairo, thinks they injure the lungs; but longer experience would have convinced him of his error. There are no people who practise this bathing more than the Egyptians, nor any to whom such diseases are less known. They are almost wholly unacquainted with pulmonic complaints.

‡ Tin, burnt with gall-nuts, which the Turkish women use to blacken and arch the eye-brows.

|| A shrub common in Egypt, which bears some resemblance to the privet. The leaves, chopped and applied to the skin, give it a bright yellow colour.

robes

robes having been past through the sweet vapour of aloes wood, and their dressing ended, they remain in the outward apartment, and pass the day in feasting, while singing girls come and dance, and sing soothing airs, or recount amorous adventures.

The days of bathing are festive days among the Egyptian women; they deck themselves magnificently, and under the long veil and mantle which hide them from the public eye wear the richest stuffs. They undress themselves in presence of each other, and their vanity extends to their very drawers, which in winter are made of stuffs inwove with silk and gold, and in summer of worked muslin. Ruffles and lace are unknown to them, but their shifts are made of cotton and silk, as light and transparent as gauze. Rich sashes of Cassimire\* bind up their floating robes, and two crescents of fine pearls sparkle amidst the black hair that shades their temples, while diamonds enrich the Indian handkerchief with which they bind their brows. Such are the Georgians and Circassians, whom the Turks purchase for their wives. They are neat to excess, and walk in an atmosphere of perfumes; and, though their luxury is hidden from the public, it surpasses that of the European women in their own houses.

The excessive jealousy of the Turks makes them pretend, that in this warm climate, where nature is so powerful, and women are irresistibly prone to pleasure, an intercourse between the sexes would be dangerous; they therefore abuse the right of strength, and hold them in slavery, though they thereby increase the violence of their passions, and make them ready to seize the first opportunity of retaliation: ignorant, no doubt, that though free women may be won, slaves need no winning."

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*An Account of the Almai, or, Egyptian Improvisatore, their education, dancing, music; and the passionate delights the natives take in these addresses. From the same work.*

Grand Cairo.

“**E**GYPT, as well as Italy, has her improvisatore, called Almai, or learned; which title they obtain by being more carefully educated than other women. They form a class very famous in the country, to be admitted into which it is necessary to possess a fine voice, eloquence, the rules of grammar †, and be able to compose and sing extempore verses, adapted to the occasion. The Almai know all new songs by rote, their memory is stored with the best *Moals* ‡ and tales,

\* The wool of Cassimire is the finest in the world, surpassing silk itself. The sashes made from it cost about five-and-twenty pounds each; they are usually embroidered at both ends, and though three French ells long, and one wide, may be drawn through a ring.

† The quantity in Arabic and Latin verses is the same, to which the former adds the various measure and rhyme of the French. These advantages cannot unite, except when a language is well fixed.

‡ Elegiac songs, which bewail the death of a hero, or the disasters of love.

Abulfeda

tales, they are present at all festivals, and are the chief ornament of banquets. They place them in a raised orchestra or pulpit, where they sing during the feast, after which they descend and form dances, which no way resemble ours. They are pantomimes that represent the common incidents of life. Love is their usual subject. The suppleness of these dancers bodies is inconceivable, and the flexibility of their features, which take impressions characteristic of the parts they play at will, astonishing. The indecency of their attitudes is often excessive; each look, each gesture speaks, and in a manner so forcible as not possibly to be misunderstood. They throw aside modesty with their veils. When they begin to dance, a long and very light silk robe floats on the ground, negligently girded by a sash; long black hair, perfumed, and in tresses, descends over their shoulders; the shift, transparent as gauze, scarcely conceals the skin: as the action proceeds, the various forms and contours the body can assume seem progressive; the sound of the flute, the castanets, the tambour de basque, and cymbals, regulate, increase, or slacken their steps. Words, adapted to such like

scenes, inflame them more, till they appear intoxicated, and become frantic bacchantes. Forgetting all reserve, they then wholly abandon themselves to the disorder of their senses, while an indelicate people, who wish nothing should be left to the imagination, redouble their applause.

These Almai are admitted into all harems; they teach the women the new airs, recount amorous tales, and recite poems in their presence, which are interesting by being pictures of their own manners. They learn them the mysteries of their art, and instruct them in lascivious dances. The minds of these women are cultivated, their conversation agreeable, they speak their language with purity, and, habitually addicting themselves to poetry, learn the most winning and sonorous modes of expression. Their recital is very graceful; when they sing, nature is their only guide: some of the airs I have heard from them were gay, and in a light and lively measure, like some of ours: but their excellence is most seen in the pathetic. When they rehearse a moal, in the manner of the ancient tragic ballad, by dwelling upon affecting and plaintive tones,

Abulfeda has preserved the conclusion of a moal, sung by Ommia over the cavity in which his kinsmen had been thrown after the defeat of Beder.

Have I yet not wept enough over the noble sons of the princes of Mecca?

I beheld their broken bones, and, like the turtle in the deep recess of the forest, filled the air with my lamentations.

Prostrate on earth, unfortunate mothers, mingle your sighs with my tears.

And ye, who follow their obsequies, sing dirges, ye wives, interrupted by your groans.

What happened to the princes of the people at Beder, the chiefs of tribes?

The aged and the youthful warrior, there, lay naked and lifeless.

How is the vale of Mecca changed!

These desolate plains, these wildernesses, seem to partake my grief.

*Vie de Mahomet, par Savary, page 83.*

they

they inspire melancholy, which insensibly augments, till it melts in tears. The very Turks, enemies as they are to the arts, the Turks themselves, pass whole nights in listening to them. Two people sing together sometimes, but, like their orchestra, they are always in unison: accompaniments in music are only for enlightened nations; who, while melody charms the ear, wish to have the mind employed by a just and inventive modulation. Nations, on the contrary, whose feelings are oftener appealed to than their understanding, little capable of catching the fleeting beauties of harmony, delight in those simple sounds which immediately attack the heart, without calling in the aid of reflection to increase sensibility.

The Israelites, to whom Egyptian manners, by long dwelling in Egypt, were become natural, also had their Almai. At Jerusalem, as at Cairo, it seems they gave the women lessons. St. Mark relates a fact which proves the power of the Oriental dance over the heart of man\*.

“ And when a convenient day was come, that Herod on his birthday made a supper to his lords, high captains, and chief estates of Galilee;

“ And when the daughter of the said Herodias came in, and danced, and pleased Herod, and them that sat with him, the king said unto the damsel, Ask of me whatsoever thou wilt, and I will give it thee.

“ And he sware unto her, Whatsoever thou shalt ask of me, I will give it thee, unto the half of my kingdom.

“ And she went forth, and said unto her mother, What shall I ask? and she said, The head of John the Baptist.

“ And she came in straightway with haste unto the king, and asked, saying, I will that thou give me by and by in a charger the head of John the Baptist.

“ And immediately the king sent an executioner, and commanded his head to be brought, and he went and beheaded him in the prison.”

The Almai are present at marriage ceremonies, and precede the bride, playing on instruments. They also accompany funerals, at which they sing dirges, utter groans and lamentations, and imitate every mark of grief and despair. Their price is high, and they seldom attend any but wealthy people and great lords.

I was lately invited to a splendid supper, which a rich Venetian merchant gave the receiver-general of the finances of Egypt. The Almai sung various airs during the banquet, and afterwards the praises of the principal guests. I was most pleased by an ingenious allegory, in which Cupid was the supposed interlocutor. There was a play after supper, and I perceived handfuls of sequins were occasionally sent to the singers. This festival brought them fifty guineas at least; they are not, however, always so well paid.

The common people have their Almai also, who are a second order of these women, imitators of the first; but have neither their elegance, grace, nor knowledge. They are seen every where; the public squares and walks round Grand

\* St. Mark, chap. vi. ver. 21.

Cairo abound with them; the populace require ideas to be conveyed with still less disguise; decency therefore will not permit me to describe the licentiousness of their motions and postures, of which no idea can be formed but by seeing. The Indian *Bayadieres* are exemplarily modest, when compared to the dancing girls of the Egyptians. This is the principal diversion of these people, and in which they greatly delight."

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*Some Account of the private life of the Egyptian women, their inclinations, morals, employments, pleasures; the manner in which they educate their children; and their custom of weeping over the tombs of their kindred, after having strewed them with flowers and odoriferous plants. Extracted from the same work.*

Grand Cairo.

"IN Europe \* women act parts of great consequence, and often reign sovereigns on the world's vast theatre; they influence manners and morals, and decide on the most important events; the fate of nations is frequently in their hands.

\* The Egyptians never mention their wives in conversation; or, if obliged to speak of them, they say, the mother of such a person, the mistress of the house, &c. Good manners will not permit the visitor to ask, How does your wife do, Sir? But in imitation of their reserve, it is necessary to say, How does the mother of such a person do? And this they think an insult unless asked by a kinsman or an intimate friend. This I relate as perfectly characteristic of Eastern jealousy.

† The compiler Pomponius Meja pretends women do the out-door business in Egypt, and men that of the household. Every writer who has been in this country improves the opinion.

How different in Egypt, where they are bowed down by the fetters of slavery, condemned to servitude, and have no influence in public affairs! Their empire is confined within the walls of the harem. There are their graces and charms entombed: the circle of their life extends not beyond their own family and domestic duties†.

Their first care is to educate their children, and a numerous posterity is their most fervent wish; public respect and the love of their husband are annexed to fruitfulness. This is even the prayer of the poor, who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow; and, did not adoption alleviate grief when nature is unkind, a barren woman would be inconsolable. The mother daily suckles her child, whose infant smiles, added to frequent pregnancy, recompences all the cares and pains they incurred. Milk diseases, and those maladies which dry up the juices of the youthful wife, who sends her offspring to be nurtured by a stranger, are here unknown. That mothers should suckle their young is a law as ancient as the world; it is expressly commanded by Mahomet. "Let mothers suckle their children full two years, if the child does not quit the breast; but she shall be

permitted

permitted to wean it with the consent of her husband \*." Ulyssés, in the Elyfian fields, beholds his mother, his tender mother there, who had fed him with her milk, and nurtured him in infancy †.

When obliged by circumstances to take a nurse, they do not treat her as a stranger; she becomes one of the family, and passes her days amidst the children she has suckled, by whom she is cherished and honoured as a second mother.

Racine, who possessed not only genius but all the knowledge necessary to render genius conspicuous, stored with the learning of the finest works of Greece, and well acquainted with Oriental manners, gives Phædra her nurse as her sole confidante. The wretched queen, infected by a guilty passion she could not conquer, while the fatal secret oppressed a heart that durst not unload itself, could not resolve to speak her thoughts to the tender Cœnone, till the latter had said,

*Cruelle, quand ma foi vous a-t-elle déçue ?  
Songez-vous, qu'en naissant, mes bras vous  
ont réçue ?*

*When, cruel queen, by me were you de-  
ceiv'd ?  
Did I not first receive you in these arms ?*

The harem is the cradle and school of infancy. The new-born feeble being is not there swaddled and filleted up in a swathe, the source of a thousand diseases. Laid naked on a mat, exposed in a vast chamber to the pure air, he breathes freely, and

with his delicate limbs sprawls at pleasure. The new element in which he is to live is not entered with pain and tears. Daily bathed beneath his mother's eye, he grows apace; free to aſt, he tries his coming powers, rolls, crawls, rises, and, should he fall, cannot much hurt himself, on the carpet or mat which covers the floor ‡.

He is not banished his father's house when seven years old, and sent to college with the loss of health and innocence; he does not, it is true, acquire much learning; he perhaps can only read and write; but he is healthy, robust, fears God, respects old age, has filial piety, and delights in hospitality; which virtues, continually practised in his family, remain deeply engraven on his heart.

The daughter's education is the same. Whalebone and buks, which martyr European girls, they know not; they run naked, or only covered with a shift, till six years old, and the dress they afterwards wear confines none of their limbs, but suffers the body to take its true form, and nothing is more uncommon than rickety children and crooked people. Man rises in all his majesty, and woman displays every charm of person, in the east. In Georgia and Greece those fine marking outlines, those admirable forms, which the Creator gave the chief of his works, are best preserved. Apelles would still find models worthy of his pencil there.

The care of their children does

\* Coran.

† Odyſſey, Book XXIII.

‡ The rooms are paved with large flag-stones, washed once a week, and covered in summer with a reed mat, of artful workmanship, and a carpet in winter.



not wholly employ the women; every other domestic concern is theirs: they overlook their household, and do not think themselves debased by preparing themselves their own food, and that of their husbands. Former customs, still subsisting, render these cares duties. Thus Sarah hastened to bake cakes upon the hearth, when angels visited Abraham, who performed the rites of hospitality. Menelaus thus entertains the departing Telemachus:—

- “ Yet stay, my friends, and in your chariot  
take  
“ The noblest presents that our love can  
make;  
“ Mean-time, commit we to our women’s  
care  
“ Some choice domestic viands to pre-  
pare\*.”

Subject to the immutable laws by which custom governs the East, the women do not associate with men, not even at table †, where the union of sexes produces mirth, and wit, and makes food more sweet. When the great incline to dine with one of their wives, she is informed, prepares the apartment, perfumes it with precious essences, procures the most delicate viands, and receives her lord with the utmost attention and respect. Among the common people, the women usually stand, or sit in a corner of the room while the husband dines, often hold the basin for him to wash, and serve him at table ‡. Customs like these, which the Europeans rightly call

barbarous, and exclaim against with justice, appear so natural here, that they do not suspect it can be otherwise elsewhere. Such is the power of habit over man: what for ages has been, he supposes a law of nature.

Though thus employed, the Egyptian women have much leisure, which they spend among their slaves, embroidering fashes, making veils, tracing designs to decorate their sofas, and in spinning.

Labour has its relaxations; pleasure is not banished the harem. The nurse recounts the history of past times with a feeling which her hearers participate; cheerful and passionate songs are accompanied by the slaves with the tambour de basque and castanets. Sometimes the Almai come, to enliven the scene with their dances and affecting recitals, and by relating amorous romances; and, at the close of the day, there is a repast, in which exquisite fruits and perfumes are served with profusion. Thus do they endeavour to charm away the dulness of captivity.

Not that they are wholly prisoners; once or twice a week they are permitted to go to the bath, and visit female relations and friends. To bewail the dead is likewise a duty they are allowed to perform. I have often seen distracted mothers round Grand Cairo, reciting funeral hymns over the tombs they had strewed with odoriferous plants.

The Egyptian women receive

\* Pope’s *Odyſſey*, Book XV.

† Sarah, who prepared the dinner for Abraham and his guests, sat not at table, but remained in her tent.

‡ I lately dined with an Italian who had married an Egyptian woman, and assumed their manners, having lived here long. His wife and sister-in-law stood in my presence, and it was with difficulty I prevailed on them to sit at table with us, where they were extremely timid and disconcerted.

each

each other's visits very affectionately: when a lady enters the harem, the mistress rises, takes her hand, presses it to her bosom, kisses, and makes her sit down by her side; a slave hastens to take her black mantle; she is entreated to be at ease, quits her veil and her outward shift\*, and discovers a floating robe, tied round the waist with a sash, which perfectly displays her shape. She then receives compliments according to their manner †. "Why, my mother, or my sister, have you been so long absent? We sighed to see you! Your presence is an honour to our house; it is the happiness of our lives!" &c.

Slaves present coffee, sherbet, and confectionary; they laugh, talk, and play; a large dish is placed on the sofa, on which are oranges, pomegranates, bananas, and excellent melons. Water and rose-water mixed are brought in an ewer; and with them a silver basin to wash the hands, and loud glee and merry conversation season the meal. The chamber is perfumed by wood of aloes in a brazier; and, the repast ended, the slaves dance to the sound of cymbals, with whom the mistresses often mingle. At parting they several times repeat, "God keep you in health! Heaven grant you a numerous offspring! Heaven preserve your children, the delight and glory of your family ‡!"

While a visitor is in the harem, the husband must not enter; it is the asylum of hospitality, and cannot be violated without fatal consequences; a cherished right, which the Egyptian women carefully maintain, being interested in its preservation. A lover disguised like a woman may be introduced into the forbidden place ||, and it is necessary he should remain undiscovered; death would otherwise be his reward. In this country, where the passions are excited by the climate, and the difficulty of gratifying them, love often produces tragical events.

The Turkish women go, guarded by their eunuchs, upon the water also, and enjoy the charming prospects of the banks of the Nile. Their cabins are pleasant, richly embellished, and the boats well carved and painted. They are known by the blinds over the windows, and the music by which they are accompanied.

When they cannot go abroad they endeavour to be merry in their prison. Toward sun-setting they go on the terrace, and take the fresh air among the flowers which are there carefully reared. Here they often bathe; and thus at once enjoy the cool limpid water, the perfume of odoriferous plants, the balmy air, and the starry host which shine in the firmament.

Thus Bathsheba bathed, when

\* A habit of ceremony, which covers the dress, and, except the collar, greatly resembles a shift. It is thrown off on sitting down, to be more at ease; and is called in Arabic, *camis*.

† Such titles as madam, miss, or mistress, are unknown in Egypt. A woman advanced in years is called my mother; when young, my sister; and, if a girl, daughter of the house.

‡ I mention these wishes, very ancient in the East, because they are found often in the Holy Scriptures.

|| I have said *harem* signifies forbidden place.

David

David beheld her from the roof of his palace\*.

The Turks oblige the public criers to swear they will shut their eyes when they call the people to prayer, that their wives may not be seen from the high minarets. Another more certain precaution, which they take, is to choose the blind to perform this pious function.

Such, Sir, is the usual life of the Egyptian women. Their duties are to educate their children, take care of their household, and live retired with their family: their pleasures, to visit, give feasts, (in which they often yield to excessive mirth and licentiousness,) go on the water, take the air in orange-groves, and listen to the Almai. They deck themselves as carefully to receive their acquaintance as French women do to allure the men. Usually mild and timid, they become daring and furious when under the dominion of violent love: neither locks nor grim keepers can then prescribe bounds to their passions; which, tho' death be suspended over their head, they search the means to gratify, and are seldom unsuccessful."

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*Curious account of the Chicken-Ovens, in Egypt. Extracted from the same author.*

**SPEAKING** of Mansoura, on the Damietta branch of the Nile, Mons. Savary says—"Here are vast chicken-ovens; and, as Egypt is the only country where this mode of hatching is practised, I will describe it.

"Imagine a building of two stories, one under ground, and the other but little above, equally di-

vided, length-ways, by a narrow gallery; on the right and left are small cells, where the eggs are put; the upper story is vaulted with an ox-eye aperture at the top, and a smaller one on the floor, by which heat is communicated below; both have a small window carefully closed, and only one low door for the whole building. The eggs are arranged in heaps in the lower story, and a fire of sun-dried cowdung kindled in the upper, morning and night, an hour each. This is repeated for eight days, and the building being sufficiently heated, the fire is put out, every aperture closed, and a part of the eggs heaped up below are carried above. The superintendant occasionally examines if it be necessary to increase or diminish the heat. On the nineteenth day the chickens begin to move in their shells, nibble with their beaks on the twentieth, endeavouring to break their prison, and are usually completely hatched on the twenty-first: then do these heaps of eggs, apparently lifeless, begin to move, and roll about the floor, and thousands of little various coloured chickens to run and hop round the apartment. This sight is truly diverting. They are carried in panniers, and cried about the streets on the morrow, each house stocking itself at a half-penny a piece. Various authors have said these fowls are not so good as those hatched by the hen, but they are mistaken. A French cook I saw at Grand Cairo bought them every year, and when well fed they became excellent poultry. People here say the villagers of Bermai only know the secret of this mode of incubation, but this I cannot certify."

\* 2 Samuel, xi. 2.

*An account of the KRIMEA, extracted from the Gentleman's Magazine for August 1786, page 644.*

“THE peninsula of the Krim, or Krimea, is situate directly to the south of St. Petersburg, between the 51st and 54th degrees of latitude, and in 46 of longitude. Its southern and western coasts lie in the Euxine; its northern and eastern in the Rotten Sea and the Palus Mæotis. It is joined, however, to the continent, on the north, by a small neck of land, not more than nine versts broad; the mean length and breadth of the peninsula itself being about 200 versts.

From the above-mentioned isthmus, on which is built the fortress of Or-kapi, or Perekop, to the first rising of the hill at Karasubasar, the country is one continued flat, elevating itself, by an easy gradation, to the summit of the hill, which forms the south side of the peninsula, and the shore of the Euxine Sea. The surface of the soil is almost all of one kind, a reddish grey loam; on digging, you find it more or less mixed with a black earth, and the hills abound with marl. The whole flat, from Perekop to the river Salgir, which may be an extent of 120 versts, is full of salt-marshes and lakes, from whence the neighbouring Russian governments, as well as the Krim itself, Anatolia, and Bessarabia, are supplied with salt. The most remarkable of these lakes are five in number: Koslof and Kessa, so called after the towns near which they lie, are very large; the Tussa, about 15 versts from Perekop, on the road from Kessa; the Red Lake, not far from the last-mentioned; and the Black Lake. Besides these, there

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are many other swamps and lakes, from whence the inhabitants get salt for their own consumption.

The greatest part of the peninsula is so level that a man may travel over the half of it without meeting with a river, or even the smallest brook. The inhabitants of the villages, therefore, make a pit in the yard of every house for receiving the rain, or the water that runs from the hills. The whole tract is bare of every kind of tree. Not a bush or a bramble is to be seen; and the herbage is extremely scanty. This, however, does not, proceed so much from the unfruitfulness of the place, as from the vast herds of cattle which rove, the whole year long, from place to place, by which means all the grass, in spring, summer, or autumn, no sooner appears, through the long drought which succeeds the rainy season, but it is immediately devoured or trodden down. The universal prevalence of this custom of keeping cattle to wander up and down, joined to the slothfulness of the Tartars, with their inaptitude and aversion to agriculture, is the reason of the total neglect of that science here. Otherwise, were the land divided into portions, and properly managed, there would be a sufficiency for the cattle, and the rest would be fruitful in corn and grain. By this means alone the Krim would become a fertile country, and no natural defect would be found in opposition to the welfare of its inhabitants. The truth of this is well known by their neighbours; where, of a hundred Tartars, one perhaps follows husbandry, who finds it answer to so much profit, that he has not only enough for his own use, but wherewith to sell to the ninety-nine.

K

This

This peninsula, which is indeed but a little district, yet, from the many advantages conferred upon it by nature, may be esteemed peculiarly rich, I shall divide into two parts, the hilly country and the flat. The latter, which extends from Perrekop to Koslof and the river Bulganak, to Keratubasar, Keffa, and Yenicali, is strewn here and there with little Tartar villages, maintained by cattle and the produce of the salt-lakes. The highlands, or hilly country, form the southern part of the Krim, along the straight coast of the Black Sea, and stretching westward, in a right line from Keffa, to the vicinity of Belbek. These hills are composed of layers of chalk, which in the headlands and promontories, is soft, but more inland quite hard. The strata of the highest hills are like those of the promontories, and take a direction from north to south. These qualities of the strata prevail not throughout the whole hills, but only in the large and lofty ones, such as the two that rise near Karatubasar, and one very high by Achmetfched, which bears the name of Aktau. The other smaller hills lie scattered and dispersed, but take the names of the greater ones, to which they seem to belong; as the great ridge of Caucasus does, which extends beyond the Donau, through Bulgaria, and are named Palkans.

The state of the hilly part of the Krim is taken chiefly from my own observations, and the rest I have taken from the friendly communications of others. All agree in this, that nature has favoured these highland countries with great advantages, and blessed them with abundance of all things; a number of springs that flow from the moun-

tains form the two considerable rivers Salgir and Karafu, that run into the Rotten Sea. The former which takes its rise from a cavern in a high hill near Achmetfched, falls straight into the plain below and waters a great part of the Krim: the other, commencing behind Karatubasar, falls likewise into the plain, and mingles with Salgir. The many other little rivers and streams, which run ward, and either join the two mentioned, or fall immediately into the Rotten Sea, I shall not particularly mention, but observe in general, that all the streams the whole length of the hills, begin at Keffa, and proceed in a chain of the same height, to the north, or the north-east, excepting one behind Achmetfched where the great mountain Aktau, which falls on the other side; the river which, rising on the eastern side of this mountain, first was before observed, to flow north-east, to the Salgir into the Rotten Sea; as likewise those which spring on the western side of the hills, their course westward to the Black Sea, and thence straight into the Black Sea, which also receives the other little rivers that arise from these hills, as the Amma, the Belbek, the Icha, the Belbek, the Icha, &c. &c.

The mountains are well covered with woods, fit for the purpose of ship-building, and contain a great number of wild beasts. The vallies are full of fine arable land; on the hills grow corn and other fruits in great abundance, and they are rich in mines. But these countries are as careless and negligent as the inhabitants of the desert, in enjoying all these advantages.

their brethren of the low-lands, are sufficiently happy if they are in possession of a fat sheep and as much bread as serves them to eat.

About 18 years ago, this peninsula was uncommonly full of inhabitants and wealth. They reckoned at that time at least 1200 villages; but, from the late troubles in the Krim, it has lost more than a third part of its inhabitants; and now, wherever we turn, we meet with the ruins of large villages and dwellings. The people was composed of various nations, who lived together under the Tartars in the most unbounded freedom; but, in the late Turkish war, they either put themselves under the Russian government, and were transferred to that empire, or fled to Abcasia and the Tschirkassian hills.

The houses in the towns, as well as the villages, are, for the most part, of square timbers, having the interstices filled with brick work, if the possessor can afford it, and those of the poorer sort with turf. The chinks and crannies are made tight with clay, and then plastered within and without. The covering is commonly either of brick or of turfs. Only the med-scheds, minarets, and baths, are of stone, and a few extremely handsome, of marble. They have chimnies in the chambers, at which they likewise dress their victuals; but stoves in the Russian manner none. In extreme frosts a great iron pan of charcoal is brought into the room, for making it comfortable. Their custom is, to sit upon low sofas, with Turkish coverings and cushions, or upon a clay seat, somewhat raised above the earth, and spread with a carpet. In these rooms are cupboards and chests, of

ten covered with cushion, to serve as seats, in which they keep their gold, silver and valuables. Such are the inner apartments, or harems, in which the women generally live; the others are not so fine. These contain only a sofa, or a bank of clay, covered with a carpet, as in the chimney rooms.

The cloathing of the Tartars is so well known, that I shall not give myself or your readers the trouble of going through its description.

The rich Tartars, and their nobility, or murzas (excepting only such as are about the person of the khan) commonly dwell, all the year round, in the country, coming only to town when they have business there. There are but few towns in the Krim, at least in comparison of its former population. The Krimskoi Tartars have no tribunal of justice, controversies and quarrels being seldom heard of among them: and if a dispute should arise, it is immediately settled by an appeal to the Koran. Little differences in the villages inevitably happening, about property, or other matters not taken notice of in that code, are amicably adjusted by the eldermen, or abeses; but in the towns all weighty concerns, excepting the single case of murder or homicide, are brought before the kaimakan, or commandant, who settles them absolutely, without appeal.

The residence of the khans of the Crimea was formerly Bachtshisarai, in which city they held their seat for upwards of 200 years. They went thither from Eski-Krim, or Old Krim, the capital city of the Genoese, upon Bengli Ghireikhan's plundering the sea-ports, and driving all the Genoese from their stations. Before Eski-Krim, and in-

deed upon the first coming of the Tartars into this peninsula, the sovereign residence was at Koslof, but here they remained not long. Under the late khan Schagin Ghirei, it was held at Keffa, the ancient Theodosia, which is 15 versts distant from Eski-Krim, said to be the Cimmerium of the ancients.

The principal cities or towns of the Krimea are :

Bachtſchi-Sarai, an extensive and wealthy city, lying in a vale between two high mountains, and surrounded by a number of gardens. From this circumstance it has its name; Bachtſchi signifying, in the Tartarian language, a garden, and Sarai, a palace. It formerly contained 3000 houses, and many sumptuous medſcheds. The palace of the khans, with its gardens and ponds, were much improved under the government of khan Kerim Ghirei, under whose government the last Turkish war took its rise. In this palace is the burial place of all the khans of Krimea, wherein all the khans that have reigned here lie interred. The fine Krimſkoi vines, with their large clusters of grapes, grow in great plenty all about this town, and a profusion of other delicious fruits, from whence the neighbouring parts of Russia are supplied.

Keffa, the present residence of the khans, stands on the shore of a large harbour in the black sea. Its site is on the declivity of a long ridge of mountains, and is mantled by a stone wall, fortified by several towers, and encompassed by a deep ditch. On both sides of the city formerly stood castles, and in the middle of them a lofty turret, for the purpose of giving signals by fire. Before the wall were wide extended suburbs, containing, among other

considerable buildings, medſcheds, churches for the Greek and Armenian worship, of all which now only the vestiges remain. The castles and towers lie also in ruins, and not one third part of the houses of the city itself are now remaining, and those chiefly built of materials taken from the aforesaid ruins. They formerly reckoned Keffa to contain 4000 houses, including the suburbs, with a number of medſcheds and Christian churches; but this number has been much diminished by the last Turkish war.

I perceived in the walls of the houses a great many blocks and slabs of marble, with inscriptions and ensigns armorial, chiseled in the time of the Genoese. The present inhabitants consist mostly of Tartars, who carry on a trade, by no means inconsiderable, in commodities brought from Turkey. The late khan, an intelligent and enlightened personage, made this city the place of his residence, and brought hither the mint from Bachtſchifarai, built himself a palace, and erected a divan, which assembled three times a week, and the fourth time was held in the palace of the khan, in which he always personally assisted. Here is also a custom-house, the management of which is farmed out.

Karásubasar, likewise a very rich city in former times, stands at the beginning of the mountains, about half-way between Keffa and Bachtſchifarai. It is a large trading town, contains a considerable number of dwelling-houses and medſcheds, but the greatest part of them in decay, and many fine gardens. This place is the most famous in all the Krim for its trade in horses, and has a market once a week for that

article

article of traffic; to which are likewise brought great numbers of buffaloes, oxen, cows, camels, and sheep, for sale. Near this city flows one of the principal rivers of the Krim, called the Karafu, that is, the Black Water. Of this river they have an opinion in Russia, that one part of it flows upwards for several versts together. But this is in some sort true, not only of the Karafu, but of all the rivers of the Krim that have a strong current.—The Tartars, who dwell either in the vallies, or on the sides of the mountains, (frequently without considering whether the place is supplied with water or not) dig canals either from the source of the next river, or from that part of it which lies nearest to their particular habitation, about an arshine in breadth, for their gardens and domestic use. From these they cut smaller ones through the villages, to supply them with water, and not unfrequently to drive a mill. These canals appear, to the imagination of the common people, to run in a contrary direction to the current of the river; and in fact these canals do lie, in many places, for a verst in length, some fathoms higher than the level of the stream from whence they are supplied.

Achmetsted, a pretty large city, not far from Bachtschisarai, now made the capital of all the Crimea, by the regulations of prince Potemkin, in the summer of last year.

Koslof, formerly a very considerable trading town, lies on the western side of the peninsula, in a bay of the Black Sea, which, as well as the sound at Keffa, might rather be called a road than a haven. This was the first town the Tartars possessed themselves of on their first

entrance into the Krim, and established a custom-house therein, after the example of the Genoese, which is now farmed out.

The other remarkable places are, Sudak, which is built on the hills upon the shore of the Black Sea, at the south side of the peninsula, and is famous for its excellent wine, resembling Champagne, both in colour and strength; Alufchti, on the same side, among the hills on the sea-shore; Baluklava, where there is a fine harbour, and perhaps the only one on the Black Sea, containing ample room for a very good fleet; Inkerman may be noticed for its commodious, though not very large, haven, called Achtiar; and Mangup, the old Chersonesus; which were all formerly very flourishing towns, but are now either in ruins, or dwindled into small villages.

All these places, so long as the Genoese remained masters of the Krim, were well fortified; but the Tartars, in taking them, demolished all the works. While they were under the Turks, they left the fortresses of Keffa, Kertsch, and Koslof, and built the fort Arabat, on the neck of land between the sea of Azof (or Palus Mæotis) and the Rotten Sea, where Perekop also is.

In Arabat are but few houses; but here the warlike stores of the khans were kept.—Perekop, called by the Turks Or-kapi, is a fortress of moderate strength, standing about the middle of the neck of land that joins the peninsula with the continent. This isthmus, which is at least nine versts broad, is cut through with a wide and deep ditch, lined with stone, and reaches from the Black to the Rotten Sea. This was formerly kept without water, but now it is filled from both seas. On



the Crimean side a high wall of earth runs the whole length of it, straight from one sea to the other.— You pass over the ditch by means of a drawbridge, and through the wall by a gateway. The walls of the fortrefs are some fathom from the road-side, of which the ruins are only now discernible, namely, large brick houses, with a number of bomb-shells and cannon-balls about them, which were formerly kept in the fortrefs. At least three versts from this is the pretty populous, but miserable, place which was probably the town to which this fort belonged. Near the gate is a custom-house, where all imports and exports pay duty.

This peninsula was formerly extremely populous; the number of its inhabitants, in Tartars, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and others, amounted to above 200,000 men. Since that, however, the greatest part of the Christians have betaken themselves to the other parts of the Russian empire, particularly the government of Azof; and many other inhabitants, particularly Tartars, have gone to Taiman and Abchasia; so that the present population of the Krim cannot now be reckoned at more than 50,000 men at most.

The Krim was heretofore divided into 24 kaduliks, or districts, namely, Yenikali, Kertsch, Arabat, Efki-krim, Keffa, Karasubasar, Sudak, Achmetshed, Yalof, Bachtshifairai, Balaklava, Mangup, Inkerman, Koslof, Or, Mansur, Tarkan, Sivasch, Tschongar, Sarubulat, Barun, Argun, Sidschugut, and Schirir. Several of these districts are named after the town or village wherein the mirza, their governor, dwells; and many of them are

at present in a state of total decay."

TACITURNITY, *an Apologue, translated from the French of Abbé Blanchet; extracted from Tales, Romances, Apologues, &c. from the French, in two vols.*

AT Amadan was a celebrated academy, the first statute of which ran thus:

*The Academicians are to think much, write little, and, if possible, speak less.*

This was called the Silent Academy, nor was there a sage, in Persia, who was not ambitious of being admitted a member. Zeb, a famous sage, and author of an excellent little book, entitled, *the Gag*, heard, in the distant province where he lived, there was a vacancy in the silent academy. Immediately he departed for Amadan, and, arriving, presented himself at the door of the hall where the academicians were assembled, and sent in the following billet to the presideht:

Zeb, a lover of silence, humbly asks the vacant place.

The billet arrived too late, the vacancy was already supplied. The academicians were almost in despair; they had received, somewhat against their inclinations, a courtier, who had some wit, and whose light and trifling eloquence had become the admiration of all his court-acquaintances; and this learned body was now reduced to the necessity of refusing the Sage Zeb, the scourge of babblers, the perfection of wisdom.

The president, whose duty it was to announce this disagreeable news to the Sage, scarcely could resolve,

nor

nor knew in which manner best, to perform his office. After a moment's reflection he ordered a flagon to be filled with water, and so full that another drop would have made the water run over. He then desired them to introduce the candidate.

The Sage appeared, with that simple and modest air which generally accompanies true merit. The president rose, and, without speaking a word, pointed, with affliction in his looks, to the emblematical flagon so exactly full.

The Sage understood from thence the vacancy was supplied, but, without relinquishing hope, he endeavoured to make them comprehend that a supernumerary member might, perhaps, be no detriment to their society. He saw on the floor a rose-leaf, picked it up, and with care and delicacy placed it on the surface of the water, so as not to make it overflow.

All the academicians immediately clapped their hands, betokening applause, when they beheld this in-

genious reply. They did more, they broke through their rules in favour of the Sage Zeb. The register of the academy was presented him, and he inscribed his name.—Nothing remained but for him to pronounce, according to custom, a single phrase of thanks. But this new, and truly silent, academician, returned thanks without speaking a word.

In the margin of the register he wrote the number one hundred (that of his brethren)—then put a cypher before the figures, under which he wrote thus :

0100

*Their value is neither more nor less.*

The president, with equal politeness and presence of mind, answered the modest Sage, by placing the figure 1 before the number 100, and by writing under them thus :

1100

*Their value is ten-fold.*

## P O E T R Y,

ODE for the NEW YEAR, 1786.

*Written by the Rev. T. WARTON, Poet Laureat.*

## I.

" D E A R to Jove, a genial isle,  
 " Crowns the broad Atlantic wave ;  
 " The seasons there in mild assemblage smile,  
 " And vernal blossoms clothe the fruitful prime :  
 " There, in many a fragrant cave,  
 " Dwell the Spirits of the brave,  
 " And braid with amaranth their brows sublime."  
 So feign'd the Grecian bards, of yore ;  
 And veil'd in Fable's fancy-woven vest  
 A visionary shore,  
 That faintly gleam'd on their prophetic eye  
 Through the dark volume of futurity :  
 Nor knew that in the bright attire they drest  
 Albion, the green-hair'd heroine of the West ;  
 Ere yet she claim'd old Ocean's high command,  
 And snatch'd the trident from the Tyrant's hand.

## II.

Vainly flow'd the mystic rhyme !  
 Mark the deeds from age to age,  
 That fill her trophy-pictur'd page :  
 And see, with all its strength, untam'd by time,  
 Still glows her valour's veteran rage,  
 O'er Calpe's cliffs, and steepy towers,  
 When stream'd the red sulphureous showers,  
 And Death's own hand the dread artillery threw ;  
 While far along the midnight main  
 Its glaring arch the flaming volley drew :  
 How triumph'd Elliott's patient train,

Baffling

Baffling their vain confederate foes !  
 And met the unwonted fight's terrific form ;  
 And hurling back the burning war, arose  
 Superior to the fiery storm !

## III.

Is there an ocean, that forgets to roll  
 Beneath the torpid pole ?  
 Nor to the brooding tempest heaves ?  
 Her hardy keel the stubborn billow cleaves.  
 The rugged Neptune of the wintry brine  
 In vain his adamant breast-plate wears :  
 To search coy Nature's guarded mine,  
 She bursts the barriers of th' indignant ice ;  
 O'er sunless bays the beam of Science bears :  
 And rousing far around the polar sleep,  
 Where Drake's bold ensigns fear'd to sweep,  
 She sees new nations flock to some fell sacrifice.  
 She speeds, at George's sage command,  
 Society from deep to deep,  
 And zone to zone she binds ;  
 From shore to shore, o'er every land,  
 The golden chain of commerce winds.

## IV.

Mean-time, her patriot cares explore  
 Her own rich wool's exhaustless store ;  
 Her native fleece new fervour feels,  
 And wakens all its whirling wheels,  
 And mocks the rainbow's radiant dye :  
 More wide the labours of the loom she spreads,  
 In firmer bands domestic commerce weds,  
 And calls her sister isle to share the tie :  
 Nor heeds the violence that broke  
 From filial realms her old parental yoke !

## V.

Her cities, throng'd with many an Attic dome,  
 Ask not the banner'd bastion, maffy-proof ;  
 Firm as the castle's feudal roof,  
 Stands the Briton's social home.—  
 Hear, Gaul, of England's liberty the lot !—  
 Right, Order, Law, protect her simplest plain ;  
 Nor scorn to guard the shepherd's nightly fold,  
 And watch around the forest cot.  
 With conscious certainty, the swain  
 Gives to the ground his trusted grain,  
 With eager hope the reddening harvest eyes ;  
 And claims the ripe autumnal gold,  
 The mead of toil, of industry the prize.

For

For our's the King, who boasts a parent's praise,  
 Whose hand the people's sceptre sways;  
 Ours is the Senate, not a specious name,  
 Whose active plans pervade the civil frame:  
 Where bold debate its noblest war displays,  
 And, in the kindling strife, unlocks the tide  
 Of manliest eloquence, and rolls the torrent wide.

## VI.

Hence then, each vain complaint, away,  
 Each captious doubt, and cautious fear!  
 Nor blast the new-born year,  
 That anxious waits the spring's slow-shooting ray:  
 Nor deem that Albion's honours cease to bloom.  
 With candid glance, th' impartial Muse  
 Invok'd on this auspicious morn,  
 The present scans, the distant scene pursues,  
 And breaks Opinion's speculative gloom:  
 Interpreter of ages yet unborn,  
 Full right she spells the characters of Fate,  
 That Albion still shall keep her wonted state!  
 Still, in eternal story, shine,  
 Of Victory the sea-beat shrine;  
 The source of every splendid art,  
 Of old, of future worlds the universal mart.

## ODE for his MAJESTY's Birth Day, June 4, 1786.

*Written by the Rev. T. WARTON, Poet Laureat.*

## I

WHEN Freedom nurs'd her native fire  
 In ancient Greece, and rul'd the lyre;  
 Her bards, disdainful, from the tyrant's brow  
 The tinsel gifts of flattery tore;  
 But paid to guiltless power their willing vow:  
 And to the throne of virtuous kings,  
 Tempering the tone of their vindictive strings,  
 From truth's unprofituted shore,  
 The fragrant wreath of gratulation bore.

## II.

'Twas thus Alceus smote the manly chord;  
 And Pindar on the Persian lord  
 His notes of indignation hurl'd,  
 And spurn'd the minstrel slaves of eastern sway,  
 From trembling Thebes extorting conscious shame;

but,

But o'er the diadem, by Freedom's flame  
Illum'd, the banner of renown unfurl'd :

Thus to his Hiero decreed,  
'Mongst the bold chieftains of the Pythian game,  
The brightest verdure of Castalia's bay ;  
And gave an ampler meed  
Of Pisan palms, than in the field of Fame  
Were wont to crown the car's victorious speed :  
And hail'd his scepter'd champion's patriot zeal,  
Who mix'd the monarch's with the people's weal ;  
From civil plans who claim'd applause,  
And train'd obedient realms to Spartan laws.

## III.

And He, sweet master of the Doric oar,  
Theocritus, forsook awhile  
The graces of his pastoral isle,  
The lowing vale, the bleating cote,  
The clusters on the sunny steep,  
And Pan's own umbrage, dark and deep,  
The caverns hung with ivy-twine,  
The cliffs that wav'd with oak and pine,  
And Etna's hoar romantic pile :  
And caught the bold Homeric note,  
In stately sounds exalting high  
The reign of bounteous Ptolemy :  
Like the plenty-teeming tide  
Of his own Nile's redundant flood,  
O'er the cheer'd nations, far and wide,  
Diffusing opulence, and public good :  
While in the richly-warbled lays  
Was blended Berenice's name,  
Pattern fair of female fame,  
Softening with domestic life  
Imperial splendour's dazzling rays,  
The queen, the mother, and the wife !

## IV.

To deck with honour due this festal day,  
O for a strain from these sublimer bards !  
Who free to grant, yet fearless to refuse  
Their awful suffrage, with impartial aim  
Invok'd the jealous panegyric Muse ;  
Nor, but to genuine worth's severer claim,  
Their proud distinction deign'd to pay,  
Stern arbiters of glory's bright awards !  
For peerless bards like these alone,  
The bards of Greece, might best adorn,  
With seemly song, the Monarch's natal morn ;

Who,

Who, thron'd in the magnificence of peace,  
 Rivals their richest regal theme :  
 Who rules a people like their own,  
 In arms, in polish'd arts supreme ;  
 Who bids his Britain vie with Greece.

*Verses, supposed to be written by ALEXANDER SELKIRE, during his solitary  
 abode in the Island of Juan Fernandez.*

*From Poems, by W. COWPER, Esq.*

## I.

**I** AM monarch of all I survey ;  
 My right there is none to dispute ;  
 From the centre all round to the sea,  
 I am lord of the fowl and the brute.  
 O solitude ! where are the charms  
 That sages have seen in thy face ?  
 Better dwell in the midst of alarms,  
 Than reign in this horrible place.

## II.

**I** am out of humanity's reach,  
 I must finish my journey alone,  
 Never hear the sweet music of speech,  
 I start at the sound of my own.  
 The beasts that roam over the plain,  
 My form with indifference see,  
 They are so unacquainted with man,  
 Their tameness is flocking to me.

## III.

Society, friendship, and love,  
 Divinely bestow'd upon man,  
 Oh had I the wings of a dove,  
 How soon wou'd I taste you again !  
 My sorrows I then might assuage  
 In the ways of religion and truth,  
 Might learn from the wisdom of age,  
 And be cheer'd by the follies of youth.

## IV.

Religion ! what treasure untold  
 Resides in that heav'nly word !  
 More precious than silver and gold,  
 Or all that this earth can afford.

But

But the found of the church-going bell  
 These vallies and rocks never heard,  
 Ne'er sigh'd at the found of a knell,  
 Or smil'd when a sabbath appear'd.

## V.

Ye winds that have made me your sport,  
 Convey to this desolate shore  
 Some cordial endearing report  
 Of a land I shall visit no more.  
 My friends, do they now and then send  
 A wish or a thought after me?  
 O tell me I yet have a friend,  
 Though a friend I am never to see.

## VI.

How fleet is a glance of the mind!  
 Compar'd with the speed of its flight,  
 The tempest itself lags behind,  
 And the swift-winged arrows of light.  
 When I think of my own native land,  
 In a moment I seem to be there;  
 But alas! recollection at hand  
 Soon hurries me back to despair.

## VII.

But the sea-fowl is gone to her nest,  
 The beast is laid down in his lair,  
 Ev'n here is a season of rest,  
 And I to my cabin repair.  
 There is mercy in every place,  
 And mery, encouraging thought!  
 Gives even affliction a grace,  
 And reconciles man to his lot.

*Report of an adjudged Case not to be found in any of the Books.  
 From the same Author.*

## I.

**B**ETWEEN Nose and Eyes a strange contest arose,  
 The spectacles set them unhappily wrong;  
 The point in dispute was, as all the world knows,  
 To which the said spectacles ought to belong.

## II.

So the Tongue was the lawyer, and argued the cause  
 With a great deal of skill, and a wig full of learning,  
 While chief baron Ear sat to balance the laws,  
 So fam'd for his talent in nicely discerning.

III. In



## III.

In behalf of the Nose, it will quickly appear,  
 And your lordship, he said, will undoubtedly find  
 That the Nose has had spectacles always in wear.  
 Which amounts to possession time out of mind.

## IV.

Then holding the spectacles up to the court—  
 Your lordship observes they are made with a straddle,  
 As wide as the ridge of the Nose is, in short,  
 Design'd to fit close to it, just like a saddle.

## V.

Again, would your lordship a moment, suppose  
 ('Tis a case that has happen'd, and may be again)  
 That the visage or countenance had not a Nose,  
 Pray who wou'd or who cou'd wear spectacles then?

## VI.

On the whole it appears, and my argument shews  
 With a reas'ning the court will never condemn,  
 That the spectacles plainly were made for the Nose,  
 And the Nose was as plainly intended for them.

## VII.

Then shifting his side, as a lawyer knows how,  
 He pleaded again in behalf of the Eyes;  
 But what were his arguments few people know,  
 For the court did not think they were equally wise.

## VIII.

So his lordship decreed, with a grave solemn tone,  
 Decisive and clear without one if or but —  
 That whenever the Nose put his spectacles on,  
 By day-light or candle-light—Eyes should be shut.

*The following elegant Ode (from the Gentleman's Magazine) is said to be the production of a Gentleman well known in the political World, who has long been deservedly admired for the happiest vein of wit and humour, and is not less distinguish'd by his various and extensive knowledge in almost every branch of literature and science.*

To EDMUND MALONE, Esq.

WHILST you illumine Shakespear's page,  
 And dare the future critic's rage,  
 Or on the past refine,  
 Here many an eye I pensive sit,  
 No Burke pours out a stream of wit,  
 No Boswell joys o'er wine.

At

At Baia's Spring, 'of Roman fame,  
 I quaff the pure æthereal flame,  
 To fire my languid blood :  
 Life's gladfome days, alas ! are o'er,  
 For health's phlogifton now no more  
 Pervades the stagnant flood.

Studious at times, I strive to scan  
 Hope's airy dream,—the end of man,  
 In systems wife or odd ;  
 With Hume, I Fate and Death defy,  
 Or visionary phantoms spy  
 With Plato and Monbodd.

By metaphyfic whims diffres'd,  
 Still fceptic thoughts disturb my breaf,  
 And reafon's out of tune :—  
 One ferious truth let none impeach,  
 'Tis all philofophy can teach,—  
 That man's an air-balloon.

He rides the fport of every blaft,  
 Now on the wave, or defert caft,  
 And by the eddy borne :—  
 Can boafed Reafon fteer him right,  
 Or e'er refrain his rapid flight,  
 By Paffion's whirlwind torn ?

His mounting fpirit, buoyant air,  
 But waft him 'midft dark clouds of care,  
 And life's tempeftuous trouble ;  
 Ev'n though he fhine, in fplendid dyes,  
 And fport a while in Fortune's fkies,  
 Soon burfts the empty bubble.

While through this pathlefs wafte we fray,  
 Are there no flowers to cheer the way ?  
 And muft we ftill repine ?  
 No ;—Heaven, in pity to our woes,  
 The gently-foothing balm beftows  
 Of Mufic, Love, and Wine.

Then bid your Delia wake the lyre,  
 Attun'd to Love and foft Defire,  
 And fcorn Ambition's ftrife ;  
 Around let brilliant Fancy play,  
 To colour with her magic ray  
 The dreary gloom of life.

Let Bèauty fpeed her fondeft kifs,  
 The prelude to more perfect blifs,  
 And fweet fenfations dart ;

While

While wine and frolic mirth inspire  
The ardent wish, the amorous fire,  
And thrill the raptur'd heart.

But man has social dues to pay,  
Reason and Science claim the sway,  
And truths sublime dispense;  
For Pleasure's charms we feebly taste,  
If idly every hour we waste,  
The abject slaves of sense.

In vain the speculative mind  
Would metaphysic regions find,—  
Such dark researches spare:  
The soul æthereal notions tire,  
As her frail case can scarce respire  
In too refin'd an air.

To Sophists leave their puzzling skill;  
The voice of Reason whispers still,  
To bless, is to be blest;  
Illum'd by Virtue's vivid ray,  
Enjoy the present fleeting day,  
And leave to Heaven the rest.

*Bath, Sept. 22, 1784.*

### PROLOGUE to the HEIRESS.

*Written by the Right Hon. RICHARD FITZPATRICK.*

*Spoken by Mr. KING.*

AS sprightly sun-beams gild the face of day,  
When low'ring tempests calmly glide away,  
So when the poet's dark horizon clears,  
Array'd in smiles, the Epilogue appears.  
She of that house the lively emblem still,  
Whose brilliant speakers start what themes they will;  
Still varying topics for her sportive rhymes,  
From all the follies of these fruitful times;  
Uncheck'd by forms, with flippant hand may cull:  
Prologues, *like Peers*, by privilege are dull.  
In solemn strain address th' assembled pit,  
The legal judges of dramatic wit,  
Confining still, with dignify'd decorum,  
Their observations—to the play before 'em.

Now

Now when each batchelor a helpmate lacks,  
 (That sweet exemption from a *double tax*)  
 When laws are fram'd with a benignant plan  
 Of light'ning *burdens* on the married man,  
 And Hymen adds one solid comfort more,  
 To all those *comforts* he conferred before;  
 To smooth the rough laborious road to fame,  
 Our Bard has chosen—an *alluring name*.  
 As wealth in wedlock oft is known to hide  
 The imperfections of a homely bride,  
 This tempting title, he perhaps expects,  
 May heighten beauties—and conceal defects:  
 Thus sixty's wrinkles view'd through Fortune's glass,  
 The rosy dimples of sixteen surpass:  
 The modern suitor grasps his fair-one's hand,  
 O'erlooks her person, and adores—*her land*;  
*Leers* on her houses with an *ogling eye*,  
 O'er her rich acres heaves an *am'rous sigh*.  
 His *heartfelt* pangs through groves of—*timber* vents,  
 And runs distracted for—*her three per cents*.  
 Will thus the poet's mimic Heirefs find  
 The bridegroom critic to *her* failings blind,  
 Who claims, alas! his nicer taste to hit,  
 The lady's portion paid in *sterling* wit?  
 On your decrees, to fix her future fate,  
 Depends our *Heirefs* for her whole estate:  
 Rich in your smiles, she charms th' admiring town;  
 A very *bankrupt*, should you chance to frown:  
 O may a verdict, giv'n in your applause,  
 Pronounce the prosp'rous issue of her cause,  
 Confirm the name an anxious parent gave her,  
 And prove her HEIRESS of—the *public favour!*

## E P I L O G U E.

*Spoken by Miss FARREN.*

THE Comic Muse, who here erects her shrine,  
 To *court your offerings*, and *accepts of mine*.  
 Sends me to state an anxious author's plea,  
 And wait with humble hope this Court's decree.  
 By no prerogative will she decide,  
 She vows an English jury is her pride.  
 Then for our HEIRESS—forc'd from finer air,  
 That lately fann'd her plumes in Berkley-square;  
 Will she be *helpless* in her *new* resort,  
 And find no friends—about the Inns of Court?

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L

Sages,

Sages, be candid—tho' you hate a knave,  
 Sure, for *example*, you'll a *Rightly* save.  
 Be kind for once, ye *clerks*—ye sportive *Sirs*,  
 Who haunt our Theatres in boots and spurs,  
 So may you safely prefs your nightly hobby,  
 Run the whole ring—and *end* it in the lobby.  
 Lovers of *truth*, be kind, and own that *here*,  
 That love is strain'd as far as it will bear.  
 Poets may write—*Philosophers* may dream—  
 But would the *world* bear truth in the extreme?  
 What, not one *Blandish* left behind! not one!  
 Poets are mute, and painters all undone:  
 Where are those charms that nature's term survive,  
 The maiden bloom that glows at *forty-five*?  
 Truth takes the pencil—*wrinkle*—*freckles*—*squint*,  
 The whole's transform'd—the very devil's in't,  
 Dimples turn scars, the smile becomes a scowl!  
 The hair the ivy-bush, the face the owl.

But shall an *author* mock the flatterer's pow'r?  
 Oh, might you all be *Blandishes* this hour!  
 Then would the candid jurors of the pit  
 Grant their mild passport to the realms of wit;  
 Then would I mount the car where oft I ride,  
 And place the favour'd culprit by my side.

To aid our flight—one fashionable hint—  
 See my authority—a Morning Print—  
 “We learn”—observe it ladies—“France's Queen,  
 “Loves, like our own, a heart-directed scene;  
 “And while each thought she weighs, each beauty scans,  
 “Breaks, in one night's applause, a score of fans!”

[Beating her fan against her hand.

Adopt the mode, ye belles—so end my prattle,  
 And shew how you'll out-do a Bourbon rattle.

#### A PATHETIC APOLOGY for all LAUREATS, past, present, and to come.

From Poems by W. WHITEHEAD, Esq. late Poet Laureat.

Veniant ad Cæsaris Aures!

YE silly dogs, whose half-year lays,  
 Attend like satellites on *Bays*;  
 And fill, with added lumber, load  
 Each birth-day and each new-year ode,

Why

Why will ye *strive* to be *severe*?  
 In pity to yourselves forbear;  
 Nor let the sneering public see  
 What numbers write far worse than he.  
 His muse, *oblig'd* by sack and pension;  
 Without a subject, or invention—  
 Must certain words in order set,  
 As innocent as a Gazette;  
 Must some half-meaning half disguise,  
 And utter neither truth nor lies.  
 But why will *you*, ye volunteers  
 In nonsense, teize us with your jeers;  
 Who *might* with dulness and her crew  
 Securely slumber? Why will *you*  
 Sport your dim orbs amidst her fogs?  
 You're not *oblig'd*—ye silly dogs!

When Jove, as antient fables sing,  
 Made of a senseless log a King,  
 The frogs, at first, their doubts express;  
 But soon leap'd up, and smok'd the jest.  
 While every tadpole of the lake  
 Lay quiet, tho' they felt it quake,  
 They knew their nature's due degree,  
 Themselves scarce more alive than he;  
 They knew they could not croak like frogs,  
 —Why will *you* try?—ye silly dogs!

When the poor barber felt askance  
 The thunder of a Quixote's lance,  
 For merely bearing on his head  
 Th' expressive emblem of his trade,  
 The barber was a harmless log,  
 The hero was the silly dog—  
 What trivial things are cause of quarrel!  
 Mambrino's helmet, or the laurel,  
 Alike distract an idiot's brain,  
 “Unreal mockeries!” shadowy pain!

Each Laureat (if kind Heav'n dispense  
 Some little gleam of common sense)  
 Blest with *one hundred pounds* per ann.

And that too tax'd, and but ill paid,  
 With caution frames his frugal plan,

Nor apes his brethren of the trade.  
 He never will to garrets rise  
 For inspiration from the skies;  
 And pluck, as Hotspur would have done,  
 “Bright honour from the pale-fac'd moor;”  
 He never will to cellars venture,  
 To drag up glory from the centre;

But calmly steer his course between  
Th' aerial and infernal scene;

—*One hundred pounds!* a golden mean!

Nor need *he* ask a Printer's pains,  
To fix the type, and share the gains :  
Each morning paper is so kind  
To give his works to every wind.

• Each evening post, and magazine,  
*Gratis* adopts the *Lay serene*.

On their frail barks his praise or blame  
Floats for an hour, and sinks with them;  
Sure without envy you might see  
Such floundering immortality.

Why will, ye then, amidst the bogs,  
Thrust in *your* oar?—ye silly dogs!

*He* ne'er desires his stated loan  
(I honestly can speak for one)  
Should meet in print the public eye;

Content with *Boyce's* harmony,  
Who throws, on many a worthless lay,  
His music and his powers away.

Are *you* not charm'd, when, at Vauxhall,  
Or Marybone, the Syrens squall  
Your oft-repeated madrigals,  
Your Nancies of the hills or vales,  
While tip-toe misses and their beaux  
Catch the dear sounds in triple rows,  
And whisper, as their happiness,  
They know the author of the piece?

*This* vanity, my gentle brothers,  
*You* feel; forgive it then in others,  
At least in one you call a dunce:

The Laureat's odes are sung but once,  
And then not heard—while your renown  
For half a season stuns the town—

Nay, on brown paper, fairly spread,  
With wooden print to-grace its head,  
Each barber pastes you on his wall;  
Each cobbler chaunts you in his stall,  
And *Dolly*, from her master's shop,  
*Encores* you, as she twirls her mop.

Then "ponder well, ye parents dear"  
Of works, which live a whole half year;  
And with a tender eye survey  
The frailer offspring of a day,  
Whose glories wither ere they bloom,  
Whose very cradle is their tomb:

Have

Have ye no bowels, cruel men !  
 You who may grasp, or quit the pen,  
 May chuse your subject, nay, your time,  
 When genius prompts to sport in rhyme  
 Dependant on yourselves alone,  
 To be immortal, or unknown :  
 Does no compassion touch your breast  
 For brethren to the service prest ?  
 To Laureats is no pity due,  
 Incumber'd with a thousand clogs ?  
 I'm very sure they *pity* you,  
 —Ye filliest of all filly dogs.

SONNET, *from* PETRARCH.

*From* ELEGIAC SONNETS, *by* CHARLOTTE SMITH.

**O**H! place me where the burning noon  
 Forbids the wither'd flow'r to blow ;  
 Or place me in the frigid zone,  
 On mountains of eternal snow :

Let me pursue the steps of fame,  
 Or poverty's more tranquil road ;  
 Let youth's warm tide my veins inflame,  
 Or sixty winters chill my blood :

Tho' my fond soul to Heaven were flown,  
 Or tho' on earth 'tis doom'd to pine,  
 Prisoner or free—obscure or known,  
 My heart, oh Laura ! still is thine.  
 Whate'er my destiny may be,  
 That faithful heart still burns for thee !

SONNET *from* PETRARCH. *From the same.*

**Y**E vales and woods ! fair scenes of happier hours !  
 Ye feather'd people, tenants of the grove !  
 And you, bright stream ! befring'd with shrubs and flowers,  
 Behold my grief, ye witnesses of love !

For ye beheld my infant passion rise,  
 And saw thro' years unchang'd my faithful flame ;  
 Now cold, in dust, the beauteous object lies,  
 And you, ye conscious scenes, are still the same !



While busy memory still delights to dwell  
 On all the charms these bitter tears deplore,  
 And with a trembling hand describes too well  
 The angel form I shall behold no more!  
 To Heaven she's fled! and nought to me remains  
 But the pale ashes, which her urn contains.

A PARODY on "*Blest as th' immortal Gods is he.*"

*Said to be written by the Hon. HENRY ERSKINE.*

**D**RUNK as a dragon fure is he,  
 The youth that dines or sups with thee;  
 And sees and hears thee, full of fun,  
 Loudly laugh, and quaintly pun.

'Twas this first made me love my dose,  
 And rais'd such pimples on my nose;  
 For while I fill'd to every toast,  
 My health was gone, my senses lost.

I found the claret and Champagne  
 In flame my blood, and mad my brain;  
 The toast fell fault'ring from my tongue,  
 I hardly heard the catch I sung.

I felt my gorge and sickness rise;  
 The candles danc'd before my eyes;  
 My sight grew dim, the room turn'd round,  
 I tumbled senseless on the ground!

DAVID GARRICK, *Esq.* some years ago, had occasion to file a bill in the Court of Chancery against an Attorney at Hampton, to set aside an agreement surreptitiously obtained for the purchase of a house there; and while the late EDMUND HOSKINS, *Esq.* was preparing the draft of the bill, Mr. GARRICK wrote him the following Lines.

*To his Counsellor and Friend, EDMUND HOSKINS, Esq.*

*Tom Fool sends greeting.*

**O**N your care must depend the success of my suit,  
 The contest I mean 'bout the house in dispute;  
 Remember, my friend, an Attorney's my foe,  
 And the worst of his tribe, though the best are so-so:  
 In law, as in life, I know well 'tis a rule,  
 That a knave will be ever too hard for a fool:  
 To which rule one exception your client implores,  
 That a fool may for once turn the knave out of doors.

EPIGRAM

EPIGRAM *on the phrase, "Killing Time."**By* VOLTAIRE.*(Time is supposed to speak.)*

" **L**ORSQUE, pour s'amuser, fans cesse ils s'eventuent  
 " Ces Meilleurs les humains, ils disent qu'ils me tuent ;  
 " Moi, je ne vante de rien,  
 " Mais, ma fois, je m'en venge bien."

" There's scarce a point wherein mankind agree,  
 " So well as in their boast of killing me :  
 " I boast of nothing, but when I've a mind,  
 " I think I can be even with mankind."

EPI TAPH *on Sir WILLIAM DRAPER, K. B.**By* CHRISTOPHER ANSTAY, *Esq.*

H. S. E.

Vir summis cùm animi, tùm Corporis Dotibus  
 Egregiè ornatus

GULIELMUS DRAPER, *Balnei Eques,*

In Scholà Etonensi educatus,

Coll: deinde Regal: Cantabrigiæ

Et Alumnus et Socius;

Quorum utrumque

Tàm moribus, quàm Studiis honestavit :

Altiore tamen a Naturà Ingenio præditus

Quàm ut umbratili

In Academiæ Otio delitesceret,

Ad Militiæ Laudem se totum contulit,

Et in diversis Europæ Asiæque partibus

Stipendia meruit.

In Indià orientali A. D. 1758,

Exercitui regio imperavit,

Obsessamque a Gallis St. GEORGII ARCEM

Cùm diù fortiter defendisset,

Strenuà tandem factà Eruptione,

Hostium Copias,

Capto Legionis Præfecto, repulit.

Flagrante postea Hispaniensi Bello,  
 Anno 1762,  
 Expeditionis contra MA ILLAS  
 Auctor idem et Dux fuit:  
 Quibus expugnandis, dubium reliquit,  
 BRITANNIÆ Nomen  
 Virtute magis,  
 An Clementiâ insigniverit.

Vale,  
 Dux acer!  
 Vir mansuete, liberalis!—  
 Hoc fidum tuarum Virtutum,  
 Spectatæque a pueris Amicitiaë,  
 Posteris Exemplar tradam.

Ob: Jan. A. D. 1787.  
 Ætat. 66.

C. A.

*For the Two following original Pieces, we are indebted to an old Friend, whose former Communications have been favourably received by the Public.*

### ANACREONTIQUE,

*Addressed, in a far Country, to a once New Year.*

**A**RE the white hours for ever fled,  
 That us'd to mark the chearful day?  
 And every killing pleasure dead,  
 That led th' enraptur'd soul astray?  
 Too fast the rosy-footed train  
 The blest delicious moments pass'd;  
 Pleasure must now give way to pain,  
 And grief succeeds to joy at last.  
 O, daughters of eternal Jove!  
 Return with the returning year,  
 Bring pleasure back again, and love,  
 With heavenly smiles again appear;  
 O, bring my H——y to my sight!  
 What happy hour will then be by?  
 And while I'm dying with delight,  
 Her soul shall speak through either eye.  
 Let sacred friendship too attend,  
 The man whose soul is most like mine,  
 Bring B——, my ever-dearest friend,  
 And fill the bowl with rosy wine:

We'll

We'll grasp the minutes as they pass,  
 Unconscious of all future woes :  
 Mirth, love, and joy, shall crown each glass,  
 And cast our sorrows to our foes.

Let every white and happy hour  
 Which fate has to my life decreed,  
 With rosy wings its blessings shower,  
 And each in order still succeed :  
 But when the short-liv'd smiling store  
 No longer can my bliss engage,  
 Cut off the useless thousands more,  
 And add them to some coward's age.

PORTRAIT of a Provincial Poet, drawn from the Life, about  
 Forty Years ago,

**H**OW happy the Poet, how void of all care,  
 Who wishes for nought, who has nothing to fear,  
 Who has nothing to lose—money, houses, or lands,  
 Nor a foot of the earth, but the ground where he stands !

Whilst madmen are fighting, and blustering for fame,  
 And desolate worlds to purchase a name ;  
 Whilst the beggarly miser is watching his store,  
 And never content, still wide grasping for more ;  
 His soul far superior, ne'er centring in self,  
 Laughs at folly's wild rage, and despises the pelf.

In friendship still true, and in love still refin'd,  
 His friend and his mistress possess his full mind ;  
 But wayward in conduct, averse to all rule,  
 By fools deem'd a madman, by wise men a fool,  
 He flies from their strife to the brook or the grove,  
 And knows no desires but his muse and his love.

ACCOUNT

## ACCOUNT of BOOKS for 1786.

*The History of Ancient Greece, its Colonies, and Conquests, from the earliest Accounts till the Division of the Macedonian Empire in the East; including the History of Literature, Philosophy, and the Fine Arts, in 2 Vols. By John Gillies, LL. D.*

IT is with pleasure we behold every attempt which tends to illustrate and record the annals of that country, in which the human mind first attained that degree of maturity and perfection which succeeding ages have always found it difficult to maintain, and which they have certainly never surpassed.

The main design of the work before us, as the author informs us in the preface to it, is confined to the space of *seven centuries*, which elapsed from the settlement of the Greeks in Asia Minor until the establishment of the Macedonian empire in the East. But previous to the commencement of that period, he has in the two first chapters, and in the beginning of the third, exhibited a view of the progress of civilization and power in Greece, preceding the Trojan war—he has given a history of that war—of its consequences—of the religion, government, arts, manners, and character of the Greeks during those ages—of their distracted state after

the taking of Troy—and of the settlement of the Dorians in Peloponnesus under the conduct of the Heracleidæ.

Through the darkness and obscurity of this part of the Grecian history, Dr. Gillies marches with great confidence and boldness. He has endeavoured by reason and conjecture, sometimes perhaps successfully, to unite the clue where it was broken, and to make it more obvious where it was concealed. The narrative is well conducted, and not uninteresting, particularly to those who may be unacquainted with the sources from which he has drawn it. The learned, it is likely, will expect some more abstruse and elaborate researches into the antiquities of Greece, and some sources of information disclosed which were hitherto known only to the few. The materials themselves it certainly required no very extraordinary compass of learning, or minuteness of investigation, to discover; but the disposition and arrangement of those materials are well conceived, and (excepting a few instances of unwarrantable phraseology, proceeding, as it should seem, from an ill-judged ambition to aggrandize by ostentatious language the most common ideas) the execution in general is not unworthy of the subject. But of this we shall have occasion

to speak more at large when we come to sum up the aggregate merit of the work. In proof of what we have in this place advanced respecting it, we shall lay before our readers a few specimens from the part which has already passed under review.

Of the happy effects produced on the manners of the Greeks by the Argonautic expedition, the author thus speaks :

“ Notwithstanding many romantic fictions that disfigure the story of the Argonauts, their undertaking appears to have been attended with a considerable and a happy effect on the manners and character of the Greeks. From the æra of this celebrated expedition, we may discover not only a more daring and more enlarged spirit of enterprize, but a more decisive and rapid progress towards civilization and humanity. The fullen and unfociable chiefs, whose acquaintance with each other most commonly arose from acts of mutual hostility, hitherto gave full scope to the sanguinary passions which characterize barbarians. Strength and courage were almost the only qualities which they admired: they fought and plundered at the head of their respective tribes, while the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts were regarded only as fit objects to excite their rage, and gratify their rapacity. But these gloomy warriors, having exerted their joint valour in a remote expedition, learned the necessity of acquiring more amiable virtues, as well as of adopting more liberal notions of the public interest, if they pretended to deserve the esteem of their equals. Military courage and address might alone procure them the respect of

their immediate followers, since the safety of the little community often depended on the warlike abilities of the chieftain; but when several tribes had combined in a common enterprize, there was less dependance on the prowess of any single leader. Emulation and interest rendered all these leaders as jealous of each other as desirous of the public applause; and in order to acquire this applause, it was necessary to brighten the lustre of martial spirit by the more valuable virtues of justice and humanity.”

At the conclusion of the second chapter, the author, having before taken a general review of the Grecian manners and character, has drawn up an estimate of their value, as compared with the rude customs of savage life, and the artificial refinements of polished society. We here present it to the reader, as affording no bad specimen of the author's turn of mind and opinion, as well as manner of writing.

“ The Greeks,” says he, “ had advanced beyond that uniform infidelity of deportment, that fullen ferocity of manners, and that hardened insensibility of heart, which universally characterize the savage state. They still possessed, however, that patient intrepidity, that noble spirit of independence, that ardent attachment to their friends, and that generous contempt of pain and danger, and death, which render the description of the wild tribes of America so interesting to a philosophic mind. Of two principal enjoyments of life, study and conversation, they were little acquainted, indeed, with the consolations and pleasure of the first, the want of which was compensated by the sincerity, the confidence, the charms  
of

of the second. Their social affections were less comprehensive in their objects, but more powerful in their effects, than those of more polished nations. A generous chief rushes to certain death, to revenge the cause of his friend; yet refuses to the prayers of an aged parent the melancholy consolation of interring the remains of his favourite son; till the corresponding image of his own father strikes his mind, and at once melts him to pity. The imaginary wants and artificial passions which are so necessary to urge the hand of industry, and to vary the pursuits of men, in improved commercial societies, were supplied to the Greeks by that excessive sensibility, which interested them so deeply in the affairs of their community, their tribe, their family, and their friends; and which even connected them by the feelings of gratitude with the inanimate objects of nature. As they were not acquainted with the same diversity of employments, so neither were they fatigued with the same giddy round of dissipated pleasures which augment the splendid misery of later times. Though ignorant of innumerable arts which adorn the present age, they had discovered one of inestimable value, to render the great duties of life its most entertaining amusement. It will not, perhaps, be easy to point out a nation who united a more complete subordination to established authority with a higher sense of personal independence; and a more respectful regard to the dictates of religion with a more ardent spirit of martial enterprize. The generous equality of their political establishments, and their imagined intercourse with the gods, conspired

to raise them to a certain elevation of character which will be forever remembered and admired. This character was rendered permanent in Sparta by the famous laws commonly ascribed to the invention of Lycurgus, but which, as will appear in the subsequent chapter, were almost exact copies of the customs and institutions that universally prevailed in Greece during the heroic ages."

In the passages above quoted the reader will perceive an accuracy of thinking which bespeaks the author a man who has studied human life with no small diligence, and possessing a mind that has been much employed in the exercise of its reflective powers. The condition of man, in the infancy and in the old age of society, is stated with precision, and the limits are determined where barbarism ends, and where refinement begins to degenerate into vice.

The migrations which took place among the *Hellenic tribes*, occupy great part of the next chapter: after which the author proceeds to the main subject. It is neither our design nor our business to follow him through every part of the work: that were to write a commentary on it, not to give a general estimate of its value, which, we conceive, more properly belongs to our province.

In forming our judgment of the proper style of history, it seems an obvious consideration, that, as the materials about which it is employed differ from each other in all the degrees of great and little, light and important, common and extraordinary, its tone, if we may so say, should be varied in such a manner as best to accord with the nature of the circumstance:

and

and that, therefore, it should occasionally assume all the corresponding varieties of high and low, loud and soft, plain and magnificent. The pretensions of our historian, considered under this important article of merit, we are sorry to observe, have the least claim to our approbation; though, if we may judge from the pains he has bestowed, it seems to have been a principal object of his ambition to succeed in it. But thus in other instances it happens, that the child of our warmest affection most frequently disappoints our hopes. Who can without regret behold the author, in many parts of his work, anxiously straining the whole power of his eloquence, where a bare, unadorned recital only is required; and again, when the subject, by its real importance, demands a suitable dignity and eminence of style, betraying his exhausted strength, and degenerating by a natural progress into the extreme of puerility and emptiness? But lest we should appear severe or unjust in our censure, we select as our authority the following passages, from many others of a similar character to be met with in the course of the work.

Among the disasters which befel the Athenians in Sicily, the following is mentioned:

“The troops marched out under cover of the night, and in the same order which they had hitherto observed. But they had not proceeded far in this nocturnal expedition, when the obscurity of the skies, the deceitful tracks of an unknown and hostile country, filled the most timid or unfortunate with imaginary terrors. Their panic, as is usual in great bodies of men, was speedily communicated to those around

them; and Demosthenes, with above one half of his division, fatally mistook the road, and quitted, never more to rejoin, the rest of the army.”

The incident, every one sees, is natural and common enough: but who will say that the relation of it is so? Such a pompous assemblage of epithets, and the pathetic anticipation of Demosthenes's fate, would have better suited the mock dignity of romance.

Imagination can scarcely form to itself a scene of more dreadful affliction than that which the Athenian army presented in its retreat from the camp before Syracuse. But let us see how it is exhibited by the pencil of our historian.

“They had abandoned their fleet, their transports, the hopes of victory, and the glory of the Athenian name; and these collective sufferings were enhanced and exasperated by the painful images which struck the eyes and the fancy of each unfortunate individual. The mangled bodies of their companions and friends, deprived of the sacred rites of funeral, affected them with a sentiment of religious horror, on which the weakness of human nature is happily unable to dwell. They removed their attention from this dreadful sight; but they could not divert their compassion from a spectacle still more melancholy, the numerous crowds of sick and wounded who followed them with enfeebled and unequal steps, intreating, in the accent and attitude of utterable anguish, to be delivered from the horrors of famine, or the rage of an exasperated foe. Amidst such affecting scenes, the heart of a stranger would have melted with tender sympathy; but how much more



more must it have affected the Athenians, to see their parents, brothers, children, and friends, involved in unexampled misery! to hear, without the possibility of relieving, their lamentable complaints! and reluctantly to throw the clinging victims from their wearied necks and arms!"

Let the ingenuous reader consult his own feelings, and honestly tell us, whether, in the above description, an idea of the author himself does not frequently interpose itself between his compassion and the proper objects of it.

But while we censure the execution of particular parts, we do not mean that our objection should be extended to the whole of the performance. We could have wished, indeed, that the style, considered in its general character, had been more chaste, and less laboured; that the author had been less solicitous to recommend the matter by his eloquence, than his eloquence by the matter;—making that which in its own nature is of but secondary consideration (being intended only as the vehicle of pleasure) subservient to the higher purposes of the latter, whose main end is utility.

That the defect above remarked does not generally prevail throughout the work, every one who reads it will easily be convinced. Many are the passages that might be produced, of which good writing appears to be not the least merit. We will instance only in one or two; the limits of our plan not permitting us to indulge any further the wish to do justice as well to the merits as the faults of our historian. The account given in the 32d chapter, of Plato's Cosmogony, cannot but be highly acceptable to every man of true

taste, as well as to the scholar. For the perusal of such it is here subjoined.

"Impelled by his goodness, the Deity, viewing in his own intellect the ideas or archetypes of all possible existence, formed the beautiful arrangement of the universe from that rude indigested matter, which, existing from all eternity, had been for ever animated by an irregular principle of motion. This principle, which Plato calls the irrational soul of the world, he thought sufficiently attested in the innumerable deviations from the established laws of nature, in the extravagant passions of men, and in the physical and moral, which, in consequence of these deviations and passions, so visibly prevail in the world. Without admitting a certain stubborn intractability, and disorderly wildness, essential to matter, and therefore incapable of being entirely eradicated or subdued, it seemed impossible to explain the origin of evil under the government of the Deity."

In the next paragraph the author proceeds to explain the doctrine of ideas; which we shall transcribe for the same reason as we did the former.

"From these rude materials, (says he) God, according to the fanciful doctrine of Plato, formed the four elements, and built the beautiful structure of the heavens and the earth, after the models of those external exemplars, or patterns, which subsist in the divine intelligence. Considering that beings possessed of mental powers were far preferable to those destitute of such faculties, God infused into the corporeal world a rational soul, which, as it could be immediately combined with body, he united to the active,

tive, but irrational principle, essentially inherent in matter. Having thus formed and animated the earth, the sun, the moon, and the other visible divinities, the great Father of spirits proceeded to create the invisible gods and dæmons, whose nature and history Plato describes with a respectful reverence for the religion of his country. After finishing this great work, the God of Gods again contemplating the ideal forms in his own mind, perceived there the exemplars of three species of beings, which he realized in the mortal inhabitants of the earth, air, and water. The task of forming these sensible, but irrational beings, he committed to the inferior divinities: because, had this last work likewise proceeded from his own hands, it must have been immortal like the gods. The souls of men, on the other hand, he himself formed from the remainder of the rational soul of the world. They first existed in the state of dæmons, only invested with a thin æthereal body. Having offended God by neglecting their duty, they were condemned to unite with the gross corporeal mass, by which their divine faculties are so much clogged and encumbered."

Had our author always written thus, it had been vain to blame, (such are the words of a great critic and philosopher on a similar occasion) and useless to praise him. Here we behold grace and strength united: the understanding and the fancy receive each its proper gratification.

Upon the whole, then, the work before us, on a fair and accurate survey, will be found to possess a very considerable share of merit. It contains much useful information

both for the scholar and the parent. What we deem most generally exceptionable in it is the style, of which we have already spoken. The order of time and of facts are as well preserved as their nature will admit. In the obscurity attending remote periods and early testimony, much will necessarily be left to the penetration and ingenuity of the historian: and it will not be denied that, in this part of his task, Dr. Gillies has in some degree improved upon the labours of his predecessors. The series of events proceeds in orderly succession; nor is the main subject so crowded with incidents as to dissipate the reader's attention by presenting to it at one time too great a variety of objects; every figure, as it were, of the piece being placed at such a distance as to appear in itself a perfect one, at the same time not diminishing, but aiding and heightening the effect of the whole. The historical account of letters and philosophy, judiciously interposed at proper intervals throughout the work, must needs render it doubly valuable.

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*An Account of State Papers, collected by Edward Earl of Clarendon, Vol. III. Folio.*

SOON after the unfortunate end of Charles the First, Charles the Second, together with such of the late king's counsellors as followed the fortunes of the son, rendezvoused at the Hague.

Amongst the different measures here adopted for the support of that forlorn condition, which they found themselves reduced to, it was resolved, in the beginning of the year 1649, that the lord Cottington and

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Sir Edward Hyde should be sent ambassador to Madrid, to promote their master's interest at that court.

The volume of state papers now before us commences at this period, and finishes with the recognition of parliament in favour of Charles the second, in May 1660. It contains a regular and almost uninterrupted series of the proceedings, councils, views, and prospects of Charles the second, his followers and adherents, from the time of his quitting England to his restoration - a period in which the abilities, judgment, and policy of many of those who figured in it, are more to be weighed and considered than the apparent magnitude or consequence of their operations. Their sphere of action was confined and limited, and to enlarge it required certain extraordinary and unforeseen events to co-operate with and assist great management and exertion. They had to combat with the folly and levity of some of their own associates, and dexterously to comply with the shifting interests and policy of almost all the states in Europe. It was by consenting to become the temporary instruments of almost every court, to be taken up or laid down as occasion served, that they procured to themselves a precarious existence. But to exist was every thing, where so much was to be left to events and contingencies, which they neither could foresee nor controul.

The first series of letters are from Sir Edward Hyde to Mr. secretary Nicholas. These letters are quite of a confidential nature, written by one friend to another, where the most unreserved communication of the writers thoughts and opinions, respecting the state of their affairs,

and respecting the characters of his associates, and of almost all those with whom he acted, seems to have taken place. The period they comprise is from the year 1649 to 1654 inclusive.

During the greatest part of this time, Charles the second resided at the court of France, and the then subsisting hostilities between Cromwell and that kingdom created a precarious asylum for the fugitive monarch. But the poverty and distress of himself and associates, even at this juncture, cannot better be conceived than from the following letter from Sir Edward Hyde to secretary Nicholas, dated from Paris 27th June 1653, which we shall beg leave to lay before our readers.

*Sir Edward Hyde to Secretary Nicholas.*

Dear Mr. Secretary,

“ I HAVE your 29th of the 19th of this month, and I thank you for the copy of the Spanish ambassador's memoir. I believe that peace will not hold long, and that the rebels of England have promised the Spaniard notable assistance towards the setting that war on foot again; and we shall now see, upon the success of their late encounter, what their purpose is, and whether all this suite and noise about the money at London hath been by collusion; for if now they are masters at sea, they shall transport men to Bourdeaux, as some men imagine they will, then hath that money been from the beginning designed to that purpose, and I find this people here are very jealous of their friendship. I do not so much apprehend a peace between

between the rebels and the Dutch upon a treaty with their deputies whom they are now sending, as that the English may assist that party in Holland, which they depend upon to compel the other provinces to do as they require, for there is no question they will require such conditions as must absolutely destroy the liberty of that people, and make them subordinate to the other. The princess royal hath written to the king that she will stay at Brussels till she receives his next letter, and if he continue his desire, that she will return to Breda, so that it is not yet impossible but that very unreasonable and indeed ridiculous journey may be yet diverted. I have some little reason to imagine that the princess doth intend to do justice in the case of *Monf. Somerdyke*, but it breaks my heart to see how negligent she is of old friends. The king writ to her for a place for the son of *Boreel*, who waits upon the prince of Orange, but she hath bestowed it upon another, which exceedingly troubles *Boreel*, who every day deserves as much from the king as is possible. If any thing you hear from others of the plenty and bravery of our court makes impression upon you, I have no credit with you; I am sure the penury is not to be imagined by you. It is very true, I do not know that any man is yet dead for want of bread, which really I wonder at; I am sure the king himself owes for all he hath eaten since April, and I am not acquainted with one servant of his who hath a pistole in his pocket; five or six of us eat together one meal a day for a pistole a week, but all of us owe for God knows how many weeks to the poor woman who feeds us. I believe my lord of Ormond hath not

had five livres in his purse this month, and hath fewer clothes of all sorts than you have, and yet I take you to be no gallant. If two or three (I do not think there are so many) are without visible want, I am sure they are not supplied by our master, and therefore there is great cruelty and ill-nature in our friends in England in making those excuses for their not doing what they ought to do: they would with much grudging bear the wants and necessities which the best here are compelled to undergo; and therefore if they will not relieve us, they should not slander and traduce us. I believe we are bad enough, but sure we are made much worse than we are, and they who are at ease too much enquire into our faults, that they may excuse themselves for want of compassion of our misfortunes, and their censoriousness and ill-nature will in the end drive all those from the court who are fittest to live in it; for few can submit to necessities and reproaches at once. \* \* \* I have said all I can in my late letters, upon the remove of the king from this place, and therefore shall add no more, but that, let us speak of it as much as we can, and I hope seriously, it will be I doubt more than a month before we can be ready for it, then our necessities and beggary will be manifest when we are to go; and for the advancement of that service, the cardinal now says he can furnish but half the sum of money he hath even promised the king should be ready at 24 hours warning; so that you need not fear we shall make too much haste, yet I hope we shall be going shortly, and I doubt not many letters from hence will inform the correspondents that we shall begin our journey in ten

days. The truth is, they who will conclude our remove unseasonable, ought as well to understand the difficulties and inconveniences of our stay, which are not to be undervalued. I hope you advise your friends in England to treat the Dutch deputies with that respect which they shewed to their ambassadors at the Hague, and to demand such high conditions as may make the Dutch sensible of their oversight when they first presumed to contend with them; and truly if the noble English take less than the old cautionary towns, they are to blame, and exact treble damages for the injuries they have sustained. Since they are resolved to send, I wish their deputies were gone, that they and we might know the worst that is to follow. Since I writ to you concerning your intelligencer, the king himself hath writ to one he trusts, to know what money he can pay upon order, and as soon as any return comes such direction shall be sent as you require; in the mean time you must let Mr. Neville know that the king takes himself beholden to him for a good service he did him not long since, and that he looks upon him as a true friend. \* \* \* \* \* My last to you brought you all that dispatch to Denmark which you wished for. I do now begin to wonder that we hear not from our good lord Wentworth; indeed I hope for some fruit from that court, which is deeply engaged. I hear indeed that my wife hath ventured a journey to Breda to kiss the princess royal's hand, but I cannot imagine that she intends to visit the Hague; if she does, it will be for love of you, and I shall grow jealous. And so I have gone through yours, and have very little to add; not having any kind of measure to

judge by of the purposes of this court, which seems to be repossessed of their old power, though they use it with more wariness and modesty than before it met with any checks. Our master went yesterday to St. Germain's, and on Monday that court comes hither, to be present the next day at a magnificent entertainment at the Hotel de Ville, in vindication of the sedition which was acted there on the same day the last year. Why may not you and I live to be present at the same solemnities at the Guild-hall and Merchant Taylor's-hall? Trust me, if the fault be not in ourselves, we shall see that blessed day. I have just now a letter from London that assures me, if the deputies come thither from your states, they shall be treated as their ambassadors were at the Hague. That they will have cautionary towns, and that the Dutch shall no more have ships of war at sea, but shall drive their trade under the protection of their fleets in all seas: it is a good temper, and I hope it will be kept up. God send us a good meeting, nothing else will keep up the spirits of

Dear Mr. Secretary,

Your own," &c.

*Paris, this 27th of June, 1653.*

*An original.*

Towards the close of the year 1654, the treaty concluded between Cromwell and France made it necessary for the king and his council to quit that kingdom, which they accordingly did, and took up their residence in the Austrian Flanders. The letters, at this period, from Sir Edward Hyde, the marquis of Ormond, lord Bristol, and from several others of the king's council and followers, relate

relate chiefly to the treaty which Charles the Second now set on foot with Spain; the main object of which, as far as it concerned him, was, "that the Spaniards should assist him with a body of troops, to be landed on such part of the coast of England as should be deemed most proper, and which was then to cooperate with his majesty's adherents in England and Scotland."

The different negotiations carried on with the Spanish ministers to forward and put this project in motion, form a considerable part of the letters from the year 1654 to 1658.

All attempts however of this nature proved abortive; and the Spaniards found themselves too deeply engaged in their war against France, assisted by the protector Cromwell, to grant any effectual aid to the cause which they had espoused.

Nothing can be conceived more fallen, more degraded, or more irretrievable, than the affairs of Charles the Second at this juncture. The Spanish army retiring on all sides before the marshal Turenne, made a peace for them on any terms absolutely necessary. The English were in possession of Dunkirk, and their alliance at that moment of such consequence to France, as enabled them to dictate, through the medium of that court, the terms upon which such a peace should be granted. Under such circumstances it is not supposing too much to conclude, that the first preliminary step towards an accommodation would be, that Spain should renounce and deliver up the royal fugitive. The letter from the earl of Bristol to the king, during this desperate state of his affairs, we shall insert here.

*The earl of Bristol to the King.*

\*\*\*\* "OUR army is retired behind the canal that goes from hence to Dixmude; but what the enemy's next design will be is not more than guessed at; some think they will first take Furnes, then push us farther back, and possess themselves of Dixmude, and afterwards attack Ypres; others believe they will take some other places upon the Lis, and others (I think as probable as any) that La Ferte will invest Cambray, or some considerable place of Hainault, and then this army fall thither, leaving the English to make the war on this side, who are in so full possession of Dunkirk, that it is confidently assured, that they refused to admit Mr. de Turenne with more than six or eight persons of his suite: it is as true, and methinks as strange, that Mardike is altogether remitted into the French hands. In fine, Sir, they have but to pick and chuse, for we have little to oppose which way soever they turn their design. Thus much for news; as for those things wherewith I am encharged, your majesty will find the account of them in this inclosed to my lord chancellor, who would be too angry with me if I did not write to him a long letter, and indeed I am in too much pain to be able (having no secretary with me) to write at large of the same things both to your majesty and him, and of the two I presume more upon your good nature than upon his. I shall only add, that I intend, God willing, to be at Ghent before the end of this week; where I desire to know where I may wait upon your majesty, together with the lord chancellor and lord Ormond, for certainly some quick

quick resolution is to be taken concerning your person and affairs, and I begin to be clear to myself in what I ought to advise concerning both, which when you command me I shall do with all frankness and fidelity."

*Newspaper, this 3d of July, 1658.*

*An original.*

The death of the protector Oliver, which followed on the 3d of September, 1658, dispelled those threatening clouds which endangered the very existence of Charles the Second, and seemed for a moment to present him with a more immediate prospect of attaining his object. The first letter that appears with an account of the protector's death is from Mr. Howard (then a prisoner in London) to the lord chancellor Hyde. This letter, and one written on the same occasion by lord Culpepper to the chancellor, we shall lay before our readers: the latter, indeed, contains so much good sense, and such sound reflections and observations on the then posture of the king's affairs, that it cannot be too much admired.

*Mr. Fisher (Howard) to the Lord Chancellor Hyde.*

" My Lord,

" YOU cannot expect a large and particular account of things from a person under restraint; yet as a testimony that I still retain a sense of the duty I owe to his majesty and your lordship, I have made a shift to steal an opportunity for this short correspondence in the concealment of our old character. To this I am the more forward, as being desirous to be an early, though I despair of being the first messenger of those

happy tidings which have put a countenance of victory already upon all England, and will, I doubt not, be as welcome to you as 'tis believed it will be advantageous unto your affairs. Yesterday it pleased God, out of his infinite goodness, to do that which he would not allow any man the honour of doing, putting an end to the life of him, under the weight of whose tyranny these distressed kingdoms have groaned many years. In the evening his eldest son was declared his successor, and this whole day has been spent in the pageantry of such solemnities as the occasion required. All men's hearts (almost quite dead before) are of a sudden wonderfully revived to an expectation of some great change, and good men are the more encouraged to hope that the effects of so altogether an unexpected providence will be of much good to the kingdom, as observing that God himself seems to have undertaken the work, having thus seasonably removed the great obstructor of our happiness by his own hand! Oh! for God's sake, my lord, as you tender the happiness of that good king, and the welfare of bleeding kingdoms, let not delays lose the benefit of such an happy juncture, nor suffer vain hopes and confidences in false friends any longer to frustrate your designs and delude your counsels. Here is yet no face of opposition in the army, or any part of it. Some there are who conceive great hopes (how well grounded I know not) of Monk's defection; I can say nothing to the contrary, I shall be glad if it prove so, which a little time will shew, but 'tis not to be depended upon, unless your own correspondencies with him give you better assurance than either common fame

fame or opinion. Mr. Stephens is in Scotland with Monk at this time; who knows what their discontents (for I believe they want not their discontents) may work them to? This is chimera, God forbid you should have no better staff to lean upon. Lord Fairfax, and Lambert, are they both quite dead? I wish Lambert were dead, for I find the army much devoted to him, but I cannot perceive that he is any way to be reconciled to the king; so that 'tis no small danger that his reputation with the army may thrust Dick Cromwell (who sits like an ape on horseback) out of the saddle, and yet not help the king into it; this would be *a malo ad pejus*. But for Fairfax, sure he might be brought to something, and the rather by reason of his son, the duke of Buckingham's imprisonment. For my own part, my lord, I am and ever shall be ready to my power to obey all commands you shall please to lay upon me. Since the tyrant's death, I am freed from many fears, which before were upon me; he did express (as I am informed) very much rancour against me, and I do verily believe, that if he had lived he would have been wanting in no point of cruelty towards me; he had signed a warrant for my commitment to the Tower, six weeks since, but it has pleased God to hinder the execution of it, first by the death of his daughter, afterwards by his own, and since by the distraction of affairs; hence it comes to pass that I am as yet in this place, but not without every day's fear of being sent to the Tower. I have never yet been examined, but am told, that they positively conclude me to have had correspondence with you, and to have been divers times in Flanders. I am also told, that the old tyrant

boasted that he had been acquainted with all my motions and actions above this year, and that he had his information from one that was my chief confidant. This might justly give me occasion to suspect Wildman, but I have had more cause to suspect him since, upon two undeniable and unanswerable demonstrations; one is, that the officers of this garrison, by direction without doubt from Thurloe, have been with me enquiring of me, if I did not know sir William Compton, and sir R. Willis, assuring me of my liberty if I would discover them, and threatening me with the Tower, &c. if I were obstinate: to all these enquiries, promises, and threats, I answered that I did indeed know sir William Compton, and sir R. Willis by sight, having sometimes seen them *in transitu*, but that I had not any acquaintance at all with them, much less had I any correspondence with them or any others about those things they did enquire; hereupon they were very angry, telling me, that I had better have dealt more ingenuously, for they did know all my practices, which I should soon be made to understand, *cum multis aliis*. What can be more plain than this? I am sure none but Wildman could discover this. Two or three days after I was used with some severity; but when they did find that I was regardless of it, they returned to a little more lenity, which has been continued ever since. The other demonstration is plainer than this; since my confinement I have had some discourse with one who was in the late engagement with colonel Stapley, and he not knowing that Wildman was known to me, made it plain, by many circumstances, that Wildman and captain Bishop were



the first discoverers of that design. *O tempora, O mores!* The reason why sir W. Compton and sir R. Willis are released, and I am not examined, I suppose is, that Wildman may not be discovered to have been the traitor, hoping that they may make use of him for a spy hereafter. This I the rather conjecture, because Wildman sent to me to assure me that he is honest, and to desire me to have a good opinion of him; but this bait will not take. Mr. Stephens does take much pains to excuse himself (as I hear) but all he can say does only excuse him *a tanto*, not *a toto*: betwixt these two millstones I am grinded to powder. I see I am not to expect my liberty, till force shall free me, for every one does tell me that Thurloe is not to be inclined to any favour without a great ransom, and that nothing less than 523l. is to be named to him; it is altogether impossible for me to provide such a sum without your assistance; and truly, my lord, I cannot value myself at so high a rate, as to think myself so much deserving your care, especially considering your condition, and the charge I have been to you already. \* \* \* \* Let me hear from you, and if you can speak comfortably, comfort a poor prisoner, who does earnestly pray for you, and is,

Yours, &c."

*James's, Sept. 4, 1658.*

*An original.*

*Lord Culpepper to the Lord Chancellor Hyde.*

"I TAKE it for granted this change in England will require your constant attendance at Hockstraten, which makes me address this letter thither, and I shall follow it as soon

as my young master shall have sealed some writings betwixt him and his relations, which (they being ready engrossed here, and he sent for) I hope will be done on Monday. I cannot say I am much surpris'd with the news of Cromwell's death, the letters of the last week (those of this are not come yet) leaving him desperately sick of a palsy and quartan ague, yet the thing is of so great consequence that I can hardly forbear rubbing my eyes to find whether I sleep or wake. The first news of it came not hither until very late (at the shutting the gates) last night, though he died this day seven-night at three of the clock. The ports were shut upon his death so strictly, that Mons. Newport's pass was returned, and he had difficulty enough to get leave to send a ship of his own hiring upon Saturday night. Extraordinary care was taken that no English passengers should come in that ship; yet some did, and amongst them a woman now in this town, who saith that Cromwell's eldest son was proclaimed protector on Saturday morning, which is confirmed by a Dutchman now here, who came from Gravesend on Tuesday. All the comment he makes on the text (it is a common sailor) is, that he heard the people curse when he was proclaimed. This accident must make a great change in the face of affairs throughout all Christendom, and we may reasonably hope the first and best will be in England. As for this town they are mad with joy; no man is at leisure to buy or sell; the young fry dance in the streets at noon day; the devil is dead in the language at every turn; and the entertainment of the graver sort is only to contemplate the happy days now approaching. \* \* \* \*

What

What the king is to do upon this great and good change in England is now before you: to which most important question, though with the disadvantage of my being absent, I shall freely (but privately to yourself) deliver my opinion before it is asked; which is, that you ought not to be over hasty in doing any thing in England, neither by proclaiming the king, nor by any other public act, until you shall truly and particularly know the state of affairs there, without which, Solomon, if he were alive and with you, could not make a right judgment of what is to be done there. By the state of affairs there, I mean not only what is acted at the council board, in the army, city, and country, but likewise how those several bodies are generally affected to this nomination of Cromwell's son; what opinion they have of, and kindness to, his person; who is discontented at it, and upon what account they are so, and to what degree; what formed parties are made or making against it; and how they propose to carry on their design, whether under the veil of a parliament, or by open declared force; how Monk and Mr. Harry Cromwell like it, and of what consideration Lambert is upon this change; most of these, and many other particulars, ought to be well known, upon able and impartial intelligence from the place, before you can be ready for a judgment either of the design itself, or of the timing it; and, in the mean time, both the king's party in England, and we here, cannot (in my opinion) act too silent a part. When their partialities shall come to the height, that is, when the sword shall be drawn, our tale will be heard, the weakest party will be glad to take us by the

hand and give us the means of arming and embodying ourselves, and then will be our time to speak our own language. But if we appear before upon our own account, it will only serve to unite our enemies, and confirm their new government by a victory over us, whereby we shall be utterly disabled to do our duty when the true season shall come, which I doubt not will quickly be, if we have but the patience to wait for it. But whilst I thus declare my opinion against their abortions, I would not be understood that no endeavours of ours may be proper to hasten the timely birth; on the contrary, I think much good is to be done by discreet and secret application, by well chosen persons, to those of power and interest amongst them, whom we shall find most discontented with Cromwell's partiality in setting this young man over their heads that have borne the brunt of the day in the common cause, as they call it; and who have so good an opinion of themselves, as to believe that they have deserved as much of them they fought for as Cromwell himself did. Who these are is not easy for us as yet to know, but such there are certainly, and a little time will easily discover them; and probably enough we may find some of them in Cromwell's own family, and amongst those that in his life stuck closest to him. Be they where they will, if they have power, and will do good, they ought to be cherished. But the person that my eye is chiefly on, as able alone to restore the king, and not absolutely averse to it, neither in his principles, nor in his affections, and that is as like to be unsatisfied with this choice as any other amongst them, is Monk, who commandeth absolutely at his devotion a better army (as I

am informed) than that in England is, and in the king's quarrel can bring with him the strength of Scotland, and so protect the northern counties that he cannot fail of them in his march; the reputation whereof (if he declares) will as much give the will to the appearing of the king's party in the rest of England, as the drawing the army from the southern, western, and eastern counties, will give them the means to appear in arms. Thus the work will be certainly done, in spite of all opposition that can be apprehended, and the gaining of one man will alone make sure work of the whole. I need not give you his character; you know he is a fullen man, that values him enough, and much believes that his knowledge and reputation in arms fits him for the title of highness and the office of protector, better than Mr. Richard Cromwell's skill in horse-races and husbandry doth. You know besides, that the only ties that have hitherto kept him from grumbling, have been the vanity of constancy to his professions, and his affection to Cromwell's person, the latter whereof is doubly dissolved, first by the jealousies he had of him, and now by his death; and if he be handsomely put in mind who was his first master, and what was promised him when he came out of the Tower, the first scruple will not long trouble him. Nothing of either of them can now stick with him; and besides, if I am well informed, he that lately believed his head was in danger from the father (and therefore no arts nor importunities could bring him to London) will not easily trust the son. The way to deal with him is, by some fit person (which I think is the greatest dif-

ficulty) to shew him plainly, and to give him all imaginable security for it, that he shall better find all his ends (those of honour, power, profit, and safety) with the king, than in any other way he can take. Neither are we to boggle at any way he shall propose in declaring himself, let it at the first be presbyterian, be king and parliament, be a third party, or what he will, so it oppose the present power, it will at last do the king's business; and after a little time he will and must alone fall into the track we would have him go in; when he is engaged past a retreat he will want you as much as you will want him, and you may mould him into what form you please. You have my opinion (though in too much haste) pray think seriously of it. \* \* \* \* \*

*Amsterdam, Sept. 20, 1658.  
An original.*

The following terms, offered to general Monk, soon after the protector's death, by Charles the Second, we shall also insert here.

*The King to Lord Falconbridge, the Lord Bellasis, and Sir John Greenville, or either of them.*

" I AM confident that George Monk can have no malice in his heart against me, nor hath he done any thing against me, which I cannot very easily pardon; and it is in his power to do me so great a service, that I cannot easily reward, but I will do all I can; and I do authorize you, and either of you, with the advice of the rest, to treat with him, and not only to assure him of my kindness, but that I will very liberally reward him with such an estate in land, and such a title of honour,

honour, as himself shall desire, if he will declare for me, and adhere to my interest; and whatever you shall promise to him on my behalf, or whatever he, or you by his advice, shall promise to any of his officers, or the army, under his command, which command he shall still keep, I will make good and perform upon the word of a king."

*A rough draught by the Lord Chancellor Hyde.*

From this period to the king's restoration, there is preserved in this volume a most minute and almost daily account of the transactions in England, and of the various schemes, plans, and operations of the king's friends and adherents there. The principal letters are such as are either addressed to, or written by, the lord chancellor; and of such as come under the first description, the most material are from the lord Mordaunt, Mr. Broderick, and Mr. Rumbold. These contain some excellent descriptions of, and remarks on, the different sects and parties which divided this country at the death of Oliver Cromwell: including, with their respective leaders, the levellers, the presbyterians, the anabaptists, the republicans, the fanatics, and fifth monarchy men.—Perhaps these two last, without committing a solecism in party, may be joined together as one body.

Upon the death of the protector Oliver, who was himself too feeble a restraint upon them, these parties broke out into open hostilities with one another—each carving separately for itself, and, in proportion to the abilities of its leaders, and its own strength, assuming the entire conduct of affairs.

Neither the succession of Richard

Cromwell to the protectorship; nor his disposition, seems to have met with the slightest interruption; and could the various factions as easily have settled their own differences, as they seem to have been able to oppose Charles the Second, the government of the country might have acquired such a degree of consistency as would have been for ever fatal to the king's interests.

The origin and progress of the rising in the west, in favour of his majesty, and the suppression of that rising by general Lambert, is fully detailed in the letters of the lord Mordaunt and others.

The conduct of general Monk, who was so singularly instrumental in effecting the restoration, has been always looked upon, during this period, as singularly ambiguous. By his defeat of Lambert, he obtained the entire and uncontrolled possession of the army, but at the same time he seems to have been quite undetermined in what manner he should act; and so far certainly that conduct must have appeared exceedingly ambiguous to others, which was not regulated by any certain views or principles in the man that pursued it.

Security, and an high situation, was the end general Monk aimed at; and whether that end was to be attained by means of the *King*, or of the *Rump*, seems at bottom to have been a matter of equal indifference to him. In short, he had not the cause of either, or of any party, at heart, but became, without having any premeditated scheme in view, the fortunate and happy instrument of putting an end to the confused and unnatural state into which his country was plunged.

Thus Monk, upon his arrival in London

London from the north, first declares himself the servant of the *Ramp*, then of a *free parliament* to be chosen under certain restrictions and regulations, and, lastly, experimentally finding that neither the *one* or the *other* could effectuate an established government, he, in concurrence with the majority of the *latter*, and of the nation in general, declares for the king, (having first made his own conditions for himself and his army :) thus throughout rather progressively following the humour of the nation, than endeavouring to direct its course.

The lord Mordaunt's account of the state of the nation, transmitted to the king but a few months before his restoration, we shall next lay before our readers.

*Lord Mordaunt to the King.*

“ Sir,

“ SINCE our last it hath been my care in particular to look into the state of the city, parliament, armies, and navy, and I humbly here present you my poor opinion of their present condition.

*The State of the City.*

The citizens have not at all receded from their first declaration; and, though they are still unanimous as to the point of money, yet the speedy march of Monk makes them fluctuate. As to other things, most with him a friend on several accounts; one is, because they believe his faith presbyterian; the other is grounded on a belief, which we dare not contradict, and that is, that the presbyterians desire only the honour of restoring your majesty,

that by the merit of so signal an action, their notorious crimes may be forgiven and forgotten; yet because the heart of man is deceitful, I have so far prevailed with the citizens, and some heads of the secluded members, as to prepare to oppose this clouded soldier, in case he prove other than what they would have him. Truly, sir, the consternation was so great and so universal upon the defection of Lambert's forces and Monk's march, that when I came, had Monk been here, he might have given what law he pleased, and been, at least for a time, punctually obeyed; but by discourses I have so far prevailed with the most eminent of this place, that they know it yet lays in their power to give a check not only to Monk, but to what party soever they shall presume to impose upon them in this work. Alderman Robinson hath been the most useful, and it was he only that caused that clause of “convening a full and free parliament,” according to the ancient and fundamental laws of the land, to be inserted in the Declaration. The last letter from Monk displeased them, but private instructions by the sword-bearer give them fresh hopes. Browne is wholly off from the rigid score, and he and alderman Robinson and Langham have raised 15,000*l.* which Ingoldby is to manage to take off a part of the standing army, upon which we are also to appear. If this succeeds, your majesty will be restored without terms; and, if my lord Manchester and others of his cabal prevent it not, I have all the reason in the world to hope it may. I have spoken with major Wood, and instructed him as well as I can, and I have constant meetings twice a day with  
Robinson,

Robinson, so, that I do not only engage for him in this affair, but will be responsible for Ingoldsbj in all he undertakes, that he shall purely and clearly act as your majesty shall command him, or as the commissioners shall direct. It now appears his interest is the greatest of any man's in England, except Monk's, who is at the head of an army. This, sir, I am positive in, and will be answerable for any failing on his part, as to his courage or cordialness in relation to your majesty's interest. Browne and he act together, but neither are willing to treat with Manchester, who discouraged the last design. This night we come to a conclusion; our terms are four pounds for every horseman, and two pounds for every foot soldier. As Browne and I shall agree, we shall engage or desist, and that will be as the pulse of the soldiers beats; for if we draw off four regiments, they will possess the gates till we embody, and then we hope your majesty will think it a reasonable undertaking. When I commend to your majesty the complexion of the city, I mean the body both representative and diffusive: for the head, to wit, the court of aldermen, are generally naught, there being nineteen of the four and twenty purchasers of the crown and church lands, which, with other mercenary motives, make them a corrupt court.

*The State of the Parliament as I conceive.*

The present complexion of the parliament is very pale; sir Arthur Haslerig undermined by Cooper, Morley, and Weaver, and from a rhodomonte is reduced to a pitiful

rogue. Neville props him up, and that he may be yet sustained, they both endeavour the introduction of Sir Henry Vane; the strength of their argument receiving force from his being irreconcilable to your majesty's interest and family; but all will not do, and therefore he disowns them for a parliament, believing his being of it essential to its constitution. Cooper yet hath his tongue well hung, and words at will, and employs his rhetoric to cashier all officers, civil as well as military, that sided with Fleetwood, Lambert, and Morley, and rebukes all the sectaries; thus those two garble the army and state. Neville opposeth these, and argues for liberty in so general a sense, that he is *de nouveau* concluded an atheist. By a petition delivered by Lawson they designed sir Henry Vane's readmission, but Lawson was for a time suspended from his charge upon this account. This evinceth the truth of an account of what I presumed to tell your majesty of sir H. Vane's interest in the navy. The parties in the house are diametrically opposite; the three and twenty with Cooper, who acts Cicero, and some sixteen with Neville, who represents Anthony. Since the old speaker says his constitution is ill, we conclude the parliament so, and believe Monk and he understand each other. Daily new leaks spring in this old rotten vessel, and they have already lost all the idolatrous reverence paid to parliaments. Sir Arthur Haslerig accused Ingoldsbj for being in arms in sir George Booth's business, upon which, though he purged himself, he lost the regiment he was courted to receive, and we so firm a foundation as that would have been to us. The last *joco di mano*, was the

the diffention between the house and the council of state; the first command Monk to march slowly thither with his whole army, the last command him to halt. I think I shall have little occasion for the future to send your majesty accounts of the Rump, believing it may be in an unfavorable condition.

*The State of Lambert's Army.*

This body, being composed of sectaries, libertines, and anabaptists, is prudently by Monk commanded into Scotland; where (if his ambition blinding his reason, he sets up on his own score) they will be the most proper scourge for the presbyter. And thus he may design the Scotch army, which he leads himself to subdue the sectaries here. And those lunatics, to keep in order the violent kirkmen, Morgan commands in nature of a major-general. Their numbers are decreased, many following the example of their general, and perhaps resolving to pursue his fortune, who is now very busy here; and if from so small a spark he raises a combustion, it will be the most wonderful change yet seen, and may in future ages pass for a miracle.

*The State of Monk's Army.*

The general opinion (which always magnifies the successful, and often unjustly condemns the unfortunate) is, that since this long and sad rebellion, no army was ever so well disciplined and officered as this; the numbers, by the best accounts I can trust to, amount to 7000 horse and foot. And it seems to me a wonder, in this weather, it gathers not like a snow-ball. What effect Monk's con-

ference with Fairfax hath produced is not yet known; this night I expect it from Rulhworth, his secretary; in the mean time we all change our opinion, and believe they have a good understanding, I mean in relation to what I wish. He brings 25,000*l.* along with him; thus his prudence masters Lambert's choler, and certainly he had read Tasso's

*Fu il vincer sempre mai laudabil cosa,  
Vinca si pur d'ingegno o pur di forza.*

He is now at Newark. I hope we make no ill conclusion when we suppose him ours, upon the ground of his giving commission to the Fenwicks (secluded members) to buy a regiment of horse, his giving the government of Newcastle to Elison, one of the same stamp, and his employing colonel Bethell, an honest lay elder as we call him. I can say little more of him, but that he is a black Monk, and I cannot see through him.

*The State of the Army here.*

That the whole or part is to be bought I hope to produce demonstration; and, though the design hath taken air some weeks, yet I hope to see good effects from the conjunction of Browne, Ingoldby, and Robinson. The sum of 15,000*l.* is raised for the present, but if not made use of in two days, the contract is null. The soldiers are independent of their officers, and by reason of the frequent changes, never permitted any officer to make himself beloved or popular; an agitator will do more in an hour than all the officers in a day, and they will either march or refuse it, as the last impression works upon them.

them. Just now the gates are all secured, and the inclosed, from the earl of Crawford, makes me fear an ill change, and that Monk is a devil; but an attempt may prevent all, which, if it be found reasonable, we will hazard, and leave the success to your majesty. I send the original from the earl.

*The State of the Navy.*

"It seems to be sad, since sick and poor are in conjunction; sixteen frigates are yet kept out, else their clamour would state their condition better than I can. I expect daily Mr. Bremes, and then I will venture on Lawson myself. Mr. Ford is engaged by Rumbold, and his interest is great among the captains; so that, if the saints continue oppressed, I despair not of giving a better account than I am able at present to do. Fourteen of the first and second rate lay at Rochester, but neither manned or tight; the arrears due on this account are vast; all these laid together, promises or money may do the work, but this I speak not positively."

*London, January 16, 1659-60.*

*An original.*

We shall conclude our account of this valuable work with the insertion of the two following letters; the first from the king to general Monk, in answer to one of the general's to his majesty inclosing the address and declaration of the army; the last, from the general to the king, on the recognition of his majesty's title by both houses of parliament.

*The King to General Monk.*

"General Monk,

"I WAS the last week dis-

patching Bernard Grenville with my answer to yours of the 20th of last month, when, in the instant as he was departing, I received the good news of what was done on May-day, upon the reception of my letters and declaration in the two houses, which made most of what I had writ to you unnecessary to be sent, and so I kept the messenger still here. I have since received yours of the 5th by Sir Thomas Clarges, with the address the officers of the army made to you, upon which I shall not enlarge till the return of the same messenger. I have likewise another from you of the same date; upon all which, besides the great miracles which God Almighty hath wrought upon the hearts of the nation, I must ever acknowledge your extraordinary affection to me, and your very discreet conduct of this great work, in which you have had to do with persons of such different humours and contrary affections, which you have wonderfully composed. And yet you cannot but expect that there are many persons still contriving the same mischiefs against me and you, and who must be rather suppressed by your authority and power, than won and reconciled by your indulgence; and, it may be, a little severity towards some would sooner reduce the rest than any thing you can else do. You may be most confident, and I do again renew my promise to you, for the performance of which you may engage your life, that I will make good whatever you have found necessary to promise to those of your army who have and shall adhere to you to make your business the more easy; and I am most confident, if I were with you, I should in a much shorter time satisfy them, and put them into a full security,



security than will be done by those formal ways which I hear some men endeavour to go about, and in which many obstructions will be found, which I could easily remove and prevent; and if any course be taken, in which a just discontent remains with any, and justice itself be wounded, the foundation is not well laid for a lasting security. I am confident I shall prevent all inconveniences of this kind when I am with you, which I must conjure you to hasten by all your interest. And I tell you again, I will not leave myself bread, rather than every thing shall not be performed which you promise to your officers and soldiers on my behalf. I am confident you know there hath been, and is still, a cabal which endeavours to infuse and keep alive all ill humours and dissatisfaction in the army and in the houses, to obstruct and defer my being sent for, which, by the blessing of God, can only put an end to all distempers; and therefore I must conjure you to use all your interest for the removal of all those obstructions, and all unnecessary formalities, which may retard my coming, and you may be as confident, as of any thing in this world, that if it were in my power to recede from any thing I have promised in my declaration or letters, I would as much abhor the doing it as any wickedness that can be imagined; and surely a full and general security, which no man is more solicitous to establish than I am, can never be so well provided for as by my presence with you, which, by God's blessing, would disappoint all ill designs which are contrived against me and you, and the peace of the nation. I expect within few days the arrival of the commissioners

from the parliament, and for their better reception and accommodation, this town being already too full, I resolve to accept the state's invitation, and to go on Monday or Tuesday next to the Hague, as the nearest and most commodious place from whence I may embark, for which you will easily believe I have longing enough, that I may see you, and let the world see the sense I have of the great service you have done for  
Yours, &c."

May 21, 1660.

*An original.*

*General Monk to the King.*

"May it please your Majesty,

"TUESDAY last I attended your majesty's two houses of parliament to proclaim the recognition of your royal right unto your imperial crowns. By the universal joy in the performance, it appeared that God hath given to your scepter the hearts of your people; who, though they have been by necessity and force agitated to different points, yet, like a needle truly touched, rest only in this magnetic determination towards your majesty; whose royal heart, touched with the divine grace, I am sure is fixed to make it the glory of your majesty to advance the crown and scepter of our Lord Christ, and that under you all your people may lead a peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.

"This bearer, major Robert Harley, whose faithful endeavours have not been wanting to your majesty's service, will acquaint your majesty with the desires of your parliament for your majesty's speedy return into your dominions. To which I take the boldness to add my humble opinion, that now your majesty's

jeſty's preſence and authority is very neceſſary to preſerve that happy peace your realms enjoy through divine goodneſs.

“ That your majeſty may enjoy many years of glorious reign is the

cordial prayer of, moſt gracious ſovereign,

Your majeſty's, &c.”

St. James's, May 10, 1660.

An original.

*The following Report was by Miſtake omitted in the State Papers for this Year, and is therefore inſerted here.*

*The Sixth Report of the Commiſſioners appointed to examine, take, and ſtate, the Public Accounts of the Kingdom.*

*Preſented to the Houſe of Commons on the 11th of February, 1782.*

**I**N purſuance of the directions of the act by which we are appointed, our attention has hitherto been engaged, principally in marking the delay which affects the public money in its paſſage, either from the pocket of the ſubject into the Exchequer, or from the Exchequer back again into the poſſeſſion of the perſon who becomes entitled to it; but of ſtill greater importance to the public is the diminution it ſuffers in its progreſs.

Intent upon the object pointed out to us by the act, as the firſt for our conſideration, namely, that the public might avail themſelves, as ſoon as poſſible, of the balances in the hands of accountants; we have, in the offices that have as yet come under our examination, applied ourſelves chiefly to the investigation of theſe balances, and reported upon them with as much expedition as we were able; adding only ſuch ſuggeſtions of immediate regulation as aroſe out of the ſubject, and occurred to us in the courſe of that investigation, but deferring, as a matter ſeparate and diſtinct, the execu-

tion of that part of the act which directs us “ to report an exact ſtate of the fees or gratuities paid or given in collecting, iſſuing, expending, and accounting for the public monies, and the authority under which ſuch fees and gratuities are paid or received.”

In the courſe of our examination into the office of the paymaſter-general of the forces, we obſerved in the account of the payments made by him out of the deductions of twelve-pence in the pound, and one day's pay, for the year 1778, annexed to our laſt report, No. 7, a charge of 32,557l. 7s. 10d. paid for fees at the Exchequer. So large a ſum of fees paid by one officer, to one office, in one year, demanded our attention, and led us to require from this office the ſum total of the fees paid at the receipt of his majeſty's Exchequer, by the paymaſter-general of the forces, during the year 1780; the accounts of that year being then under our conſideration.

By the return made to that requiſition, it appears that theſe fees, in the year 1780, amounted to 39,198l. 6s. 10d.; and that they conſiſted of a poundage on the money iſſued.

As the annual ſupplies laſt year exceeded that of all former years, and may increaſe, and all poundage fees on thoſe ſupplies will increaſe in proportion, we thought it incumbent upon

upon us to proceed to an immediate examination into the article of fees, and of the principles upon which they are founded; to the intent, that, should they be deemed a subject worthy the interposition of the legislature, the public may not remain without the benefit of a speedy remedy for a pressing and increasing evil.

We have had under our examination two offices of large public expenditure; the pay-office of the navy, and the pay-office of the army. To each of these we issued our precepts for an exact state of the salaries, fees, and gratuities, received by the respective officers and clerks in those offices, from the 24th of December, 1779, to the 25th of December, 1780, with the amount thereof received by each officer and clerk, during the said period.

To the several branches of the receipt of his majesty's Exchequer, that is to say, to the auditor, the clerk of the pells, the tellers, and chamberlains, the usher, and the paymasters of exchequer bills, we issued the like precepts; and returns were made to us from all these offices.

We have thought it expedient, in the course of this enquiry, where the office is not executed by the principal officer, but by his deputy, or first clerk, to examine the latter only, as probably best qualified to give us the information we wanted.

We have omitted, likewise, as more minute than necessary, to examine those inferior officers and clerks who receive small salaries only, or inconsiderable fees.

As our account of the emoluments of these offices is taken in a year of the most expensive war, we have required and stated, where we have been able to obtain it, the net

produce of each office in time of peace.

At the close of our examination into each office, we have stated, and inserted in the appendix, an account of the salaries, allowances, fees, and gratuities, distinguished under their several heads, and the total amount thereof received by each officer and clerk in that office, with the sums paid for taxes, and other disbursements; and the net produce to each officer and clerk, during the year 1780; and distinguishing, as far as appeared to us, without entering into too long an examination, to what amount each office is a charge upon the public, the civil list, and individuals. But we must at the same time remark, that most of the sums for fees and gratuities, stated by us as paid by individuals, are ultimately paid by, and a charge upon, either the civil list or the public. This latter distinction we have made, not considering the interest of the crown as separate from the interest of the public; but because the savings, if such there should be, will in the one case, fall into the fund appropriated for the support of his majesty's civil government, and in the other, into the sinking fund.

We have distinguished the taxes paid by the officers, that is, the land-tax, and the one shilling and six penny duties, from their other disbursements; because the charge of the public, in supporting these offices, is lessened by as much of these taxes as get back again into the Exchequer. But, not being able easily to discover what diminution they suffer in their progress, we have only stated the amount of them, without deducting them from the expence of the public.

From

From the return of the pay-office of the navy, and from the examinations of the right hon. Welbore Ellis, treasurer of the navy; Andrew Douglas, esq. his paymaster; John Slade, esq. first clerk in the cashier's branch; Adam Jellico, esq. first clerk in the pay branch; George Swaffield, esq. cashier; Mr. John Fennell, chief clerk, and Mr. Robert Walker, second clerk in the victualling branch, we obtained the following information relative to the profits accruing to the officers and clerks in this office.

The business in the pay-office of the navy is transacted by the treasurer, the paymaster, and thirty-five officers and clerks, nine of which are in the cashier's branch, twenty in the pay branch, and six in the victualling branch.

The profits of these offices consist of six heads—salaries; allowances for extra services, and for telling money at the Bank; perquisites of odd pence; for casting defalcations; and for entering probates and other instruments.

The treasurer and his paymaster are paid by salaries only, and have no other fee or gratuity whatever. The officers and clerks receive salaries, and also the allowances and perquisites above mentioned.

The treasurer is appointed by the crown, and holds his office during pleasure. He receives a salary of two thousand pounds a-year, reduced, by the payment of the one shilling and sixpenny duties, to 1,850 l. He appoints the paymaster, and all the other officers and clerks in the office.

The paymaster has a salary of 500 l. a-year, reduced by the same duties to 462 l. 10 s. He executes also the offices of cashier and ac-

countant, for which he receives no additional salary or emolument whatever.

The salaries of the other officers and clerks are from forty to eighty pounds a-year, according to their several employments. Besides which, they have the allowances and perquisites following.

An allowance for extra service, which is made to those clerks who attend the payment of wages and the yards, and who complete what are called the full books for payment of the ships and yards. This allowance is intended to defray their travelling expences, and as a recompense for their extra trouble. The rate at which it is paid is seven shillings a-day for the number of days in which each clerk is so employed.

An allowance for telling money at the Bank is a poundage, at the rate of five shillings for every thousand pounds, allowed by the navy board to those clerks who receive money at the Bank for the payment of the ships and yards; in consequence of which allowance, each clerk is accountable for any deficiency there may be either in the weight or tale of the money he receives.

The odd pence is a perquisite to those officers and clerks, who are employed in making payments. Those whose business it is to pay perfect bills, the navy course, and bills drawn by the navy and sick and hurt boards, pay the even money only upon these bills, and retain to themselves the odd pence under a shilling. Those who are employed in the payment of the officers, seamen, and artificers in the dock-yards, retain the odd pence under six-pence; in consideration of which, they are all bound to make good any mistakes

mistakes they may make in their payments.

The perquisite for casting defalcations, is a gratuity, usually at the rate of one guinea by the hundred pounds, paid by the chaplains, surgeons, and pursers of the navy, to the officer who casts and pays to them their several shares of the deductions made from the seamen's wages.

The perquisite for entering probates of wills, letters of administration, and warrants of attorney, is a fee of two shillings and sixpence each entry, paid to the clerk in whose department it lies to register these instruments.

The salaries and allowances for extra services, and for telling money at the bank, are paid, for the most part, quarterly, by bills assigned by the navy or victualling boards upon the treasurer, out of money received by him, either to pay salaries, or from old stores, or under some other head of service specified in the assignments; and consequently all these are paid by the public.

The perquisites are either detained out of sums due to particular persons, or paid by those who apply to have their business transacted at the office; and therefore do not come out of the public purse, but from the pockets of individuals.

The authority upon which the receipt of the several profits of this office is grounded, is either an order of the privy-council, or usage.

By an order of the privy-council, dated the 25th of May, 1699, the salary of the treasurer of the navy is settled at two thousand pounds a year; that of his paymaster, at five hundred pounds; that of his ac-

countant, at four hundred pounds; and the salaries of thirteen clerks, seven at eight pounds each, and six at forty pounds each; and in the ordinary estimate of the navy, voted by parliament every year, are inserted allowances—to the treasurer of the navy, two thousand pounds; to his paymaster and cashier, five hundred pounds; to twenty-two clerks, six of them eighty pounds, nine fifty pounds, and seven forty pounds each. But an increase of the business in this office for these late years, has rendered it necessary to increase the clerks to the present number, thirty-five; and to every increase the consent of the navy-board is necessary.

The allowances and perquisites are such as have been usually paid and taken by the officers and clerks in their several departments, as far back as the memory of the oldest officers, now employed in this office, reaches.

From the accounts set forth in the appendix, it appears, that the gross amount of the emoluments received in the pay-office of the navy, was 8,150*l.* 10*s.*  $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*; of which the salaries, allowances for extra service, and for telling money at the bank, amounting to 6,545*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* was paid by the public; and the residue, being 1,605*l.* 5*s.*  $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* by individuals; the net receipt of this office was 7,938*l.*  $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*

By the return made to us from the pay-office of the army, and the examinative of the right hon. Richard Rigby, paymaster-general of the forces; Timothy Caswell, esq. deputy paymaster; John Powell, esq. cashier; Charles Bembridge, esq. accountant; John Adam Frederick Hesse, esq. ledger-keeper; Thomas Bangham, esq.

esq. computer of off-reckonings; Robert Randall, esq. cashier of half-pay; and Richard Moleworth, esq. entering clerk; we received the following account of the salaries paid to, and the fees and gratuities taken by, the officers and clerks in the pay-office of the army.

This office consists of the paymaster general, his deputy, a cashier, an accountant, a ledger-keeper, a computer of off-reckonings, a cashier of half-pay, and an entering clerk, with eight inferior clerks, an office-keeper, a house-keeper, and two messengers; and nine deputy paymasters abroad.

The paymaster general appoints his deputies, and all the officers and clerks employed in his office: they are all paid by salaries or allowances, fees and gratuities.

The paymaster general, his deputy, the inferior officers and clerks, and deputy paymasters abroad, have certain salaries or allowances only; the six officers who are next to the deputy paymaster, receive salaries, fees, and gratuities.

The paymaster general is appointed by letters patent under the great seal, during pleasure; he receives four annual allowances as paymaster general of the forces, and one as treasurer of Chelsea hospital: the four are, 3,000*l.* as the particular salary belonging to his office, 1,760*l.* for the payment of clerks, 600*l.* for the contingent expences of his office, and twenty shillings a day as one of the staff upon the establishment; the other allowance is twenty shillings a day as treasurer of Chelsea hospital. The amount

of these allowances is 6,021*l.*: out of which he paid for himself and officers, in taxes, 962*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.*; to clerks 1,707*l.*; and for the contingent disbursements of his office, 360*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.*; making together 3,030*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* which reduced his clear receipt to 3,061*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.*

The deputy paymaster has two salaries, of 500*l.* a year each; one reduced, by the one shilling and sixpenny duties, to 462*l.* 10*s.* the other paid without deduction; together, clear, 962*l.* 10*s.*

The six following officers are those who have fees and gratuities as well as salaries.

The cashier receives a salary of 200*l.* a year, reduced by the one shilling duty to 190*l.*; and an additional annual allowance of 270*l.* paid to him without deduction. His fees and gratuities amounted to 6,715*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* which, with his salaries, made his clear receipt 7,175*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* But, as these fees are not always paid at the time the business is done, this sum, though received in the year 1780, may include fees that accrued in a preceding year; it certainly does not include the fees for all the business done by him in that year; the remitters had not paid him their fees upon the warrants for the remittances issued to them after the month of February, 1780; and it appears from an account of those remittances, extracted from the account of the extraordinary services incurred by the paymaster general of the forces for the year 1780, that the sum issued to them between the 1st of March, and the 31st of December, in that year, was 2,312,830*l.*; the fees upon which being at the rate of one guinea

guinea by the thousand pounds, amount to 2,427l. 12s. and being divided equally between the cashier and accountant, would have added 1,213l. 16s. to the receipt of each, and would have increased that of the cashier to 8,389l. 15s. 6d.

The salary of the accountant is 150l. a year, reduced by the one shilling duty to 142l. 10s. He received in fees 1,358l. 17s. 9d.; which, added to his salary, makes his clear receipt to have been 1,501l. 7s. 9d. Had the remitters paid all their fees, it had been increased by the addition of 1,213l. 16s. to the sum of 2,715l. 3s. 9d.

The ledger-keeper's salary is 100l. a year, besides which, he receives annually 80l. from the computer of off-reckonings, and 100l. from the cashier of half-pay: his fees amounted to 394l. 16s. making, all together, 674l. 16s. He paid out of this sum, for taxes, fifteen pounds; to his deputy eighty pounds; and to another assistant fifty pounds; together, 145l. which reduced his net receipt to 529l. 16s. The present ledger-keeper has, by reason of his age and infirmities, executed his office by deputy, ever since his appointment in 1765.

The computer of off-reckonings has no other salary but that of eighty pounds, which he pays to the ledger-keeper; his net profits arose from his fees, which amounted to 1,038l. 5s. 6d.

The cashier of half-pay receives eighty pounds a year salary; the total of his fees was 617l. 5s.; together, 697l. 5s.: out of which he paid, for taxes, fourteen pounds, and to the ledger-keeper one hundred pounds; this reduced his clear receipt to 583l. 5s.

Sixty pounds is the salary of the entering-clerk, which, with 1,448l. 15s. 4d. received by fees, made his gross receipt 1,508l. 15s. 4d.; reduced, by 10l. 10s. paid for taxes, to 1,498l. 5s. 4d.

The other clerks are paid from fifty to one hundred pounds a year, according to their stations and employments in the office, and receive no fees or gratuities whatever.

The deputy paymasters abroad are paid an allowance, six of them thirty shillings a day, and three of them three pounds a day.

The fees received by these officers are as various as the business they execute; each has fees peculiar to his branch: they consist, some of them, of a poundage upon the sums contained in warrants brought for payment, and in receipts; others, of certain sums per regiment, paid either annually or upon transacting particular branches of the regimental business; others of them are certain sums for reports, certificates, receipts, entries, or other articles of official business.

The gratuities are voluntary donations upon the payment of warrants, or for creating some trouble to the office; and are given to officers of the department where the business is transacted.

It appears from the account of the payments made by the paymaster-general, out of the deductions of twelve-pence in the pound, and one day's pay, for the year 1780, that the salary and allowances to the paymaster-general (except the twenty shillings a day on the staff) and the two additional salaries to the deputy and cashier, and the allowances to the deputy-paymasters abroad, are paid out of the deduc-

tions

tions of twelve-pence in the pound; the twenty shillings a day on the staff, is paid to him, in like manner as the general and staff-officers in Great Britain are paid, out of the money granted for the ordinary services of the army: all these payments are therefore a charge upon the public. The paymaster-general himself pays the other salaries, out of the sum of 1,760*l.* allowed him for that purpose. The fees and gratuities are paid by the remitters, contractors, agents, and persons whose business brings them to the office, and therefore come immediately out of their pockets, though much the greatest part of them ultimately fall upon the public.

Usage of office is the general ground upon which these several payments rest, except in the two instances of the additional allowances to the deputy and the cashier, which are founded on special circumstances. The five hundred pounds a year addition to the deputy, is paid to him by a warrant, dated 18th March, 1774; it commenced on the 10th October, 1771, and is to continue as long as he holds this office. The ground stated in the warrant is, that the then emoluments of the office were not an adequate compensation for his trouble, care, and fidelity: his predecessors in this office had not this additional salary; for they enjoyed, at the same time, what the present deputy had not, other appointments under the crown.

The warrant for the payment of the additional two hundred and seventy pounds a year to the cashier, is dated the 10th of July, 1765, and states it to be made to him for his trouble, care, diligence, and fidelity, in the execution of the

business committed to his charge.

The allowance to the paymaster-general of twenty shillings a day upon the staff, is voted annually upon the establishment, and, together with the twenty shillings a day as treasurer of Chelsea hospital, is inserted in his letters-patent: all the salaries and allowances paid to him are such as have been allowed to his predecessors in this office; and all the salaries, fees, and gratuities, received by the officers and clerks, and deputy-paymasters, are the same as have been paid to, and received by, those who have gone before them.

From the account in the appendix it appears, that the gross amount of the emoluments received in this office, was 25,108*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.*; the net amount was 23,561*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* The sum of 13,450*l.* received for salaries and allowances, was paid by the public: the sum of 11,573*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.* for fees and gratuities, was paid by individuals.

There is moreover another gratuity given to the officers and clerks in each of these pay-offices, upon passing the final accounts of a treasurer and paymaster-general in the office of the auditor of the impress. This gratuity is craved of the commissioners of the treasury, by a memorial from the respective officers and clerks in each office, as a compensation for their trouble in carrying on and making up the accounts of a treasurer and paymaster-general after his resignation. The quantum of it bears some proportion to the total sum contained in the account to be passed. It is allowed to them by a treasury-warrant, out of the balance remaining in the hands of the ac-



countant, and is therefore paid out of a public fund. These allowances have been made ever since the Revolution, and, by the accounts of them from that period, transmitted to us from these offices, it appears, that in the pay-office of the navy, the instances of these gratuities, from the year 1688 to the year 1772, when the last accounts of Mr. Dodington, ending in the year 1756, were passed, are seventeen, and amount to 54,162l. 17s. 9½d. And in the pay-office of the army, the instances from the same year, to the year 1770, when the accounts of lord Darlington, and others, ending 24th June, 1757, were passed, are nine, and amount to 46,112l. 18s.; making together 100,275l. 15s. 9½d. paid by the public during that period, in these gratuities.

In the exchequer, six offices came under our examination; namely, the auditor of the receipt, the clerk of the pells, the tellers, the chamberlains, the usher, and the paymasters of exchequer bills. There are some circumstances common to them all; salaries or allowances, fees, and gratuities, are the heads under which may be ranged the profits of all the officers and clerks.

The gratuities are usual voluntary donations, either from public offices or individuals: the yearly accounts are made up to Michaelmas eve; and therefore the accounts of the receipts and payments for the year 1780, which is the year we are enquiring into, are made up to the Michaelmas of that year.

In the first five of these offices, the principal appoints the deputy and clerks. The first four of them have tables hung up in each office,

by which their fees are regulated; these fees consist either of a poundage, or of certain payments for particular articles of business transacted in each office, and are paid by the persons either paying in, or receiving money out of the exchequer, or applying for their particular business.

The return made to our precept by the duke of Newcastle, auditor of the receipt of his majesty's exchequer, and the examinations of Edward Wilford, esq. his first clerk, and of Mr. William Jones, the tally-writer, supplied us with a knowledge of the state of the emoluments received by the officers and clerks in this branch of the exchequer, the business of which is transacted by the auditor and twenty-three fixed clerks, with other occasional assistants when wanted.

The auditor is appointed for life, by a constitution under the hands and seals of the commissioners of the treasury. All the exchequer bills, orders, debentures, patents, and other instruments which pass this office, are signed by him; the official profits are not received by himself, but by his first clerk, who accounts with him for them every month: he receives eleven annual allowances, enumerated in an account transmitted to us, and inserted in the appendix, amounting to 3,766l. 1s.: he has a small annual fee from the wardrobe, of 4l. 17s.; and is entitled to fees on the receipt of money into, and issue of money out of the exchequer; the first amounted to 170l. 13s. 9d. the latter, to 12,554l. 2s. 6d. The sum he received by fees for entering patents, and upon imprest bills, was

39l. 5s.

39l. 5s. and in gratuities 345l. 7s.; the gross amount of all which was 16,880l. 6s. 3d. Out of which sum he made the following payments: for taxes, 872l. 12s.; to clerks, 1,662l. 10s.; for incidental expences of office, 329l. 2d.; together, 2,864l. 2s. 2d.; which reduced his clear receipt to 14,016l. 4s. 1d.

The first clerk has an annual allowance of 100l. and the clerk's fees, amounting to 3,001l. 16s. 8d.; his gratuities were, 142l. 17s.; making together, 3,244l. 13s. 8d.; reduced, by payments for taxes, clerks, and incidental expences to 2,752l. 3s. 6d.

The rest of the clerks have salaries in proportion to their rank and employment, paid to them either by the auditor, or his first or other clerks: they have fees likewise and gratuities of various kinds; and out of what they receive, make various payments. An account of all which, as transmitted to us from this office, is inserted in the appendix.

The foundation of these allowances and fees, and the authority under which they are claimed and paid, are as follows:

Upon the king's accession, a certificate is transmitted from the auditor's office to the treasury, pursuant to their requisition, consisting of two lists; one containing the several fees, salaries, and allowances, that have by ancient custom, letters patent, constitutions, or other authorities, been paid to the officers and ministers of the exchequer, either in right of their offices or employments, or in reward for their service; the other containing the fees, salaries, or allowances that have been settled

and allowed them for their labour and expence in managing and performing the business of the annuities payable at the exchequer. This certificate is sent back to the exchequer, annexed to a warrant directed to the auditor, authorising him to draw orders or pass debentures for paying, from time to time, in the usual manner, and at the accustomed times, to the officers, the sums in the certificate mentioned; the first list, amounting to 1,801l. 9s. out of the money applicable to his majesty's civil government; the other, amounting to 5,900l. out of the respective funds applicable to the payment of the annuities.

This warrant states the authority, under which the treasury issued it, to be, as to the first list, either the letters patent, constitutions or authorities, whereby the officers hold their employments, or the general letters patent dormant (by which the king empowers them to make variety of payments, therein described, out of the civil list); and, as to the second list, either the powers given to them by the respective acts of parliament relative to annuities, or any other power in them being.

In this certificate are contained the eleven allowances made to the auditor: the two first of them, amounting to 460l. 3s. 4d. are in the first list, and paid to him in right of his office: the other nine, making 3,305l. 17s. 8d. are in the second list, and paid to him as a recompence for his trouble in the business of the annuities, by virtue of the power vested in the treasury by the several acts, to provide for the charges of management.

The fees of the auditor, upon the receipt

receipt of money, are: 1st, about one fourth part of the tally-court fees; of which fourth, his clerk attending in the tally-court has a share: 2dly, part of a sum allowed by the treasury to some of the exchequer officers for the tallies of loan which are exempt from fees.

The fees upon the issue are, a poundage upon money issued for certain services, not for all services. In the year 1780, the sum on which the poundage fees were paid was near eight millions: upwards of twenty-two millions more were issued in that year, for which neither the auditor nor his clerks received any fees whatever. The other fees are, certain payments for transacting particular kinds of business. All these fees are regulated by a table, specifying, both for the auditor and his clerks, the rate, where it is a poundage, otherwise the *quantum*, of each fee: this table is for the most part grounded upon usage, recognised as ancient by the barons of the exchequer in the year 1692, as to those fees the subject matter of which existed at that time; and acquiesced in, as to those fees the subject matter of which is of a date subsequent to that year.

By an act, passed in the 3d year of William and Mary, the officers of the exchequer were prohibited from taking any other fees, for the receiving or issuing the supplies granted by that or any other act of parliament, except such ancient and legal fees as should be allowed to be so by the barons of the court of exchequer; who were required to present to both houses of parliament, at the next sessions, a table of fees, to be by them allowed as ancient and legal. The barons, in

pur-suance of this power, made a report, containing the table required: this report is enrolled in the office of the king's remembrancer: a copy of it is inserted in the appendix; it comprehends the fees to be taken upon the receipt and issue of money in the offices of the auditor, the clerk of the pells, the tellers, and the tally-court; and is the rule, though the act is long since expired, by which they are governed at this day, except in some few instances, where usage, since that report, has introduced variations; one of which is, by the barons' report the whole of the fees paid to the officers of the exchequer, upon the issue of money for the army services in general, was three halfpence in the pound; but, ever since the year 1744, a difference has been made between the issue for the ordinary and extraordinary services; the fees for the first continue at three halfpence; those for the latter are reduced to one penny only in the pound.

These payments come out of different funds. The two first allowances to the auditor, the treasury allowance for the tallies of loan, the wardrobe fee, and the allowance to the first clerk, which is included in the first list of the exchequer certificate, are paid out of the civil list; the other nine allowances are paid out of the funds created by the several acts, and therefore out of the public money. The fees of the tally-court, and from issues, and for other business, are paid immediately by individuals; but all the exchequer fees paid on the issues for the army services, amounting, in the year 1780, to 39,198l.

7s. 6d.

7s. 10d. are charged by the paymaster general of the forces upon the deductions of twelve-pence in the pound, and therefore paid by the public. Of the sum of 7,9<sup>o</sup>0,340l. on the issue of which fees were paid; 7,311,732l. part thereof, was money belonging to the public; 668,608l. other part, was out of the civil list.

From the account in the appendix, it appears, that the total sum received in this office, was 21,273l. 16s.; the net sum was 19,880l. 16s. 4d.: the sum of 13,708l. 12s. 1d. was paid by the public; 1,116l. 7s. 5d. out of the civil list; and 6,448l. 16s. 6d. by individuals.

From the return made to us by the right hon. Sir Edward Walpole, clerk of the pells, and the examinations of Edward Roberts, esq. his deputy and first clerk, and Mr. Henry Thomas, clerk of the introitus, we learned the state of the profits received by the officers and clerks in this office; which office consists of the clerk of the pells, his deputy and first clerk, and fourteen inferior clerks.

The clerk of the pells is appointed for life, by a constitution under the hands and seals of the commissioners of the treasury, to exercise his office either by himself or deputy. In consequence of this privilege, it has not been usual, for many years, for the clerk of the pells to execute any part of the business himself; the deputy transacts the whole, and receives and accounts with his principal for all the profits that belong to him. The clerk of the pells receives thirteen distinct allowances, set forth in the return, amounting to 1,603l. 0s. 11d. paid to him by order or debenture. One of them, 61l. 13s. 4d. is inserted in

his constitution, and is, together with six more, making 306l. 1s. 8d. included in the first list in the Exchequer certificate, and therefore payable out of the civil list: the remaining six, amounting to 1,235l. 5s. 11d. are in the second list, and therefore payable out of the respective annuity funds. His fees upon the receipt consist of about one-fourth part both of the tally-court fees and of the treasury allowance for the tallies of loan; a certain part of both of which is appropriated to his clerk of the introitus. His share of these fees and allowances came to 194l. 5s. 10½d. His fees on the issue are, like those of the auditor, a poundage, at different rates for different services, paid by the persons receiving, according to a table hung up in the office, taken, and varying but little from the barons report; and according to the same table, some ancient fees are taken for the entries, enrollments, and examinations of certain instruments. All the above fees amounted to 7,700l. 2s. 8d. and his gratuities from the public offices, to 55l. 1s.; which made his gross receipt 9,432l. 1s. 6d.: out of which he paid 1,834l. 9s. 6d. The particulars of these payments are stated in a return inserted in the appendix, and reduced his clear receipt to 7,597l. 12s. 0½d.

The deputy and first clerk has a salary of 420l. a year paid to him by his principal: his fees are, a poundage upon one head of issue only: that is, the issue on annuities, pensions, &c. at the rate stated in the barons report; and also some other small fees and gratuities enumerated in the account of the officers and clerks fees in the appendix, amounting to 283l. 6s. 1d. The

two sums were reduced, by the payment of 22l. for taxes, to the net sum of 681l. 6s. 1d.

The clerk of the intrōitus has a share of the tally-court fees, and of the treasury allowance, and some other small fees, allowances, and gratuities; the whole producing 348l. 9s. 9½d.; reduced, by 9l. 7s. for taxes, to 339l. 2s. 9½d.

The rest of the clerks have salaries, from 50l. to 120l. paid them by the principal, and a few of them some small fees and gratuities.

From a state of the total received and paid in this office, the sum received was 10,269l. 19s. 2½d.; the net sum 9,543l. 13s. 9½d.; the sum paid by the public, 5,964l. 4s. 9d.; out of the civil list, 752l. 1s. 3½d.; and from individuals, 3,553l. 13s. 2d.

From the return made to our precept, and the examinations of Daniel Wray, William Price, Richard Welles, and Charles Townsend; esqrs. the deputies and first clerks of the right hon. earl of Hardwicke, the earl of Northington, earl Temple, and the hon. John Jeffreys Pratt, the four tellers of the exchequer, we obtained an account of the emoluments received in this office.

The tellers is one office in four divisions; each consisting of a teller, a deputy and first clerk, two offices executed by the same person, a second clerk, and three inferior clerks; in all twenty-four persons. The teller is appointed for life, by letters patent, which empower him to execute the office by deputy; and therefore the whole business of these offices is now, and long has been, transacted entirely by deputies. The teller himself executes no part of it; he does not collect

his own profits; they are received and accounted for to him by his deputy.

Each teller receives yearly an ancient salary or fee belonging to his office; the senior 33l. 6s. 8d. the three juniors 31l. 13s. 4d. each. They have likewise six annual allowances from the treasury for their trouble in paying the annuities, which are equally divided among the four: the share of each is 339l. 14s. 1½d. These salaries and allowances are in the exchequer certificate; the salaries in the first list, the allowances in the second. The tellers are paid nothing upon the receipt of money; their fees arise from the issue, and consist of a poundage on issues, not for all, but for certain services, and different for different services, according to rates specified in the table of fees stated in the return, and taken from the barons report, but varying from it in the rate on the issues for the extraordinary of the army, as before mentioned, and on the issues for pensions, and some other services, which, though subject to fees in that report, are since exempted by acts of parliament. These fees are divided equally amongst the four tellers; and the share of each was 7,038l. 15s. 0½d. The sum, on the issue of which these fees were taken, was near 16,000,000l.: the sum, for which no fees were taken, was upwards of 14,000,000l. as being exempt either by acts of parliament, courtesy, or usage. The sum subject to fees in the office of the tellers exceeds the sum subject to fees in the offices of the auditor, and clerk of the pells; for the barons report makes the sum issued to the navy, (which in the year 1780 exceeded

exceeded 6,000,000l.) and to the ordinance, liable in the one, and not in the other. The salary, and one-fourth part of the allowances and fees, which constitute the gross receipt of the first teller, amounted to 7,409l. 17s. 1½d.; out of which he paid for clerks, taxes, gratuities, and incidental expences, 713l. 5s. 4½d.; the remainder, being his net receipt, was 6,696l. 11s. 9½d.

The gross receipt of the second teller, consisting of the like articles, and also of 40l. for the rent of a house belonging to his office, was 7,450l. 2s. 5¾d.: his payments for clerks, taxes, and incidents, were 772l. 16s. 6d.; which left him a net receipt of 6,677l. 5s. 11¾d.

The gross receipt of the third teller, was the like sum: his payments were 742l. 17s.; which left him a clear balance of 6,707l. 5s. 5¼d.; but the third teller, taking to himself a portion of his first clerk's fees, amounting to 1,108l. 15s. 7d. and all his second clerk's fees (deducting the taxes), being 1,337l. 2s. 1d. his net receipt was 9,153l. 3s. 1¾d.

The profits of the office of the fourth teller; (which were divided between Mr. Townshend, the late teller, or his executors, and Mr. Pratt, who succeeded to this office May 21, 1780) were 7,511l. 3s. 7¾d.: the deductions were 771l. 0s. 1d.; which reduced the clear receipt to 6,740l. 3s. 6¾d. The articles composing these several receipts and deductions, and those which follow relative to the clerks, are enumerated in the return transmitted to us from this office.

The deputy, as such, has no profit whatever; but, as first clerk, he has fees both upon the receipt and issue: the fees upon the receipt are

called bill-money, and are in consideration of his writing the bills: they are paid according to an ancient table of fees used in the office, and stated in the return; not, included in the barons report, because that report relates to the supplies granted by that parliament only. This bill-money is divided equally among the four first clerks; the share of each was 182l. 0s.

The fees upon the issue are, a poundage, after a certain rate, for certain services, according to the barons report, similar to that of the tellers, with the like variations and exemptions: these fees are divided into eight equal parts, and belong to the four first and the four second clerks; the eighth part or share of each was 1,379l. 12s. 1d. Each first clerk receives also annually, in gratuities from public offices, 46l. 4s. These articles, of bill-money, fees, and gratuities, making together 1,608l. 5s. 1d. was the gross receipt of the first clerks to the three junior tellers. The first clerk to the senior teller received more; he had the allowance of 339l. 14s. and 230l. out of the fees of the second clerk, in consideration of his paying the salaries of the three under clerks, and as an additional recompence for his care and trouble in the execution of his office. These sums increased his gross receipt to 2,177l. 19s. 1d.: out of which he paid in taxes, for clerks, and other expences, 457l. 1s. reducing thereby his net receipt to 1,720l. 18s. 1d. The first clerk to the second teller reduced his receipt of 1,608l. 5s. 1d. by the payment of 51l. 14s. for taxes and incidental expences, to 1,556l. 11s. 1d. The first clerk to the third teller paid in taxes and gratuities 53l. 5s. 6d.; the remaining sum

sum of 1,554l. 19s. 7d. he did not retain to his own use: he is allowed by his teller, for the execution of this office, a salary of 400l. a-year, and the gratuities of 46l. 4s.; these he retains; but the residue, being 1,108l. 15s. 7d. he paid to the third teller. The first clerk to the fourth teller paid out of his receipt 53l. 5s. 6d. for taxes and gratuities, and, in addition to the salary of the senior under clerk, 37l. 12s. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. being at the rate of 100l. a-year, from the 21st of May, the time of Mr. Pratt's appointment, to Michaelmas 1780. These payments reduced his clear receipt to 1,517l. 7s. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.

The only profit appropriated to the office of the second clerk, is the eighth part of the fees on the issues, which was 1,379l. 12s. 1d. The second clerks to the first, second, and third tellers, never attend the office, or transact any official business whatever; the first clerk receives the share of the fees belonging to the second, makes the usual payments out of it, and pays the residue to such person as the teller has named as his second clerk, or otherwise to the teller himself. The payments out of the share of the second clerk to the first teller, were 42l. 15s. for taxes and incidents, and 230l. to the first clerk; the remainder, being 1,106l. 17s. 1d. was paid to the father of the second clerk, who was under age.

Forty-two pounds fifteen shillings was the deduction out of the fees of the second clerk to the second teller: the remaining sum of 1,336l. 17s. 1d. was paid to the second clerk. The share of the second clerk to the first teller was reduced, by the amount of 42l. 10s. for taxes, to 1,294l. 2s. 1d. the whole of which was paid to the third teller himself.

The second clerk in the remaining division has been in a situation different from the rest. During the time Mr. Townshend was teller, his second clerk attended the business of the office, who received the fees belonging to the second clerk, subject only to the payment of the taxes; there were then but two clerks more employed: the share of these fees that accrued in Mr. Townshend's lifetime was 801l. 2s. 1d.; out of which 26l. 10s. 6d. the proportion of taxes, being paid, the remaining 774l. 11s. 7d. was the net receipt of the second clerk to Mr. Townshend. The second clerk appointed by the present teller has never attended; but, out of his fees, the senior of the under clerks, who was second clerk to Mr. Townshend, is allowed 400l. a-year: his share of the fees for the remainder of the year, was 578l. 10s.; out of which was paid 15l. 19s. 6d. for taxes, and 150l. 8s. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. being so much of the salary of 400l. as accrued between the time the teller was appointed and the Michaelmas following; the remainder, being 412l. 2s. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. was paid to the father of the teller.

The under clerks are paid by such salaries as each teller thinks proper to allow them: they have no fees; but receive some small gratuities, amounting in the year to about 20l. to each division.

An account of the receipts and payments in this office shews the gross receipt to be 41,772l. 14. 5d. and the net, 38,138l. 13s. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.: 29,272l. 3s. 4d. is paid out of public money; 1,024l. 9s. out of the civil list; and 11,476l. 2s. 1d. by individuals.

A return was made to our precept from the chamberlain's office. We examined

examined Abraham Farley and William Hammond, esqrs. deputies on the receipt side, and James Galloway and George Rose, esqrs. deputies on the court side, to Montague Burgoyne, esq. and the hon. Frederick North, the two chamberlains of the exchequer. We received also a return from Thomas Lambe, esq. tally-cutter, and examined Mr. Charles Alexander, his deputy.

This office consists of three divisions; the receipt side, or tally court; the court side; and the tally-cutter's office: it is composed of nine persons; namely, the two chamberlains, two deputies on each side, one under clerk on the court side, the tally-cutter, and his deputy.

The office of chamberlain is held for life by letters patent, with power to execute it by deputy. By virtue of this privilege, these two officers interfere not in any part of the business of this office; it is all transacted on both sides by the deputies. Each chamberlain is entitled to two annual payments, a salary of 52l. 3s. 4d. reduced by taxes to 46l. 17s.; and 13l. 6s. 6d. wardrobe-money, reduced by fees to 11l. 19s. 10d.; together, clear, 58l. 16s. 10d. The two salaries are in the first list of the exchequer certificate; the wardrobe-money is a customary payment. They receive neither fee nor gratuity; but they take to themselves a part of the profits of both their deputies. The senior chamberlain received, out of the fees of his deputy on the receipt side, 70l. and out of the fees of his deputy on the court side, 256l. 6s. 10d. which increased his net profits to 385l. 3s. 8d. The junior chamberlain received, out of the profits of his deputy on the receipt-side, 252l. 5s.

2d. and on the court side, 274l. 6s. 10d.; which made his clear receipt 585l. 8s. 10d.

The two deputies on the receipt side have each of them ancient salaries; the senior four, amounting to 97l. a year; the junior three, together, 57l. a year: the first list of the exchequer certificate contains them all: they are also entitled, in equal moieties, to one-fourth part (with some trifling exceptions) of the fees taken in the tally-court; of which the share of each deputy was 193l. 17s. 5d.: each of them received a treasury allowance for the tallies of loan, 70l. 13s. 3d. and from the paymaster general of the forces, a gratuity of 3l. 13s. 6d. These several items produced to the senior, 365l. 4s. 2d. reduced, by the payment of 18l. 18s. 6d. for taxes, and 70l. to his principal, to the clear sum of 276l. 5s. 8d.; and produced to the junior, 325l. 4s. 2d. reduced, by the payment of 18l. 15s. 6d. for taxes, to 306l. 8. 8d.; of which sum he retained to his own use a salary of 50l. allowed him by his principal for the execution of the office, the gratuity of 3l. 13s. 6d. and a sum of about ten shillings more, making, together, 54l. 3s. 6d.; the remainder, being 252l. 5s. 2d. he paid to his principal.

An ancient table regulates the fees taken in the tally-court, and estimates them, either by the tally, or by the sum paid in: they are received from the persons who take away the tallies, and are divided for the most part into four equal portions, one of which belongs to the auditor and his clerk, another to the clerk of the pells and his clerk, a third to the two deputy chamberlains on the receipt-side, and the fourth to the tally-cutter.

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The two deputies on the court side have each an ancient salary of five pounds a year, inserted in the first list of the exchequer certificate; and are entitled, in equal moieties, to fees paid by accountants for joining tallies, according to an ancient table, and estimated either by the tally, or the sum to be accounted for; the moiety of these fees was 26*l.* 7*d.* and of the treasury allowance for the tallies of loan, 86*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.*; together, to each deputy, 352*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.*: out of this sum, the deputy to the senior chamberlain paid 16*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* for taxes, and three pounds for incidental expenses; which reduced the clear receipt to 333*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.*: of this sum he retained 65*l.* as his salary for the execution of the office, and 12*l.* 10*s.* for the under clerk; the residue, being 256*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.* he paid to his principal. The like share of the deputy to the junior, was reduced, by the like payments for taxes, and 12*l.* 10*s.* to the clerk, to 324*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.*: out of which, retaining his salary of 50*l.* he paid the remaining 274*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.* to his principal. - The under clerk has only a salary of 25*l.* a year, paid to him out of the fees of the deputies.

The tally-cutter is appointed by constitution from the commissioners of the treasury, during pleasure: he executes no part of the business of this office himself; his deputy transacts the whole of it: he has a salary of 5*l.* 10*s.* a year, inserted in the first list of the exchequer certificate, and received an allowance from the treasury for the loan tallies of 141*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*; which two sums are paid out of the civil list: his fourth of the tally-court fees amounted to 366*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.* These sums, making

together 513*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.* were reduced, by 14*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.* paid for taxes, and 57*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.* allowed to his deputy, to 441*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* clear receipt. The deputy, in addition to his salary, received from the usher 1*l.* 10*s.* for grinding tools, and 1*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* in gratuities; which made his net receipt 59*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.*

The gross charge of this office, comprehending all its divisions, is 2,043*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*; to which the public contributed 7*l.* 7*s.*; the civil list 758*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.*; and individuals, 1,277*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*: the net receipt was 1,917*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.*

But to the expence created by this office, must be added those portions of the tally-court fees, and the treasury allowances for the tallies of loan, paid to the auditor and the clerk of the pells, amounting together to 1,021*l.* 5*s.* included in the accounts of the profits of those offices; which, added to the gross sum of 2,043*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* increases the total expence of the chamberlain's office to 3,064*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*

The return of the hon. Horace Walpole, usher of the exchequer, and the examination of Charles Bedford, esq. his deputy, supplied us with a state of the emoluments of this office; in which three persons are concerned, the usher, the deputy, and the clerk; who is also yeoman usher.

The usher is appointed for life, by letters patent, with power to exercise this office by deputy; which power it has been usual for the usher to make use of; and consequently the business of this office is transacted entirely by the deputy. The usher receives several small half-yearly fees or payments, on different accounts, enumerated in the return, and amounting in the year

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to 40l. 17s. 8d.; but his principal advantage is the profit he makes, by supplying the treasury and exchequer with stationary and turnery ware, and several other articles, and the exchequer with coals, and by employing the workmen who do the repairs of the exchequer and the inside of the treasury. There is an ancient table kept in the offices of the auditor and the usher, which contains a long catalogue of the articles furnished by the usher, and a certain price affixed to each article: the usher is allowed, and charges government, for each article he furnishes, at the rate stated in this table: but this table does not contain all the items he provides; for such as are not included in it, he is allowed a profit of forty per cent. and on the workmen's bills for repairs he has a profit of 3s. 6d. in the pound. The total of these gains was 5,252l. 8s. 4d. and, with his fees, made his gross receipt 5,293l. 6s. 0½d. His deductions were, for taxes, 476l. 5½d.; to his deputy a salary of 144l. and one-third of the poundage on the bills for repairs, 234l. 4s. 6d.; to the clerk a salary of 50l. and to him as yeoman usher 36l. 8s. 3d.; in fees 46l. 18s.; and for incidental expences, 105l. 14s. 10d. The amount of these deductions is 1,093l. 6s. 0½d. and reduced his net receipt to 4,200l.

The deputy received, in fees from the stationers, and others, 145l. 5s. 11d. which added to his salary, and poundage on the workmen's bills, made 523l. 10s. 5d.; from which, 41l. being deducted for taxes, his net receipt was 519l. 10s. 5d. The clerk received, in gratuities, 76l. 1s. which, with his salary from the usher, made 126l. 1s. As yeoman usher, he

received, in gratuities, 23l. 2s. 6d.; which with the payment from the usher, produced 59l. 10s. 9d.; together, 185l. 11s. 9d. from which there was no deduction. Hence the gross expence of this office was 5,537l. 15s. 5½d.; the net, 4,905l. 2s. 2d. The public contributed 1,007l. 6s. 8½d.; the civil list, 4,285l. 19s. 4d.; and individuals, 244l. 9s. 5d.

By the return transmitted to us from the office of the paymasters of exchequer-bills, and from the examination of Nathaniel Barwell, esq. one of the paymasters, we obtained the information following:

This office is executed by three paymasters, a comptroller, an accountant, a cashier, and two clerks; to which are added, a house-keeper and messenger, and, occasional assistant clerks. The paymasters, the comptroller, and the house-keeper, are appointed by the commissioners of the treasury, by constitution, during pleasure; the rest of the officers are appointed by the paymasters themselves. This office is distinguished from the rest, in that the officers, as well as the clerks, are all paid by salaries only. No fee or gratuity whatever is taken by any of them, except a small annual fee of 2l. 7s. allowed the accountant for making up his year's account. Each paymaster has an annual salary of 283l. 6s. 8d. which has not varied since the year 1736: he pays, for himself and clerks, 34l. 3s. 4d. for taxes; which reduces it to 249l. 3s. 4d. The comptroller's salary is 350l. a year; reduced by the payment of 41l. 10s. for taxes, to 308l. 10s. The salaries of the rest are paid clear of deductions, as stated in the return; all of them together amount

mount to 1,620l. which is paid out of the public funds.

From the account of the contingent expences of this office, they were 169l. 17s. 7d. paid also by the public; so that the gross expence of this office to the public, was 1,792l. 4s. 7d.; the net produce to the officers, was 1,478l. 7s.

That the total amount of the expences attending the receiving and issuing of the public money at the receipt of his majesty's exchequer, may appear at one view, we subjoin, in the appendix, an account of the totals of the gross and net receipt by the officers and clerks in each of these branches of the exchequer, with the deductions paid thereout during the year 1780. From whence it appears, the gross sum received by all of them, in salaries, fees, and gratuities, was 82,519l. 16s. 6½d.; and the net sum 75,863l. 19s. 3¼d. The sum of 51,751l. 18s. 5½d. was paid by the public; 8,008l. 5½d. out of the civil list; 22,929l. 15s. 3d. by individuals; and 3,867l. 12s. 5½d. for taxes.

Such is the state of the salaries, fees, and gratuities; and such the authority under which they are paid and received in these offices. But the act enjoins us a still farther duty; it commands us, "to report such regulations, as, in our judgment, shall appear expedient to be established, in order that the duties, taxes, and monies, granted, received, and appropriated for the public service of this kingdom, may hereafter be received and issued in the manner the most beneficial and advantageous to the public."

Regulations to this end have, in the progress of this enquiry, offered themselves to our judgment; regulations tending to introduce that

system of strict œconomy in the administration of the public revenue, which the legislature has, by the act, determined to be necessary. By "strict œconomy," we apprehend, is not meant such as either derogates from the honour and dignity of the crown, or abridges the servant of the public of the due reward of his industry and abilities; we mean an œconomy that steers between extreme parsimony on the one hand, and profusion on the other; that is consistent with justice as well as prudence; that gives to all their full due, and to none more; that supports every useful and necessary establishment, but cuts off and reduces ever superfluous and redundant expence. Some regulations, built upon the principle of œconomy thus defined, have for their objects the offices, the officers, and their emoluments.

An office of the highest antiquity, that has subsisted for ages under its present form; that has the receipt and custody of the public treasure, upon the due administration of which depends the national credit and safety of the realm; an office of such a description is entitled to the utmost respect, and alterations in its establishment should be well weighed, and proposed with caution and diffidence: but, as a change in the manners, customs, and above all, in the finances of this nation, since the origin of this office, together with peculiar circumstances of the times, may render regulations necessary, we have judged it a part of our duty to examine into the receipt of the exchequer, with a view to an œconomical reform.

The office of the chamberlains of the exchequer, however important

portant in ancient times, is, at this day, occupied principally in the business of the tally; which is the official acquittance to persons paying money into the exchequer. This acquittance has various formalities, all calculated to prevent the possibility of a forgery, by which the accountant might, on passing his accounts, be discharged of a sum he never paid.

The teller is obliged, as soon as he receives money, to transmit the bill by which he charges himself with that receipt, through the pipe into the tally-court; where the following officers attend: 1st, the tally-writer; who is the officer of the auditor, and takes an account of the sum, and writes it on both sides of the tally delivered to him, with the sum cut upon it in notches by the tally-cutter. 2dly. The clerk of the introitus; who is the officer of the pells, and records the receipt: and 3dly, the two deputy chamberlains on the receipt side; who split the tally, examine and compare the two parts with each other, and with the entry made by the clerk of the introitus. The tally is delivered to the accountant; the foil is delivered to, and kept by, the deputy chamberlains on the court side, until the accountant, being about to pass his accounts, brings to them the account of his payments into the exchequer, with the tallies: these chamberlains examine the account, join the tallies with the foils, mark both, certify upon the account that the tallies are received and joined, deliver back his account to the accountant, keep the foil in the office, and send the tally to the clerk of the pipe. In this operation nine persons are concerned.

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It is undoubtedly true, that the public revenue cannot be too safely guarded against fraud of every kind; but if a mode of receipt can be substituted, similar to what is practised in other offices, equally secure, and at but little expence, such a mode demands attention.

If, instead of the tally-court, the clerks of the auditor, and of the pells, were to attend the office of the tellers, as the bank clerk does now, and take an account of the sums, as they are received; if an indented check receipt of each sum was made out, compared with the entries, and marked with an intratur by the one officer, and a recordatur by the other; if this receipt was produced with the account, before it is passed and examined with the counterfoil, and the account compared with the entries in the office, either of the auditor, or the pells, and the truth of it certified by that officer; a check thus fenced seems to be as effectually secured against forgery as the tally, is a mode more simple, and can be transacted by a single clerk. Nor is this check unknown in the exchequer; the bills that are issued every year, to a great amount, both in number and value, are guarded by the check indenture and counterfoil.

The other business of this office may, without injury to the public, be easily transferred elsewhere: the custody of one of the keys to the tellers chests, the number of which ought not to be diminished, may be committed to the auditor; and the custody of the standard weights and measures, and of the standard pieces of gold and silver, causing little trouble, and that but seldom, to any other office in the exchequer.

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Seeing, therefore, no utility accruing to the public from the office of the chamberlains, beyond the labour of a single clerk, but, on the contrary, a considerable charge incurred annually, in supporting two chamberlains, and a tally-cutter, three sinecures, at the expence, in the year 1780, of 1,412l. 2s. 10d.; and the whole office at the expence of 3,064l. 9s. 6d.; we are of opinion, that public prudence requires the suppression of this office, and the substitution of another kind of receipt in the place of the the tally.

The chief, if not the only, present duty of the usher, is to supply the treasury and exchequer with stationary and turnery ware, and a variety of other articles, and the exchequer with coals, and to provide workmen for certain repairs; he is, as it were, a factor to these offices for particular necessaries; on all which he has a profit. The amount of the four liberates, which contained all the articles provided by him, with the bills for repairs in the year 1780, was 14,440l. 3s. 6d.; out of which the profits to the usher were 5,252l. 8s. 4d.; so that, supposing all these articles could have been purchased, and the repairs done, as cheap without the intervention of the usher (and no reason appears why they might not) the public paid 14,440l. 3s. 6d. for what was really worth but 9,187l. 15s. 2d.; that is, near forty per cent. more than they would have paid, had no such office existed as that of the usher.

As whatever is wanted for public use should be purchased at the first hand, and at as cheap a rate as may be, we think it necessary for the public interest, that the office of the usher of the exchequer should

be discontinued, as expensive and unnecessary; and that every principal officer should procure all articles requisite for his own department, and for that purpose be paid by the public an annual allowance proportioned to the wants of his office; a method now practised in the paymaster general's and in various other offices.

The teller's is one office, at the head of which are placed four officers, independent of each other, each presiding over his own distinct division, but none of them contributing to the execution of any part of the business. It is expedient, that in an office of this importance, some person of rank and responsibility should preside, to superintend, direct, and controul, the execution, with an appointment adequate to his consequence and station in the official scale, leaving to subordinate officers and ministers the laborious detail of the execution; but no advantage is derived to the public from placing four inoperative officers at the head of this one office.

Judging then, as we must do, solely by the rule of public frugality, and supposing the nation to stand in need of every practicable retrenchment, and consequently to require the reduction of every useless and expensive office, we are led necessarily to conclude, that, as the public service receives no assistance or advantage from the labours of the tellers, and the public treasure will find a considerable increase from their emoluments, the public interest requires their number should be reduced.

Whatever reasons there may be for continuing these, and other offices mentioned above; whether drawn

drawn from policy or expedience; as a resource for the reward of services, in preference to pensions; or from justice, for continuing them during the lives of the present possessors only, in favour of the rights of private property; or whether it would be proper to change them again from offices for life to offices during pleasure; all these are topics not within the limits of our commission, but for the discussion of the legislature, whose deliberations comprehend arguments drawn from every source. But, in whatever shape they may be permitted to continue, every reason of prudence demands the reduction of their emoluments, from an excess to a reasonable limited standard.

There are likewise in this office of the tellers, four officers, under the denomination of second clerks, who are merely nominal, without attendance, without business, care, or trouble; but they have fees, and to no inconsiderable amount. In the year 1780, the total of them was 5,518l. 8s. 4d. and were either paid to, or to the use of, the persons named to these offices, or increased the profits of the tellers themselves. Whatever pretensions a superior officer may have to an exemption from duty and service, a sinecure is repugnant to the idea of the condition of a clerk in office; and therefore we are of opinion, that common sense requires the suppression of the offices of the second clerks to the tellers.

We have ranged the emoluments of these offices under the heads of Salaries, Fees, and Gratuities. From our examination into the state of the salaries, many of them appear to be made up of a variety, and sometimes of very small payments,

arising out of different funds. Of the inferior clerks, several pay over, either the whole or portions of their salaries, or fees, to increase the profits of other clerks; all which is contrary to that simplicity and regularity that ought to be observed in every office, and may be easily corrected by a regulation we shall hereafter propose.

The fees are either sums paid for transacting particular kinds of official business, or a poundage; the first sort of fees fall, in many cases, very heavy upon individuals: in some cases they fall upon the public: it would be much for the benefit of both, as well as for the honour of government, that all persons employed in the public service, and who must of necessity have recourse to offices for instructions, instruments, and other official business, essential to the execution of their employments, should be furnished with all necessary materials, and have their business done in every office, without fee or reward: the regulation hereinafter suggested will, if adopted, be attended with this good effect.

The poundage is the most fruitful source of fees to most of the superior, and to some of the inferior officers; it is a payment, after some certain rate in the pound, upon the sum received, or issued, or contained in some official instrument made out in the office, and delivered to the person applying.

In ancient times, when the transaction was an actual delivery of money, and that money consisted of coin of various denominations and value, and possibly clipt, or of doubtful weight, the trouble and attention of the person employed in the receipt or payment in-

creased with the sum; and therefore the poundage was a mode of reward that bore a proportion to the labour: but in these times, when all money transactions are carried on, not by the medium of cash, not by the tale or weight of current coin, but by the substitution of paper, by cash, notes, draughts, or bills, to any amount; since the clear and concise method of the debtor and creditor account has been so universally introduced to practice, an increase in the magnitude of the sums, though to a vast amount, is the addition of a few figures, or of a few entries, only; and the increase of trouble arising from it is too inconsiderable to be estimated. The examination of Mr. Cowper, who attends daily at the exchequer on the part of the bank, shews us with what ease, perspicuity, and exactness, the various and most extensive receipts and payments of the public revenue are transacted there, by the intervention of the bank, with whom the principal offices of receipt, and several of the greater accountants, keep their cash: the transactions there, of each day, are carried on, not in coin told or weighed by the tellers, but by the interchange of cash notes, or by the bare entries of the sums received and paid; and that account being made up when the transactions of the day are finished, the balance only is either taken out of, or deposited in, the teller's chests, in exchequer bills, or labelled bags of cash, according as that balance turns out in favour of, or against, the bank.

Besides this facility in conducting money transactions, a course of years has introduced, and very rapidly within these few years, an

other alteration, most sensibly felt, in this payment by poundage. In its first establishment, the revenue of this kingdom was not considerable, and the profits of the poundage exceeded not the earnings of the officer; but in these later times, the necessities of the state have required a revenue far beyond the imagination of our ancestors. In the year under our contemplation, the receipt of the exchequer was 31,821,195*l.*; the issue, 30,384,838*l.*: on near 16,000,000*l.* was a poundage paid to different branches of that office, amounting, as much of it as we could extract from the returns, and which is not the whole, to 62,225*l.*; of which much the greatest part was paid to officers for transacting either very little, or no business at all. The total of the emoluments accruing in that year to the ineffective officers of the exchequer, amounted to 45,332*l.*

But the excess of this poundage reaches beyond the superior class; it swelled the profits of a single officer, not the principal in the department, to a sum nearly equal to what supported an entire office of equal expenditure for the whole year. The net actual receipt of the cashier alone, in the pay-office of the army, was 7,175*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*: the net receipt of the whole pay-office of the navy was 7,938*l.*; and it would have been inferior to that of the cashier, had he at the time of his examination received the whole of his income for that year.

Since then, on the one hand, the improvements of the age have taken away the foundation upon which this species of reward was built, it is but reasonable the superstructure should fall with it; and, on the other

other hand, the exigencies of the age having converted what was designed to be the reward of industry, into the means of rendering some offices lucrative to excess, and of supporting others that are useless to the public, the subject has a right to be relieved of that burthen: and therefore we are of opinion, that all poundage fees, of every kind soever, should be suppressed, and totally abolished: and of this opinion was the privy-council; who, by their order in the year 1695, above alluded to, shewed their sense of a poundage, by directing it, in instances therein mentioned, to be suppressed in the office of the treasurer of the navy.

The remaining head is that of Gratuities; a species of emolument very liable to abuse: it may be a reward for civility, favour, or extra service; it may be also the purchase of undue preference, expedition, and, in some cases, of procrastination. Flowing, at first, from the liberality of opulence, the ostentation of vanity, or the design of cunning, it very soon assumes the name of custom, and becomes a claim, submitted to, to avoid the imputation of meanness, and frequently to the great inconvenience of contracted circumstances: nor is it confined to individuals only; the public pay their share: in the payments out of the deductions of twelve pence in the pound, there are two articles, making 653l. 12s. 8d. distributed by the paymaster-general of the forces in gratuities. The public voice unites with that of individuals, in demanding a suppression of a species of emolument so easily perverted to purposes injurious to the interest of both.

But there is one other sort of gratuity, that requires particular observation; that is, what is paid to the officers and clerks in the pay-office of the navy and army, for carrying on and making up the accounts of the treasurer and paymaster general after their resignation. It should seem that in every office of accounts, the balancing the books every year, and as soon as possible after the expiration of that year, is a duty incumbent upon the persons employed in that office; or difficulty, confusion, and ignorance of the real state of their accounts, must ensue; it is an essential part of their constant yearly business, for which their annual stipends are or should be an adequate reward; and the presiding officer is bound to see that this business is done. But in these two offices a different system has prevailed: during the time the treasurer or paymaster-general has continued in office, not one of his year's accounts has been ever made up; and it has been the interest of the officers not to make them up: if they had, it must have been considered as part of their official business, and paid for by their yearly emoluments; but, by delaying it for ten or fifteen years, they crave, on the ground of custom, and obtain of the treasury, a special allowance for this business, as for extra service they were not bound to perform. The final accounts of lord Holland, ending in June 1765, are at length near being closed; and the treasury allowance for making them up has been craved and allowed. This recent transaction, completed since the issuing our precept for an account of these allowances, consists of the



memorial to the treasury by the acting executor of lord Holland; the distribution of 11,320l. amongst the officers, and the sum of 3,665l. 10s. 6d. for incidental charges, craved by the memorial; and his majesty's warrant authorising these allowances. If the profits of this office last year equalled the profits of the preceding year, as they probably did, the addition of this allowance would have increased the actual net receipt of the whole office to 34,881l. 1s. 8d; and that of the cashier only to 9,825l. 19s. 6d. and, if he had received all his fees, to 11,039l. 15s.

The memorial states "these accounts to be intricate and voluminous, and to amount to above 45,900,000l. notwithstanding which they have been made up by the officers and clerks mentioned in the distribution; without any expence to the public for additional assistance or allowance." If they have been made up in the course of these last years, the load of annual current business in this office, during the time of lord Holland, could have been no impediment to their being made up at that time, or soon after his resignation, and with much greater ease, whilst the transactions were recent and fresh in their memories.

There still remain to be made up the accounts of four treasurers of the navy, to the amount of 58,944,588l.; and of three paymasters general of the forces, amounting to 4,666,875l.; exclusive of the treasurer and paymaster general in office; to the first of whom has been issued, to the 30th of September, 1786, 16,781,217l. and to the latter, to the end of the

same year, 43,253,911l. and not one year's account of either are completed. So that of the money issued to the navy, 75,725,805l.; and of the money issued to the army 47,920,786l. together 123,646,591l. (not including 10,647,188l. issued to the navy, and 8,121,000l. to the army, to the end of the last year) is as yet unaccounted for; and for the making up of these accounts, if this custom is suffered to continue, nine more gratuities are to be craved of the public. How much then does it behove them that this evil should be corrected!—An evil that furnishes another weighty reason, in addition to those urged in our former reports, for proceeding immediately to bring forward the long arrears in the accounts of these offices, in order for their speedy completion.

Having thus stated the mischiefs attending the present establishment, both to the public and individuals, and the reasons for abolishing the multifarious emoluments by which these offices are now supported, it remains for us to propose such a regulation, as appears best calculated to avoid the like mischiefs, and most beneficial to the public service.

We are of opinion, that in the place of all these salaries, fees, and gratuities, there should be substituted and annexed to each of these offices, of whatever rank or denomination, one certain salary, paid to the officer by the public quarterly, and free of all deductions: this salary should be an ample compensation for the service required; and the *quantum* estimated by the various qualifications and circumstances necessary for the execution,

cution, and which, together, form the title to reward.

By this regulation the officer will know his income, the public will know their expence, and uniformity and equality will be introduced in the provisions for officers of equal rank and station in similar offices. The industry of some persons requires the spur of profits continually flowing in, or the hopes of increase; others prefer the certainty of a known, sure income, paid at stated times. No arrangement can suit the dispositions or occasions of all men; but time and usage will soon reconcile one reasonable rule, extended through these departments of government.

Notwithstanding this regulation throws upon the public the whole expence of these offices, which are at present supported in part by individuals, yet, by adopting it, that whole expence will become less than the sum it now costs the public; for that sum is so great as to afford every liberal salary, and yet leave no inconsiderable saving. Not that this is the only saving proposed by the regulation; the public at present bear a much greater share of the burthen than is obvious at the first view. Besides fees and gratuities paid by public offices, and refunded to them out of public money, many payments, though made by individuals, are charged by them ultimately to the account of the public. For instance, the contractor, when he calculates the terms upon which he may safely engage with government, must estimate every article of profit and loss consequential to his bargain: to the account of the latter, he places all his charges, and amongst them the long cata-

logue of fees, certain and uncertain. The first he knows; the last he will calculate not to his own disadvantage; and if by them he can procure credit, or preference, or expedition, he will charge them to government at their full price. If this head of various expences was blotted out of his column of charges, by so much would the terms of his contract be more favourable to the public.

But besides this, so very various and extensive are the operations of government, that the number of persons employed in their service constitute a very considerable body of the people; and their relief is a public concern. If, by discharging an office, at present paid by a salary, from those fees and deductions to which it is now subject, that salary should become greater than the office ought in reason to have annexed to it, it may easily be regulated, and reduced to its proper standard.

We have said the salary should be paid free of all deductions; that is, as far as is consistent with the laws in being. The salaries and fees of office are at present subject, by three acts of parliament, to the land-tax, the sixpenny, and the one shilling duties. Whoever takes a view of the above state of the official profits, will not wonder they should be deemed by the legislature a fit subject of taxation; and, under the system then in use, no other mode of taxation could well be contrived, but that adopted in those acts, though attended with inequality; and, in many cases, with hardship. Had one known salary been at that time the pay of office, and the necessities of the state required the aid

of every subject, in proportion to his faculties, it is possible a diminution of the salary before it issued, might have appeared a more eligible, more equal, and less expensive mode of taxation, than paying it entire out of the exchequer, and then bringing back again a part of it, delayed and defalcated by a variety of deductions in its circuit; but, as it is, the sums at present assessed upon these offices must continue to be paid; because, otherwise, in the land-tax, it will occasion a deficiency in the sum to be raised by that division in which the office is assessed; and, in the other duties, it will diminish the funds created by those acts, and consequently the security of the creditors upon those funds. The land-tax and duties are now paid by the officers, at stated times, to the collectors and receivers. If the mode of payment by a clear salary is adopted, the total sum, now assessed upon all the officers in one office, may still continue to be paid as one sum, in like manner, out of the same fund with the salaries themselves.

We have said the salaries should be annexed to the office: it ought to be a full and competent recompence for the execution, and no more. The whole of it ought to be paid to the person who executes, independent of the officer who presides, but who should still retain the same power of appointment, and the same control that he now exercises over the inferior officer. Where the profits exceed what the officer is in reason entitled to, the overplus should be abolished, and the public reap the benefit, not a person who earns no part of it.

In the pay-office of the army,

some of the offices of the deputy paymasters abroad are sinecures: though deputies themselves, they execute these offices by their deputies, being themselves engaged in very different employments under government.

Instances are not wanting, in all these offices, to warrant this regulation of payment by a salary. The treasurer of the navy and his paymaster, the paymaster general of the forces, the paymasters of exchequer bills, and their officers, are all paid by salaries only; and why the same rule may not be extended to the rest, no sufficient reason has hitherto occurred to us. It might seem too sanguine, to suggest how far this rule may be applied to other offices, without a previous examination into their peculiar circumstances; and yet the advantage it holds out to the public, its simplicity, and aptitude to be accommodated to all offices, however distinguished, afford great reason to believe it may be applied to every department of government.

The principle of œconomy by which we have been guided, has led us to the conclusions we have formed, and the regulations we have submitted to the wisdom of parliament: conclusions strictly deduced from that principle, and regulations made necessary by the pressing exigencies of the times.

GUY CARLETON,	(L. S.)
T. ANGUISH,	(L. S.)
A. PIGGOTT,	(L. S.)
RICH. NEAVE,	(L. S.)
SAM. BEACHCROFT,	(L. S.)
GEO. DRUMMOND,	(L. S.)

Office of Accounts, Surry-  
street, 9th February,  
1782.

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*Accusation of Mr. Hastings. Speech of Mr. Burke on opening that business in the house of commons; he gives the reasons for his undertaking it; reminds the house of their former proceedings; states three different modes of accusation, prosecution in the courts below, bill of pains and penalties, impeachment; objection to the two former modes; his plan of conducting the last; general observations on the whole; he moves for a variety of India papers and documents; debates thereon; Mr. Dundas's defence of himself; Mr. Pitt's argument on the same side; answer to objections by Mr. Burke; rights and privileges of an accuser; the production of papers relative to the treaties with the Mahrattas and the Mogul objected to, on the ground of disclosing dangerous secrets; answer to that objection; papers refused on a division; motion renewed by Mr. Fox, and rejected. Mr. Burke delivers in twenty-two articles of charge against Mr. Hastings; Mr. Hastings petitions to be heard in his own defence; conversation thereon; Mr. Hastings heard at the bar; his defence laid on the table; first charge respecting the Robilla war, moved by Mr. Burke; his introductory speech; list of speakers on both sides; charge rejected on a division; second charge, respecting Benares, moved by Mr. Fox; supported by Mr. Pitt; carried by a large majority; indecent reflections of Mr. Hastings's friends thereupon. Mr. Dundas's Bill for amending the India act of 1784; its arbitrary principles strongly opposed; defended by Mr. Dundas; passes both houses. King's speech.—Parliament prorogued.* [125

### C H A P. VIII.

*Russia. Magnificence of the Court of Petersburg. Expeditions of discovery by land and sea, to the yet-unexplored parts of the empire. Small colony of Christians discovered in the wilds of Caucasus. New canal for opening an inland navigation between the Caspian Sea and the Baltic. Commercial treaty with the Emperor. Similar treaties in negotiation with France and other nations. Old commercial treaty with England suffered to expire without renewal. Some observations on that circumstance, and on the charge which seems to have taken place in the Empress's political system. War with the Tartars. Inequality of the contending parties. Brave and obstinate resistance notwithstanding made. Prince of Hesse Rhinfels killed. Tartar chief, with his sons and nephew, taken prisoners. Cuban Tartary desolated. The new prophet, Sheikh Mansour, defeated. Empress announces her intention of making a progress to Cherson and the Crimea. Extraordinary preparations for rendering the procession superbly magnificent. The intelligence of this intended progress and design, instead of terrifying the Tartars, occasions a*  
stricter



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*Stricter union and general confederacy among them; shew unusual judgment in seizing the gorges and defiles of the mountains, and interrupting the Russian communications. Victory gained by the Tartars in the autumn of 1786, on the side of Caucasus. Some of the apparent consequences of that event; and particularly its effect with respect to the intended progress. Georgians sorely pressed by the Lesghis Tartars. Court of Petersburg vents its indignation on the Porte, as the cause of all these untoward events. Some jealousies entertained by the Chinese. Death of Kien-long, the excellent Emperor of China. Singular bank established by the Empress at Petersburg. Russian troops sent into Courland, in order to support the freedom of election in case of the Duke's death. Turkey. Appeal from the Grand Signior to his subjects, and to all true Mussulmen, on the differences with Russia, the treatment he has received, and calling upon them to be in preparation for the expected consequences. Preparations for placing the empire in a formidable state of defence. Troubles in Egypt. Captain Pacha's expedition to that country; defeats Murat Bey in two battles, and takes Grand Cairo. Porte does not relax in its endeavours, notwithstanding the critical state of public affairs, to introduce the arts and sciences in that empire; orders a translation of the French Encyclopedia. Emperor's conduct with respect to Russia and the Porte. Engaged still in a multiplicity of internal regulations. Abrogation of the old laws, and establishment of a new code. Ecclesiastical reforms. Suppression of religious houses. Number of the conventual clergy already reduced. German prelacy join the Emperor in resisting the interference of the court of Rome in their ecclesiastical and metropolitan government. Elector of Mentz and Archbishop of Saltzbourg apply to the Emperor, to prevent a nuncio's arrival at the court of Munich. Emperor publishes a declaration against the powers assumed by nuncios, and promises to support the Germanic Church in all its rights. Resolutions of the ecclesiastical princes against the encroachments of the see of Rome. Emperor's edict, laying restrictions on free masonry. Letters in favour of the Jews to the corporations of Vienna. Edict prohibiting gaming. Forbids all publications from making any mention of the Germanic league, &c. Regulation of the numerous prostitutes in Vienna. Attention to the troubles in Holland. New claim in preparation on the East-India trade of that country.*

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## C H A P. IX.

*Death of the king of Prussia. Some account of that great prince. Hospitals for distressed old age of all nations endowed by him in Berlin. Temper and disposition softened and rendered more kindly by age. Leaves his successor the best securities to a kingdom, in a full treasury, excellent armies, and subjects strongly attached to the government. Popular measures pursued by the present king. Restores the German language to its proper place, in the room of the French, which had been used at court, and in all public transactions, during the late reign. Patronizes the native literature, as well as language. Prohibits irreligious publications. Forbids dwelling, and erects a court of honour. Persecution of the free-masons by the Elector Palatine, occasions M. de Born indignantly to return his diplomas, and to abandon the academy of sciences at Munich. Northern kingdoms. Dearth, and frequent distresses, continued in both. Diet held at Stockholm, after an interregnum of eight years. King of Sweden abolishes the torture. Danish East-India Company resign their stock into the hands of the king. Junction between the Baltic and the North Sea, by a navigable canal drawn across the peninsula of Jutland. France. Commercial treaty with England. Attention to her marine and commerce. Stupendous*

# C O N T E N T S.

dous works carrying on at Cherburgh, in order to render it a great naval arsenal. King visits that place. Religious prejudices happily wearing away. Foreigners of all religious persuasions and countries invited to settle in the kingdom, with the privileges of purchasing lands, and of enjoying the rights of citizens. Colony of quakers and baptists arrive from North America, to settle at Dunkirk. Great encouragement to foreign merchants, artists, and manufacturers to settle in France. Measures already adopted in favour of the native protestants, to be considered as a happy opening towards their restoration in a more perfect degree to the rights of citizens. Edict in favour of the peasantry. Edict in favour of the subject with respect to personal arrests, and the seizure or detainer of his property, under the local authority of cities and corporations in which he is not a resident. Singular instance of a Free Black of the Isle of France, being elected a corresponding member of the royal academy of sciences. [161

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